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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS.

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E. DELMAR MORGAN,

HONORARY TREASURER.

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P R E F A C E.

A FEW words of acknowledgment are due from the Editor to those who have kindly assisted him in preparing these volumes for publication. In the first place, he desires to record his sense of the obligation he is under to the members of the Publishing Committee—Sir Raymond West, Dr. H. T. Thornton, Dr. Ginsburg, and Mr. F. F. Arbuthnot—for their readiness to aid him whenever he had occasion to apply to them for advice and assistance. He also takes this opportunity of acknowledging the kindness of Professor E. B. Cowell of Cambridge, Professor A. A. Macdonell, and Dr. Tylor of Oxford, Hofrath Dr. G. Bühler of Vienna, Professor E. Leumann of Strassburg, Mr. A. A. Bevan, Sir Frederic Goldsmid, Professor Legge, Mr. Le Page Renouf, Professor Tchéraz, Dr. Casartelli, Mr. Cecil Smith, Mr. Phené Spiers, Dr. Gaster, Mr. Sidney H. Ray, and Professor de Lacouperie, all of whom undertook the revision of papers on subjects with which they were specially acquainted, or made valuable suggestions. Without their assistance, indeed, the Editor would have found his task quite impossible.

Finally, he desires to thank Messrs. Ballantyne, Hanson, & Co. for their courtesy and promptness in conducting the work. It was not till the end of December 1892 that the printing was first taken in hand, and by the beginning of July 1893 the last of the papers was in type.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
LIST OF MEMBERS	ix
BOOKS PRESENTED TO THE CONGRESS	xxi
STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS, DONATIONS, AND DONATIONS TO THE DINNER FUND	xxv
OPENING MEETING	xxvi
ELECTION OF OFFICERS.	xxviii
PROCEEDINGS OF SECTIONS	xxx
CONCLUDING MEETING	l
COMPETITION PRIZE ESSAY	lvi
EXCURSIONS AND ENTERTAINMENTS	lvi
INAUGURAL ADDRESS BY PROFESSOR MAX MÜLLER	I
VOTES OF THANKS BY HOFRATH BÜHLER AND PROFESSOR COUNT A. DE GUBERNATIS	37

SECTION I.—INDIA.

I. INAUGURAL ADDRESS BY SIR RAYMOND WEST, K.C.I.E., LL.D.	47
II. THE LANGUAGE CENSUS OF INDIA. BY J. A. BAINES	80
III. ARYAN THEORY OF DIVINE INCARNATIONS. BY BHAGWÁN LÁL R. BÂD SHÂH	128
IV. MODERN HINDU RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY. BY LALA BAIJNÂTH, EX-CHIEF-JUSTICE OF INDORE	141
V. THE SPIRITUAL WORLD OF THE BURMESE. BY TAW SEIN KO	174
VI. THE POSITION OF KUMÂRILA IN DIGAMBARA JAINA LITERA- TURE. BY K. B. PATHAK, B.A.	186
VII. THE FLORENTINE JAINA MANUSCRIPTS. BY PROFESSOR COUNT F. L. PULLÈ, WITH PREFATORY REMARKS BY PROF. LEUMANN	215
VIII. JAINA SCULPTURES FROM MATHURÂ. BY HOFRATH PROF. DR. G. BÜHLER, C.I.E.	219
IX. EPHTHALITES, OR WHITE HUNS. BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM, K.C.I.E., R.E.	222
X. THE VAJRÂSAN OR THUNDERBOLT SEAT AT MAHÂBODHI. BY FREDERIC PINCOTT, M.R.A.S.	245
XI. GLEANINGS FROM MARÂTHÂ CHRONICLES. BY THE HON. MR. JUSTICE K. T. TELANG, C.I.E.	252
XII. THE CHIEF MARÂTHÎ POETS. BY J. MURRAY MITCHELL, M.A., LL.D.	282
XIII. THE RISE OF THE DRAMA IN THE MODERN VERNACULARS OF INDIA. BY H. H. DHRUVA, B.D., LL.B., M.R.A.S.	297
XIV. THE GUJERATI LANGUAGE OF THE FOURTEENTH-FIFTEENTH CENTURY. BY H. H. DHRUVA, B.D., LL.B. WITH AN APPENDIX	315
XV. THE WOMEN LEADERS OF THE BUDDHIST REFORMATION. BY MABEL BODE. (ABSTRACT)	341
XVI. THE WOMEN LEADERS OF THE BUDDHIST REFORMATION, AS ILLUSTRATED BY DHAMMAPÂLA'S COMMENTARY ON THE THERÎ-GATHÂ. BY CAROLINE A. FOLEY, M.A.	344

	PAGE
XVII. BUDDHAGHOSA'S VISUDDHI-MAGGA. BY HENRY C. WARREN (ABSTRACT)	362
XVIII. UN PROJET DE CARTOGRAPHIE HISTORIQUE DE L'INDE. PAR M. SYLVAIN LÉVI	366
XIX. NOTES ON SOME OLD TOWNS IN PEGU. BY R. E. ST. ANDREW ST. JOHN, M.A., M.R.A.S.	370
XX. A SUMMARY OF THE PRINCIPAL FACTS AND ARGUMENTS IN THE ORION; OR RESEARCHES INTO THE ANTIQUITY OF THE VEDAS. BY BAL GANGADHAR TILAK, B.A., LL.B.	376
XXI. DISCOVERY OF THE EXACT SITE OF ASOKA'S CLASSIC CAPITAL OF PĀTALIPUTRA, THE PALIBOTHA OF THE GREEKS BY L. A. WADDELL, M.B. (ABSTRACT)	384

SECTION II.—ĀRYAN.

I. INAUGURAL ADDRESS. BY PROFESSOR E. B. COWELL	391
II. LA NATURE PRIMITIVE D'ADITI. PAR LE PROF. PH. COLINET	396
III. THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SŪTRAS OF ĀSVALĀYANA AND SĀṆKHĀYANA AND THE SĀKALA AND BASHKALA SĀKHĀS OF THE RĪKSAMHITĀ. BY R. G. BHANDARKAR	411
IV. MISCELLANEOUS NOTES. BY R. G. BHANDARKAR	421
V. THE EPOCH OF THE KALACHURI ERA; WITH NOTE ON THE COLEBROOKE MSS. IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GÖTTINGEN. BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.	428
VI. THE MĀDHAVĀNALA-KATHĀ. PUBLISHED FROM THREE LONDON AND THREE FLORENTINE MSS., WITH A TRANSLATION OF THE PRĀKRIT PASSAGES BY DR. P. E. PAVOLINI	430
VII. SOME CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING THE AGE OF THE EARLY MEDICAL LITERATURE OF INDIA. BY PROF. JULIUS JOLLY	454
VIII. NOTE SUR LE DIEU MAṆGALA. PAR LE COMTE ANGELO DE GUBERNATIS	462
IX. PALI, SANSKRIT, AND PRĀKRIT ETYMOLOGY. BY DR. RICHARD MORRIS	466
X. DEUX TRADUCTIONS CHINOISES DU MILINDAPĀNHO. PAR EDOUARD SPECHT, AVEC INTRODUCTION PAR M. SYLVAIN LÉVI	518
XI. ERĀNICA. VON PROFESSOR EUGEN WILHELM	530
XII. ON THE PROGRESS OF ARMENIAN STUDIES. BY DR. G. A. SCHRUMPF	540
XIII. EIN WORT ÜBER DIE VERWANDSCHAFTSVERHÄLTNISSE INNERHALB DER INDOGERMANISCHEN FAMILIE. VON GRAZIADIO ASCOLI, SENAT. D. KÖNIG. IT.	554
XIV. THE ORIGIN AND CRADLE-LAND OF THE ĀRYANS. BY J. S. STUART-GLENNIE, M.A.	557

ILLUSTRATIONS.

THE VAJRASAN AT MAHĀBODHI	249
REPRODUCTION D'UNE TABLETTE EN CUIVRE DE MAṆGALA.	465

INDEXES.

I. INDEXES AND GLOSSARIES OF WORDS IN SANSKRIT AND OTHER INDIAN DIALECTS, OLD PERSIAN AND ZEND	563
II. GENERAL INDEX	584
ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA	611

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xvii

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xix

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Kalhana. The Rājataranginī. Edited by Durgāprasāda, son of
Vrajalāla. Vol. I. 8vo. Bombay. 1892.

Presented by M. RADLOFF—

Radloff (W.). Eine neue Methode zur Herstellung von Abklatschen von
Steinschriften. Mélanges Asiatiques. Tome 10, livr. 2. (2 copies.)

——— Reports of the Expedition to the Orchon. 8vo. St. Petersburg.
1892.

——— Atlas der Alterthümer der Mongolei. Fol. St. Petersburg.
1892.

Presented by the Archduke RAINER—

Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. Führer durch die Ausstellung. 1 Theil.
Royal 8vo. Wien. 1892. (74 copies.)

Presented by H. ANTHONY SALMONÉ—

The "Eastern and Western Review," from February to August. (100
copies.)

From VINCENT A. SMITH, Esq.—

Smith (Vincent A.). Græco-Roman Influence on the Civilisation of
Ancient India. 2nd Paper. (Extract from the Journal of Asiatic
Society of Bengal, Vol. 61, Part I., No. I. 1892. (2 copies.)

Presented by Dr. M. A. STEIN—

Kalhana's Rājataranginī, or Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir.
Edited by M. A. Stein. Vol. I. Sanskrit Text and Notes. 4to.
Bombay. 1892. (6 copies.)

Presented by M. AUG. TOTTERMANN—

Fünf Suljekinschriften nach ihren Texten festgestellt von Aug. Totter-
mann. Royal 8vo. Helsingfors. 1891. (20 copies.)

Presented by Prof. ALBR. WEBER—

Weber (Albr.). Quousque tandem? Der achte Internationale Orienta-
listen-Congress; und der Neunte? Eine Zusammenstellung. 8vo.
Berlin. 1891.

——— Über den Vājapeya. (Sitzungsberichte der K. P. Akad. der
Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1892, No. 39.)

Presented by Dr. M. WINTERNITZ—

Winternitz (Dr. M.). Zur Geschichte der Ehe. 4to. Pamphlet.

——— Der Altindische Hochzeitsritual nach dem Āpastambiya-Grihya-
Sūtra. 4to. Wien. 1892.

Presented by THE EDITOR—

Revue d'Orient, Nos. 20, 21, for 17th and 24th May 1821. Published
at Buda Pest.

Presented by Dr. SEYBOLD—

A Portrait of the late Emperor Don Pedro II. d'Alcantara of Brazil.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

XXV

Ninth International Congress of Orientalists.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

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OPENING MEETING.

THE members of the NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS assembled in the Theatre of the University of London, kindly placed at their disposal by the governing body of this University, on the 5th September at 11 A.M. DELEGATES were present from the Governments of AUSTRO-HUNGARY, ITALY, the NETHERLANDS, SWEDEN, the NORTH-WEST PROVINCES OF INDIA, the PUNJAB, BURMAH, and EGYPT. H.H. the GAIKWAR OF BARODA was represented by his brother. Delegates attended from the Universities and learned Societies and Institutions.

The proceedings were opened by Sir THOMAS WADE, Chairman of the Organising Committee, who, in a few words, announced the unavoidable absence of H.R.H. the DUKE OF YORK, Honorary President of the Congress, and invited the Earl of NORTHBROOK, President of the Royal Asiatic Society, to take the chair.

This motion was seconded by the Hon. Sir ARTHUR GORDON, and unanimously carried.

Lord NORTHBROOK said that he was aware that the high honour conferred upon him was due, not to any personal merits of his own, but to the fact that he happened to be President of the Royal Asiatic Society, which was deeply interested in the success of the Congress. In the capacity of PRESIDENT he offered to the foreign delegates a most hearty welcome, and expressed the hope that the proceedings of the Congress would tend to the advancement of the important studies with which it was concerned.

The General Secretary, Professor RHYS DAVIDS, then read the following report:—

“The Eighth International Congress of Orientalists, held at Stockholm and Christiania in 1889, left the selection of the next place of meeting to a Committee of former Presidents.

“The Committee approved of London as the place of meeting, and were so fortunate as to secure for the office of President the illustrious scholar Professor Max Müller, K.M.

“The choice has been amply justified. In spite of adverse circumstances, the response to our invitations has been most cordial. The list of members includes many of the most distinguished Orientalists of Europe, and papers of unusual interest will be presented.

“Eleven Governments, twenty-seven learned Societies, and thirteen Universities have sent delegates ; two invitations for future Congresses have been received, and the undermentioned Princes of India have most generously contributed towards the expenses of the present meeting :—

H.H. the MAHĀRĀJA OF VIZIANĀGRAM, G.C.I.E.
 H.H. the THAKUR SAHIB OF GONDAL, K.C.I.E.
 H.H. the MAHĀRĀJA OF MAISUR, G.C.S.I.
 H.H. the RAO OF KUTCH, G.C.I.E.
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 H.H. the GAIKWAR OF BARODA, G.C.S.I.
 H.H. the MAHĀRĀJA OF TRAVANCORE, G.C.S.I.
 H.H. RANGĪT SINGH, RĀJA OF RUTLĀM, K.C.I.E.
 H.H. the RĀJA OF KAPŪRTHALA.”

The Chairman then called on Professor MAX MÜLLER to deliver his address. At the conclusion of the address a vote of thanks was proposed by Hofrath Dr. BÜHLER, and seconded by Professor Count ANGELO DE GUBERNATIS.

The meeting then adjourned till the afternoon. At 3 P.M. the Congress met again, when the General Secretary read a list of books presented to the Congress, and the names of the donors (see separate list).

Dr. GINSBURG moved : “That the Congress expresses its grateful thanks to the several donors of the works presented at this session, and that the Committee be authorised to hand these works to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland as additions to its library, and with power to dispose of surplus copies in such a way as it shall think best adapted to further the purposes of this Congress.” The resolution was seconded by Mr. DELMAR MORGAN, and carried unanimously.

The following resolution was proposed by Sir THOMAS WADE, seconded by Dr. THORNTON, and carried unanimously : “(1.) That a COMMITTEE be appointed to consider the time and place of the next meeting of the Congress, and the selection of a President, and for the further purpose of drawing up regulations for the organisation and conduct of the same, based upon the practice of past sessions of the Congress. (2.) That the Committee be selected by the President of the Congress in concert with the Chairman of the Committee of Organisation (Sir Thomas Wade), the General Secretary (Professor Rhys Davids), the Treasurer (Mr. Delmar Morgan), and the delegates of Governments and Societies. (3.) That the proposals of the Committee appointed as aforesaid be submitted to the Congress for ratification.”

In accordance with this resolution the REPRESENTATIVE COMMITTEE, as finally constituted, was composed of the following members:—

<i>Italy</i>	.	.	.	Count de Gubernatis.
<i>Austria</i>	.	.	.	Hofrath Bühler.
<i>United States of America</i>	.	.	.	Professor Lanman.
<i>Germany</i>	.	.	.	Professor Kielhorn.
<i>Sweden</i>	.	.	.	Professor Piehl.
<i>England</i>	.	.	.	Dr. Peile, Vice - Chancellor of the University of Cambridge.
<i>Armenia</i>	.	.	.	Professor Minas Tchéraz.
<i>Belgium</i>	.	.	.	Professor Colinet.
<i>Denmark</i>	.	.	.	Professor Valdemar Schmidt.
<i>Egypt</i>	.	.	.	Ahmad Zeki Effendi.
<i>France</i>	.	.	.	Professor Drouin.
<i>India</i>	.	.	.	Rajashri Vasudev Mahadev Sa- marth.
<i>Netherlands</i>	.	.	.	Professor Land.
<i>Persia</i>	.	.	.	Ahmad Bey.
<i>Portugal</i>	.	.	.	Professor Rodriguez.
<i>Russia and Finland</i>	.	.	.	Professor O. Donner.

To these were added the President of the Congress, the Chairman of the Organising Committee (Sir Thomas Wade), the General Secretary (Professor Rhys Davids), the Hon. Treasurer (Mr. E. Delmar Morgan), Dr. T. H. Thornton, who acted as Honorary Secretary, and Sir Raymond West.

The following resolution for regulating proceedings of the present Congress was proposed by SIR R. WEST, seconded by Mr. PERCY NEWBERRY, and carried unanimously: "That the proceedings of the present Congress be regulated, so far as possible, according to the practice observed at previous meetings. In the event of questions arising, the President of the Congress or Section, as the case may be, shall determine them, with power, should he think fit, to report questions of difficulty to the Representative Committee appointed as provided in the preceding resolution."

The meeting then terminated, and the various Sections met in their several Sectional rooms to elect officers. The following were appointed:—

I. *Indian*.—President, SIR RAYMOND WEST; Vice-Presidents, Professors Dr. BÜHLER and LANMAN; Secretaries, Professors LEUMANN and RHYS DAVIDS.

II. *Aryan*.—President, Professor COWELL; Vice-Presidents, Pro-

fessors ASCOLI and KIELHORN; Secretaries, Professors DEUSSEN and MACDONELL.

III. *Semitic*:—

(a.) *Babylonian and Assyrian*.—President, Professor SAYCE; Vice-Presidents, Professor HOMMEL and Dr. HAYES WARD; Secretaries, Professor ROGERS and Mr. T. G. PINCHES.

(b.) *General*.—President, Professor ROBERTSON SMITH; Vice-Presidents, Professors KARABACEK and KAUTZSCH; Secretaries, Professor PRYM and Mr. BEVAN.

IV. *Persian and Turkish*.—President, Sir FREDERIC GOLDSMID; Vice-President, Professor DARMESTETER; Secretary, Mr. E. G. BROWNE.

V. *China, Central Asia, and the Far East*.—President, Sir THOMAS WADE; Secretaries, Professors DOUGLAS and CHAMBERLAIN.

VI. *Egypt and Africa*.—President, P. LE PAGE RENOUF; Vice-President, Professor REINISCH; Secretaries, Professor PIEHL and Mr. NEWBERRY.

VII. *Australia and Oceana*.—President, Sir A. GORDON; Secretary, Rev. Dr. CODRINGTON.

VIII. *Anthropological*.—President, Dr. TYLOR; Vice-President, Professor DARMESTETER; Secretaries, Dr. GOLDZIHNER and Mr. STRONG.

IX. *Geographical*.—President, Sir M. E. GRANT DUFF; Vice-Presidents, Count A. DE GUBERNATIS and Dr. C. GILMAN; Secretaries, Rev. J. C. CASARTELLI and Mr. H. J. MACKINDER.

X. *Archaic Greece and the East*.—The Right Honourable W. E. GLADSTONE; Secretary, Mr. R. BROWN, jun.

MEETINGS OF SECTIONS.

I. AND II. INDIAN AND ARYAN.

Monday, September 5.—The Indian Section met in the Library of the University on Monday afternoon, when Sir RAYMOND WEST read his inaugural address on “Higher Education in India, its Position and its Claims.” The discussion was adjourned till the following day, when the Indian and Aryan Sections met together in the Theatre.

Tuesday morning, September 6.—The discussion of Sir Raymond West’s address was resumed by Professors BÜHLER and COWELL and Messrs. CHINTAMON, BHATT, NEILL, and TAW SEIN KO.

Professor COWELL delivered an address in which he treated of the results of Aryan Philology obtained in the last decade.

Professor KIELHORN made a communication with reference to a collection of notes by Colebrooke in the University Library of Göttingen.

Professor LEUMANN contributed a short paper on a “Communication by Professor COUNT PULLÉ concerning 350 Jain MSS. in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence,” and Mr. TAW SEIN KO read a paper on “Burmese Beliefs about Spirits.”

Wednesday morning, September 7.—The Rev. MURRAY MITCHELL read a paper on “The Marathi Poets.”

Mr. J. A. BAINES gave an abstract of his paper on “The Language Census in India.” This was followed by a discussion, in which Mr. W. E. CROOKE and Professor BÜHLER took part.

Professor RHYS DAVIDS delivered a *résumé* of a paper by Miss FOLEY dealing with “The Life and History of the Women Members of the Buddhist Order,” and read a portion of a memoir by Mrs. BODE on Buddhaghosha’s Commentary on the Anguttara Nikāya.

Wednesday afternoon (I. and II. combined).—Professor BÜHLER produced photographs of Jaina sculptures from Mathura, and explained the various curious details, especially a figure of Nemesa and representations of centaurs.

Professor COWELL read an excellent paper on the Mahākāvya called

¹ The order here observed is that according to which the Sections were originally numbered. In printing the papers, we have grouped them differently, so as to bring subjects closely related as near as possible to one another.

Buddhacarita. He showed that it had been imitated by Kālidāsa in the Raghuvamṣa and by the author of the extant Rāmāyaṇa. Professor COWELL had published an edition of the work, and distributed fifty copies to members of the Aryan Section.

Professor BÜHLER gave an account of Mr. PATHAK's memoir on "Kumārila in Jain Literature," and Professor RHYS DAVIDS read Surgeon-Major WADDELL's report on "Excavations in Patna."

Thursday morning (I. and II. combined). — Professor BÜHLER gave a brief abstract of Dr. R. G. BHANDARKAR's paper on the Sūtras of Āçvalāyana and Çāṅkhāyana. The object of the paper, which is an exceedingly scholarly and valuable one, is to give an account of a lately discovered MS. entitled Anukramanīḍhundhū, and to show with its help that the two Sūtras are intended for the adherents of both the Bāshkala and the Çākala Saṃhitā.

Mr. VINCENT A. SMITH then read his memoir entitled "Observations on the Gupta Coinage." [This paper is printed *in extenso* in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1892, being intended to supplement and bring up to date the author's monograph on the Gupta coinage published in the same Journal for 1889.] It is divided into two parts, of which the first deals with topics of more general interest, the second being devoted chiefly to technical numismatic details.

The author adopts Dr. Bühler's view that the Gupta era (of which either A.D. 319–320 or 320–321 was the year 1) was founded by Chandra Gupta I., and marks the date of his accession or coronation. This necessitates the revision of the outline of Gupta history previously published. Mr. Rapson's suggestion that the King Kācha or Kacher, who is known to us only by his gold coins, was the brother and predecessor of Samudra Gupta, is also accepted. The additional information yielded by the Bhitari seal of Kumāra Gupta II. is noted, and the revised outline of the history of the Gupta period is given in the form of a synoptic table.

A few points in the palæography of the coin legends are discussed, and it is shown that the coins are not alone in the use of the spelling *ñh*, that is to say, in using the guttural nasal instead of *anusvāra* before *h*. Many instances of the same spelling occur in the famous Bower manuscript of the fifth century, which is now being published by Dr. Hoernle.

Inscriptions of the period A.D. 320–380, have not yet been found in Northern India, and the coin legends of Chandra Gupta I., Kācha, and Samudra Gupta consequently possess a special interest for palæographers. The Gupta coin legends and inscriptions gener-

ally are of value to the historian of Sanskrit literature as presenting early dated examples of Sanskrit in its classical grammatical form.

As to the *provenance* of the coins, the additional particulars now collected, and those previously published, abundantly prove that Gupta coins are nowhere so frequently found as in the province of Oudh and the surrounding districts. It is also evident that some types of the Gupta copper coinage are by no means so rare as was at one time supposed.

Mr. Rivett-Carnac's splendid collection of gold Gupta coins, recently purchased by the trustees of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, has been carefully examined by the author, and the results of this examination are recorded in the second part of the paper submitted to the Congress, in addition to many other notes and corrections obtained from various sources. The details of this part of the communication are too minute and technical for presentation in an abstract, but the matter now published adds considerably to the existing stock of accurate knowledge of the Gupta coinage. The paper concludes with notices of a few miscellaneous coins of the Gupta period.

Professor RHYS DAVIDS next read Mr. H. C. WARREN's paper on "Buddhaghosha's 'Path to Purity.'" Dr. MORRIS and Professor LANMAN expressed the thanks of the Section to the author; Professor LANMAN adding that Mr. Warren had been engaged for some time on a complete edition of the Pāli text of the work in question, which will be published by the Pāli Text Society.

Mr. C. B. CLARKE, F.R.S., read an abstract of a paper by Mr. W. BRENNAND on "Indian Astronomy." Dr. BURGESS added some remarks.

The thanks of the Section were voted to Mr. BAIJNATH, to Mr. H. H. DHURVA, and to Professor WILHELM for the memoirs submitted by them; as well as to Mr. G. B. TILAK, B.A., for printed copies of the summary of his work called "Orion," which were distributed among the members of the Section. [The complete paper reached the Congress before its close. It is an exhaustive and learned treatise on the chronology of the R̥ig-Veda. Owing to its great length, however, and the limited funds at the disposal of the Printing Committee, they were obliged, with much regret, to decline printing it. The author is having it printed in India.]

Mr. KASHINATH TRIMBAK TELANG's paper on "Gleanings from Maratha Chronicles," was read by Dr. BURGESS, who remarked that it was one of great value.

Friday morning (I. and II. combined).—Professor DEUSSEN read his dissertation on the Philosophy of the Vedas, distributing at the same time a prospectus of a new general history of philosophy to be published by him later on.

Mr. E. J. RAPSON read Major-Gen. Sir A. CUNNINGHAM's memoir on "The Coins of the Hūna Kings," and Mr. STUART GLENNIE treated of "The Origin and Cradleland of the Aryan Race."

Professor ASCOLI read his communication "Ueber die Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse der indogermanischen Sprachen." A discussion followed in which Professor VON BRADKE and Professor RHYS DAVIDS took part.

Afternoon.—Professor MAX MÜLLER submitted to the Congress the new edition of his *Ṛig-Veda*, and moved a vote of thanks to the Mahārāja of Vizianāgram. Hofrath Dr. BÜHLER seconded the vote of thanks to H.H. the Rāja, and, in support of his contention, handed in the following document: "The undersigned, while giving expression to their high sense of the obligation to H.H. the Rāja of Vizianāgram for the generous help given for the republication of Professor Max Müller's edition of the *Ṛig-Veda* with Sāyaṇa's commentary, venture to hope that an additional volume may be published containing a verbal index to the hymns." The document was signed by the Sanskrit scholars attending the Congress.

Dr. PAVOLINI read a paper on the Mādhavānala Kathā. Professor RHYS DAVIDS read an abstract of the Rev. Dr. RICHARD MORRIS's paper on "Jain and Sanskrit Etymology in the Light of Pāli." Professor BÜHLER and Professor COWELL discussed some of the points raised by Dr. Morris.

M. de la VALLÉE POUSSIN read two papers by M. SYLVAIN LÉVI: (1.) On the early Cartography of India with facsimiles; (2.) On two Chinese Versions of the *Milinda-pañho*, this last being the joint production of MM. Specht and Lévi, and Mr. ST. JOHN spoke of "Some Old Towns in Pegu."

II.—*Tuesday morning, Wednesday afternoon, Thursday morning, and Friday* this Section was combined with I.

Wednesday morning.—Professor VON BRADKE spoke on the prehistoric separation of the Aryan nations. Having surveyed the earlier views held by Johannes Schmidt, Leskien, and Brugmann, Professor Bradke discussed the conditions under which progress in the treatment of the problem is to be expected. He proceeded to show that linguistic facts do not suffice to demonstrate closer relationship between particular main branches of the Aryan lan-

guages, and that only the combination of linguistic facts with historical considerations, and especially with investigations as to the most ancient geographical abodes of the Aryan peoples, can lead to any definite result.

Professor KIELHORN discussed the exact commencement of the Kalachuri era. As the paper of Professor Kielhorn had reference to Indian inscriptions, he took the opportunity of expressing his gratitude to the English Government for the interest it had always shown in the study of Indian inscriptions; and he paid a deserved tribute to the labours of Dr. Burgess, who, by founding the *Indian Antiquary* and the *Epigraphia Indica*, had rendered the greatest possible services to Indian Epigraphy.

Professor COLINET contributed a paper on the primitive nature of the goddess Aditi, and Dr. SCHRUMPF read a paper on the Progress of Armenian Studies. In conclusion he proposed that the Congress should recommend the formation of an *International Society for the Promotion of Armenian Studies*, somewhat on the model of the Society which was formed some time ago for the promotion of Hellenic studies, and has already achieved many good results. A discussion followed, in which Professor TCHÉRAZ took part, recommending the scheme proposed.

III. SEMITIC.

(a.) BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN SUB-SECTION.

This Sub-Section met in the south-west hall of the University of London.

Tuesday morning.—Professor HOMMEL read a memoir on the Babylonian origin of Egyptian culture. With reference to this paper the Rev. C. J. Ball's identification of the Assyrian *Assari* (a name of Merodach) with the Egyptian Osiris was mentioned by Professor Sayce and Professor Hommel. The Rev. C. J. BALL added a few remarks. Professor KRALL contributed a paper read in his absence by Professor SAYCE on some strange writings found upon a mummy in the museum at Agram.

Mr. J. F. HEWITT read a paper on "Istar and her Analogous Forms in Hindu, Zend, and Egyptian Mythology." The Sub-Section did not meet in the afternoon.

Wednesday morning.—Professor SAYCE read his presidential address on "Assyrian Discoveries and Investigations of Late Years." A vote of thanks, proposed by Mr. T. TYLER and seconded by Sir

H. HOWORTH, was put by the Rev. Dr. W. HAYES WARD, Vice-President, and carried unanimously.

A letter from Mr. HORMUZD RASSAM upon "Excavations in Assyria and Babylonia, and the Destruction of Antiquities discovered there," was read by the Secretary, and in the discussion which ensued Dr. HAYES WARD moved the following RESOLUTIONS:—" (1.) That this meeting deploras the destruction of ancient monuments which takes place in the provinces of the Turkish Empire, and expresses the hope that the Turkish Government will find means for checking it. (2.) That it is desirable that the learned societies and scholars of Europe and America combine to solicit the assistance of their respective Governments to use their influence with the Sublime Porte to allow proper researches to be made by experienced explorers, either on their own account or on that of foreign Museums, leaving the distribution of what would be discovered for future arrangement."

Mr. COPE WHITEHOUSE, Colonel PLUNKET, and Mr. DELMAR MORGAN also spoke, and the motions were duly carried. Mr. ST. C. BOSCAWEN then read his paper upon "Some Mythological Inscriptions from Tel-el-Amarna." One of particular interest was that giving an idea of the Babylonian heaven, in which reference was made to the creation and fall of man. From another tablet the author showed that these documents were copied from older Babylonian tablets belonging to the school of Eridhu. On one of these was an endorsement proving that it was the copy of a tablet in the library of Nebo at Borsippa, so that the great library was in existence and could boast of old editions of works as early as B.C. 1450. These inscriptions had evidently been copied for the use of students, as great care was taken in spacing the signs, and the Egyptian scribes had marked off words and passages in red ink.

Thursday.—Dr. EDUARD MAHLER read his paper upon "Das Kalenderwesen bei den Babyloniern," and spoke of the "leap years" with thirteen months, and the cycle of nineteen years, &c. A discussion ensued, in which the President (Professor SAYCE), Professor HOMMEL (Vice-President), the Rev. O. C. WHITEHOUSE, Mr. T. G. PINCHES, Mr. W. ST. CHAD-BOSCAWEN, Dr. J. EDKINS, and Mr. J. F. HEWITT took part.

Mr. T. TYLER then read his paper upon "The Nature of the Hittite Writing." He pointed out the importance, among other things, of the "Trident and the Triangle." The paper was illustrated by numerous diagrams. Professor SAYCE and Dr. HAYES WARD (Vice-President) took part in the discussion. The Rev. W. H. HECHLER gave some remarks upon "Assyriology, Egyptology, and

the Bible," illustrated by numerous chronological charts and diagrams. Several doubtful points of chronology were afterwards discussed by Professor SAYCE, Professor HOMMEL, the Rev. O. C. WHITEHOUSE, and the Rev. W. H. HECHLER.

Friday morning.—Mr. STUART GLENNIE read his paper upon the "Origins of Civilisation." He said that civilisation was the result of a conflict between a higher (white) and a lower (dark) race, and that there was evidence of this in Babylonia and Egypt, culture being the result of the leisure secured to the higher race by the subjection of the lower one. Mr. BOSCAWEN, Dr. HAYES WARD, and Professor SAYCE joined in the discussion which ensued. Dr. E. BONAVIA read a paper entitled "Sacred Trees and Cone-Fruit of the Assyrian Monuments." Mr. WHITEHOUSE, Mr. HEWITT, and Professor TCHÉRAZ took part in the discussion.

Friday afternoon.—Professor HOMMEL proposed and Mr. T. G. PINCHES seconded the following RESOLUTION:—"That in the opinion of this Section it will be desirable that in future Congresses there be at least one combined meeting of the Assyrian and Egyptian Sections." This was carried unanimously [The same resolution, proposed by Dr. Peile, was carried in the Egyptian Section.] A paper was read by Mr. S. ARTHUR STRONG on a religious text of Assurbanipal preserved in the British Museum.

After a few remarks by the PRESIDENT, Mr. T. G. PINCHES read his paper upon "The New Version of the Creation." Remarks were added by Professor SAYCE, Professor HOMMEL, Dr. HAYES WARD, the Rev. O. C. WHITEHOUSE, and Mr. T. TYLER.

The Rev. DAVID JOHNSTON, D.D., then read a paper upon "The Alphabetic Psalms and the Psalms with Historic Titles," and brought forward a great deal of interesting matter.

Professor SAYCE made a few remarks upon the paper, and then declared the session closed.

(b.) GENERAL.

The Sub-Section met in the south-east hall of the University of London.

Tuesday morning.—Dr. I. GOLDZIHNER read a memoir in German, entitled "Sālih b. Ab dal Kuddūs und das Zindīkthum während der Regierung des Chalifen Al-Mahdī." He discussed the doctrines of the Zindīks (*i.e.*, "heretics"), a religious sect which exercised much influence under the earlier Abbasid Caliphs. It was shown that in some of their writings there appear distinct traces of Buddhist ideas.

Professor J. P. N. LAND made some remarks on the earliest development of Arabic music. He distinguished between the native Arabic music of pre-Islamic times and the later systems which were developed under Greek and Persian influence. Drawings were exhibited representing various kinds of lute or guitar in use among Arabs and Persians.

Tuesday afternoon.—Dr. H. HIRSCHFELD gave some account of his forthcoming edition of the *Diwān* of Ḥassān b. Thābit, at the same time discussing the poet's history and the genuineness of the pieces attributed to him.

Wednesday.—Professor D. H. MÜLLER presented his work "*Die Recensionen und Versionen des Eldad had-Dānī*," adding some explanations. "The Book of Eldad the Danite" is a mediæval Jewish composition, describing an imaginary Israelite kingdom in the centre of Africa. By a comparison of the variants in certain passages, Professor Müller has succeeded in establishing a genealogy of the various manuscripts.

Dr. M. GASTER described his forthcoming edition of the Aramaic Chronicle of the Hasmonæans, sometimes called "*Megillath Antiochos*." This work, according to Dr. Gaster, was composed in the first century of our era. The Western manuscripts of it are less correct than those from South Arabia. The latter manuscripts have the superlinear vocalisation.

The Rev. G. MARGOLIOUTH read a paper on the superlinear vocalisation.

The President of the Section communicated two papers by Professor E. NESTLE of Tübingen, the first dealing with some points of Semitic palæography, the second with the new Cambridge edition of the Septuagint. Accepting this edition as that which will necessarily be the standard one for many years to come, Professor Nestle suggested certain minor improvements which might be introduced into the margin.

An abstract was also read of a memoir by the Very Rev. A. J. MACLEAN, describing his work on the living Aramaic dialects of Kurdistan and the neighbouring districts. These dialects are numerous and divergent; previous to Archdeacon Maclean's researches only one or two types had been fully examined.

Thursday.—Dr. K. VOLLERS read a paper on "Arabic Phonetics."

Professor J. KARABACEK spoke, in German, on Arabic protocols, *i.e.*, first leaves of official rolls of papyrus, pointing out how the study of these furnishes a solid basis for the knowledge of Arabic diplomatic documents. The author exhibited photographs

illustrating the various types and styles used in the early centuries of Islām.

AHMAD ZEKĪ EFFENDĪ, delegate of the Egyptian Government, gave an account of several works composed or copied by himself.

SHEIKH MUHAMMAD RĀSHID spoke, in Arabic, on the history and characteristics of the Cairene dialect, and presented his new Commentary on Harīrī.

Colonel G. T. PLUNKETT read a paper on "The Study of Arabic by Europeans," suggesting the establishment of a Normal School in Egypt, to train natives in the art of teaching Arabic to Europeans. On the motion of Colonel PLUNKETT, seconded by Sir FRANCIS GRENELL, the Section unanimously resolved to ask the Congress at its general meeting to take steps for impressing on the Government the importance of subsidising the study of modern Arabic. [With reference to Colonel Plunkett's paper the following is the text of the two RESOLUTIONS adopted at the final meeting of the Congress: "1. That steps should be taken to place the study of modern Arabic on a better footing, and to provide more qualified teachers. 2. That Her Majesty's Secretary for Foreign Affairs be asked to receive a deputation from this Congress on the subject."]

Friday.—Professor D. H. MÜLLER spoke, in German, on the proto-Arabic inscriptions brought from Northern Arabia by Professor J. EUTING. These inscriptions are numerous, but mostly very short. They are written in a character nearly akin to the Sabæan, presenting, however, numerous palæographical difficulties. As regards their dialect, one very important feature is the use of the prefix H N as a definite article.

Professor ASCOLI communicated a paper by Professor I. GUIDI on the Hebrew text of Gen. ii. 19.

Sir H. H. HOWORTH read a paper in which he argued that at the end of the first chapter of Haggai there is a lacuna which may be supplied from Ezra iii.

Mrs. LEWIS submitted photographs of some very ancient Arabic MSS. of the Gospels (tenth century) and Epistles (ninth century) from the monastery of Mount Sinai. The text differs considerably from any hitherto published.

At the suggestion of the President, supported by Professors KARABACEK, D. H. MÜLLER, Dr. GOLDZIHNER, and Sir H. H. HOWORTH, it was determined that a meeting should be held on Monday at 10.45 to form a Provisional Committee with a view to the organisation of a group of scholars to undertake the compilation of an Oriental Encyclopædia.

[At that meeting a list of twelve scholars, representing the principal countries of Europe, was drawn up to form the provisional Committee above-mentioned.]

IV. PERSIAN AND TURKISH.

Wednesday morning.—This Section met at the Lecture Hall of the Royal Astronomical Society. The President, Sir F. GOLDSMID, delivered an address on "Persian Poetry." Professor DARMESTETER moved a vote of thanks, which was carried unanimously.

After the President's address, AHMAD BEY AKAEFF read an interesting paper on the "Origin and Development of the Shi'ite Sect." After pointing out the influence which had been exerted from the first by Persians (Salmán the Persian on 'Ali, and Shahrbanú, the daughter of Yezdigird, the last Sasanian king, on Huseyn) on the Shi'ite Imáms and their followers, he endeavoured to show that the Shi'ite sect was practically a rehabilitation of Zoroastrianism, with a mere external adaptation to Islam.

Dr. MILLS described the MS. of the Yasna with its Pahlavi translation presented to Oxford by Dastur Jamasji Minocheherji Jamasp Asana, Ph.D. This MS. is being reproduced in collotype by the Clarendon Press, and facsimile pages of the reproduction were distributed among members of the Congress.

Thursday morning.—The Rev. L. CASARTELLI read a valuable memoir on the "Literary Activity of the Parsees during the Last Ten Years." This was followed by an interesting paper by Miss SORABJI on "The Parsees."

The history of the Parsees has its beginning in Fars, in Persia, whence they fled to avoid renouncing Zoroastrianism. From this point (the 7th century) they are followed through various vicissitudes—in Akbar's reign they become commercial—and the British acquisition of Bombay marks their rise as a nation in India. The public and domestic life of a Parsee was then noticed, as well as that of Parsee women and girls, educationally and socially. A short summary of Zoroastrian tenets, and the relation of Zoroastrianism to the life of a Parsee, comparing his admission to religion, his marriage and funeral rites, then followed, with a glance at Parsee legislation and some concluding remarks on the Parsee relatively to the East and West, between whom they form a bridge, and they may, in fact, be said to be interpreters to the East of the Western spirit.

[Miss Sorabji's paper is not printed in the Transactions, having been returned at her request for publication elsewhere.]

The Section did not meet on the morning of Friday, September 9th. In the afternoon, at 3 P.M., Mr. H. WELD BLUNDELL gave an interesting account of his recent excavations at Persepolis, illustrating his description by photographs and diagrams shown by lime-light.

This was followed at 4.15 P.M. by a paper on "Indian Architecture," by Mr. WILLIAM SIMPSON. This paper dealt with origin and mutation in the architecture of India. It traced the origin of the Muhammadan architecture back to the Sassanian. Mr. Simpson was able to do this from the details of rock-cut caves at Haibak, near the ancient city of Balkh, which were discovered while the Afghan boundary was being marked out; and from the details of these caves it now becomes evident that the Sassanian style was not limited to the Euphrates Valley, but extended to Khorassan, Central Asia, and Afghanistan; and it was the continuation of this style that the Muhammadan conquerors carried with them into India. The paper also traced the origin of the Chinese pagoda to India, and showed that it was derived from the Buddhist stupa. The principal part of the paper, however, was devoted to the tracing back of forms in Indian architecture to a bamboo origin. Some of the principal structures have marked curves in their outline, which have long been a riddle to students of Indian architecture. Mr. Simpson showed that the early architecture of Hindostan was nothing more than wooden posts, covered with reed, mats, and thatch; and that as the bamboo was plentiful, it must have been used from its manifold adaptability, even as it is still in use at the present day. This gives an easy solution for the curve in the spire of the Brahminical temple, which all visitors to India are familiar with. The Buddhist Chaitya temples excavated in the rock have a barrel-roof, which is not derived from the arch; but Mr. Simpson produced a miniature of it, formed of bamboos, which is known as the "Mand," or hut, of the Todas of the Nilgiri—some of the primitive races who still have the custom of polyandry among them, as one evidence that they have lived in a region untouched by the changes of civilisation. Their temples are constructed like their dwellings; their religion belongs to a most simple and almost unknown type, which will be realised when it is stated that their high-priest is a milkman, but he is at the same time a god, and the temple is a dairy.

This was the final meeting of the Section.

V. CHINA, CENTRAL ASIA, AND THE FAR EAST.

The Section met in the lecture-room of the Society of Antiquaries, under the presidency of Professor Sir THOMAS WADE.

Tuesday morning.—Dr. LEGGE, of Oxford, opened the business of the day with an account of "The Comparative Merits of the Three Doctrines accepted in China," as represented in a work by Liu Mei, a Chinese Buddhist author, who flourished some five or six centuries ago. Liu Mei naturally ranks Buddhism above the systems of Confucius and Taoism; but Dr. Legge avowed a decided preference for the doctrine of Confucius and his followers.

Sir THOMAS WADE spoke upon the same subject.

Afternoon.—The Rev. Dr. EDKINS argued that Chinese was of an older type than any other known language. His view depends mainly on the theory that certain letters are more recent than others, and that Chinese is poorest in the latter and richest in the former sounds. Egyptian, Tibetan, and Tartar were placed next in the scale to Chinese; then the Semitic group, and lastly the Aryan, as the youngest of the great linguistic families.

General ALEXANDER made some observations upon the physical peculiarities of the Mongol-Chinese race, notably on the formation of the eye. From this he deduced an argument in favour of the early isolation of the race.

Sir H. H. HOWORTH, who followed with some interesting remarks, suggested that the Semitic words which Dr. Edkins had collected from Tibetan might have been introduced into that language by such agencies as that of the Nestorians.

Wednesday morning.—Dr. T. DE LACOUPERIE read an abstract of a luminous paper by Professor DE HARLEZ on "The Age and Composition of the *Li-ki*." After a few comments by the President, the Rev. C. J. BALL, M.R.A.S., treated of "The Accadian Affinities of the Chinese Writing and Language." By way of illustration, the characters for "parent" (*house + star*), and those for "reed," "gold," "sheep," "righteousness," were shown on the black board to be ultimately identical in the two languages. A discussion followed, in which Professor LEGGE, Dr. EDKINS, Sir T. WADE, and Sir H. HOWORTH took part.

An essay on the *ku wen*, entitled "Chinas ältester Culturzustand auf Grund seiner Schriftzeichen," by Dr. RUDOLF DVORAK, was laid before the Section.

Wednesday afternoon.—Some fine old Daimio swords were exhibited by Sir HENRY HOWORTH.

M.P., and seconded by Sir FRANCIS GRENFELL. A copy of *Biblia*, the American journal devoted to Biblical, Oriental, and Classical Archæology, was presented through the Honorary Secretary of the Section to the Congress.

VII. AUSTRALASIA AND OCEANA.

This Section met in the upper south-east hall of the University of London.

Wednesday morning.—A paper was read by the President, Sir ARTHUR GORDON, on "Fijian Poetry."

Mr. SYDNEY RAY came next with a paper on the "Languages of New Guinea."

The following RESOLUTION was passed:—"That the Section for Australasia and Oceana desire to express their sense of the immediate necessity of pressing forward research into the physical character, languages, arts, customs, and religion of the native tribes of New Guinea, now exposed to rapid change by the introduction of European civilisation; and further to express their opinion that means should be provided by which the administrator of the Possession, Sir W. Macgregor, may carry forward the investigations in which he has taken so warm an interest."

This Section did not meet on Thursday.

Friday.—The Rev. Dr. MCFARLANE, of the London Missionary Society, read a paper on "New Guinea." A discussion followed, in which Dr. EDKINS, Mr. RAY, Mr. NEWELL, and Sir A. GORDON took part.

The Rev. J. E. NEWELL, of the London Missionary Society, read his paper on "Chief's Language in Samoa." Mr. RAY contributed notes on "Chief's Language in Lifu (Loyalty Islands) and Ponape (Caroline Islands)." Illustrations and comparisons were adduced by Dr. MCFARLANE from the Loyalty Islands, and by Dr. Codrington from the Bank Islands, with the general result that these forms of speech did not appear to be connected with the language of a conquering race.

The thanks of the Section was offered to the readers of papers.

The PRESIDENT expressed the general feeling of regret that the subject of Madagascar had not been brought before the Section.

The Section did not meet again.

VIII. ANTHROPOLOGICAL.

This Section met in the upper south-west hall of the University of London.

Wednesday.—Dr. E. B. TYLOR delivered his presidential address. A vote of thanks was proposed by Count ANGELO DE GUBERNATIS and seconded by Professor JAMES DARMESTETER.

A paper was read by Count ANGELO DE GUBERNATIS on "Le Rôle du Mythe dans le Conte Populaire," in the course of which he urged upon the members of the Section the importance of forming a systematic collection of Oriental folk-lore, ancient and modern. The paper was followed by a discussion, in which the President, Professor DARMESTETER, Professor TCHÉRAZ, and Mr. HAGOPIAN took part, and a proposal was made by the Secretary and adopted by the meeting to the effect that Professor de Gubernatis's suggestion should be accepted, and a provisional committee formed to consider what steps should be taken to carry it into practical effect.

Professor TCHÉRAZ read a paper on "Armenian Mythology."

Thursday.—A paper was read by Professor T. DE LACOUPERIE "Sur le Coco du Roi de Yuch et l'Arbre aux Enfants," in which he began by discussing the origin and meaning of the word coco, and of the legends connected with the cocoa-nut in the folk-lore of different countries. The conclusion was that the story of the cocoa-nut of the King of Yuch represented the primitive form of the legend found in various forms in Albiruni and the Mahābhārata of a tree upon which children or diminutive men grow like fruit.

The paper was followed by a discussion, in which the PRESIDENT, Count DE GUBERNATIS, and Professor TCHÉRAZ took part.

Count ANGELO DE GUBERNATIS presented a pamphlet by Signor Girolamo Donati entitled "Una tavoletta augurale Indiana," in which the author shows that the god Marigala is no other than Kārttikeya, and he calls attention to a new case of mythological atavism in the figure of this god of war and nourisher of the Pleiades, whom he connects, as well as the god Ganeça (another son of Çiva), with his grandfather Indra and the Maruts.

Professor KOVALEVSKY read a paper on "Iranian Influences in the Caucasus," which can be traced not only in the survival of names like that of Ormazd, but in certain superstitions connected with the burial of the dead, the character of impurity attaching to the cat, and the magical virtue assigned to the clippings of the nails and hair of human beings.

CONCLUDING MEETING.

THE concluding meeting of the Congress was held on Monday morning, the 12th September, in the Theatre of the University of London, the President, Professor MAX MÜLLER, in the chair. There was a large attendance of members. Congratulatory letters and telegrams were read. H.R.H. the DUKE OF CONNAUGHT¹ wrote to Major-General Sir F. Grenfell:—

“September 2, 6 P.M.

“MY DEAR GRENFELL,—I hasten to answer your kind letter, received this afternoon, asking me, in the name of the President and Council of the Oriental Congress, to attend the meeting which is to be held next week. I very much regret to say that it will be impossible for me to comply with their request, which you have conveyed to me in such kind terms.

“Had I been able to arrange to be in London next week, I should most certainly have made a point of attending.

“Having had the advantage of living for several years in our great Oriental possessions, and being naturally much interested with Oriental history and thought, and with the languages and customs of the nations of the Orient, I naturally feel the importance of the present meeting.

“Having so distinguished a President as my old friend Professor Max Müller, I feel certain that the Congress will prove the success it deserves.—With renewed regret, believe me, yours very sincerely,

ARTHUR.”

A telegram had also been received from his Royal Highness, which read as follows:—

*“To Professor Max Müller, President of the Oriental Congress,
Burlington House.*

“Pray accept my warmest congratulations on the great success which has attended the Oriental Congress under your able Presidency.

“*Ballater.*

ARTHUR.”

The following telegram had been received from H.M. THE KING OF SWEDEN:—

¹ A congratulatory telegram was also sent by H.R.H. the Duke of York, but it was not received till after the meeting.

"Government, Drottningholm, September 9, 8 A.M.

Professor Max Müller, London.

"I send to the Ninth Congress of Orientalists my deeply-felt thanks for the kind telegram to me. It is with agreeable feelings that I remember its last meeting in Sweden and Norway, and I beg the Congress to accept my most sincere well wishes.

OSCAR."

H.R.H. PRINCE PHILIP OF SAXE-COBURG telegraphed :—

"Much moved by the greeting just received by me. I send my best thanks and my most earnest wishes for a scientific success to the Congress."

The REPORTS and RESOLUTIONS submitted by SECTIONS were then read and approved. The first resolution proceeded from the SEMITIC SECTION, and recommended that the Government should be urged to subsidise the study of modern Arabic. The ASSYRIAN and BABYLONIAN SUB-SECTION, and also the EGYPTIAN SECTION, passed a resolution in favour of holding at least one combined meeting of the Assyrian and Egyptian Sections. The ANTHROPOLOGICAL SECTION expressed its sense of the political as well as the scientific importance of the anthropometric investigations now being conducted in Bengal. The same Section also expressed its view of the desirability of forming a collection of Oriental folk-lore on a scientific basis. In the SEMITIC SECTION a committee had been formed, consisting of *savants* from different countries, for the purpose of preparing an Arabic-Muhammadian encyclopædia. At the head of this committee was Professor ROBERTSON SMITH. The AUSTRALASIAN SECTION desired to express their sense of the immediate necessity of pressing forward research into the physical character, languages, arts, customs, and religion of New Guinea. Sir William MacGregor, the Administrator of the Possession, was fully alive to the importance of this question.

The President said that LORD REAY had taken the keenest interest in the organisation of the Congress, and, indeed, but for his powerful intervention, this Congress might not have been held at all. Lord Reay was called away, but he had drawn attention to the desirability of forming an INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ORIENTALISTS, consisting of representative members of each nationality. This question had been several times discussed, and no doubt there were difficulties in the way. He would call upon COUNT ANGELO GUBERNATIS to speak upon the question.

Count Angelo de Gubernatis then moved a resolution, which was seconded and carried, in favour of the establishment of such an Institute, with its headquarters in London.

The TIME and PLACE of the NEXT MEETING of the Congress were then considered. In accordance with the recommendation of the Committee appointed to report on the subject, and also to draw up Regulations for the organisation and conduct of future Sessions (see page liv.), it was resolved—

That the meeting of the next, that is to say, the TENTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS, should be held in 1894, power being reserved of postponing the meeting to another year should circumstances render such a course desirable ;

That the proposal of Professor E. NAVILLE of the University of Geneva, and six other Oriental scholars of that city, that the next Congress be held at GENEVA, be accepted ; and

That the nomination of the PRESIDENT be left to those from whom the invitation had been received.

The REGULATIONS for the organisation and conduct of the Congress were considered clause by clause, and, after discussion, passed unanimously. They are based on the proposed Statutes of 1873, and the practice of past Congresses, and will be found appended to this Report.

The President introduced to the meeting SHEIKH MOHAMMED RASHID, a distinguished Egyptian scholar, specially sent by the Khedive as delegate to the Congress. He recited an Arabic poem in honour of the occasion, of which the substance was translated into French by the Sheikh AHMAD ZÉKI EFFENDI.

A proposal by Colonel PLUNKET that the resolution in favour of the study of modern Arabic should be communicated to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was carried.

On the motion of the PRESIDENT, votes of thanks were cordially passed to the illustrious patrons of the Congress, including his Royal Highness the DUKE OF YORK, K.G., his Majesty OSCAR II., KING OF SWEDEN AND NORWAY, his Majesty the KING OF ROUMANIA, his Imperial Highness the ARCHDUKE RAINER, his Royal Highness PRINCE PHILIP OF SAXE-COBURG AND GOTHA, their Highnesses the MAHARAJAH OF VIZIANAGRAM, the THAKUR SAHIB BHAGWUT of GONDAL, the MAHARAJAH OF MYSORE, the RAO OF KUTCH, G.C.I.E., the MAHARAJAH OF KUCH BEHAR, G.C.I.E., the GAIKWAR OF BARODA, G.C.S.I., the MAHARAJAH OF TRAVANCORE, the RAJAH RANJIT SINGH of RUTLAM, the RAJAH OF KAPURTHALA.

Votes of thanks were also accorded to the UNIVERSITY OF LONDON,

the INDIAN GOVERNMENT, and the various learned SOCIETIES¹ who had rendered assistance, by the loan of rooms or otherwise, to the Congress; to the COMMITTEES OF THE UNIVERSITIES OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE, who had organised the excursions on Saturday; to the different CLUBS² which had opened their doors to the members of Congress, and to Lord NORTHBROOK, Mr. VINCENT ROBINSON, Mr. and Mrs. COLYER FERGUSON, and Sir MOUNTSTUART and Lady GRANT DUFF, by whom the Congress had been entertained.

Amongst the officials thanked, the names of Miss CUST and Miss HUGHES were prominently mentioned. Finally, the President, in graceful terms, thanked the PRESS for its share in making the Congress a success.

Professor ASCOLI, Senator of the Kingdom of Italy, moved, and Professor DROUIN seconded, a vote of thanks to the PRESIDENT for his able conduct of the proceedings, which was heartily accorded.

Professor MAX MÜLLER, in response, said—I deserve no vote of thanks. My thanks are due to the members of this Congress for having chosen, for having accepted, for having supported me as President of this the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists. There is no higher honour that I could have aspired to, and I shall always cherish this Congress as the brightest moment of my life. I do not deny that there were many difficulties to overcome. But with the assistance of the best Oriental scholars of Europe, they have been overcome. I said in my opening address that we have lost hardly one real Oriental scholar; I think I may say now, at the end of the Congress, that all true Oriental scholars in Europe, whether present or absent, have declared for our Congress. We need no longer be afraid or ashamed of our old title of the NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS, though you all know how cruelly that title has been treated during the last three years. By “Oriental scholars” I mean, as I said before, scholars who have shown that they are able, at least, to publish a text that has not been published before, or to translate a text that has not been translated before. I say with Schiller—

“Er zählt die Häupter seiner Lieben,
Und sieh es fehlt kein theures Haupt.”

¹ The Royal Society, the Royal Academy, the Royal Asiatic Society, the Royal Astronomical Society, the Royal Geographical Society, the Society of Antiquaries, the British Museum, the Imperial Institute, the Zoological Society of London.

² The Constitutional Club, the National Liberal Club, the Northbrook Indian Club, the Savile Club, and the Dutch Club.

No one, however unacquainted with the mysteries of Oriental scholarship, will doubt in future as to who represents the true and legitimate Ninth Oriental Congress, and who does not. Look only how all the great countries, the universities, and academies have sent their best representatives, Italy and Austria in the van, and the other countries following at small intervals. And better still, look at our papers, look at our discussions, how they have touched and thrown light on the most important questions of Oriental scholarship. I believe I may say that our Congress will mark a lasting epoch in the progress of Oriental studies. And what is more satisfactory still, we have had discussions, but we have had no quarrels, no personalities, no unpleasantness of any kind. We have had some startling announcements, such as the origin of Egyptian civilisation in Babylon, the perfect equality with Greek and Western philosophy claimed for the philosophy of India. We have had new revelations from Tibetan, Mongolian, and Chinese literature. But we have shown that we can differ, and yet respect the opinions of our opponents. The question of nationality has never been mooted at our Congress. We have all met as equals and friends. I was deeply touched when I saw the vote of thanks seconded by a distinguished French scholar:—"Dans la science, Messieurs, il n'y a pas de nationalité. Nous ne reconnaissons qu'un seul souverain, une seule reine, la même pour tous; cette reine c'est la vérité dans toute sa pureté, dans toute sa majesté." Gentlemen, I have once more to thank you most heartily. (Cheers.)

REGULATIONS *for the Organisation and Conduct of the INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS, passed at the last Meeting of the Ninth Congress, held September 12, 1892.*

1. Before the close of every Session the Congress shall, if possible, determine the time and place of the succeeding Congress. The nomination of the President shall be left to the Government or Public Body or Committee whose invitation to hold such Congress has been accepted.

2. The President so selected shall form a local Organisation Committee and appoint all necessary officers, including a General Secretary and Treasurer.

3. The Organisation Committee shall settle the conditions of membership of the Congress for which they are appointed, and make all arrangements for the assembling and sitting of the Congress, and all matters subsidiary thereto, including the subsequent publication of Transactions. They shall also arrange the Sections and appoint Presidents therefor, leaving the

Vice-Presidents of such Sections to be elected after the meeting of Congress. They shall exercise their discretion in the appropriation and expenditure of the moneys received on account of the Congress ; and also in the disposition of such objects as may have been presented, subject to any direction on that behalf given by the Congress. They shall hold office until the close of the Congress for which they are appointed. The accounts shall be audited, and the Minutes of the Proceedings shall be handed over for custody to the Asiatic Society of the country in which the Congress was held, or, if this be not feasible, to some other public institution.

4. To assist the Congress in the determination of the time and place at which the Congress is next to meet, and other matters of importance, a Committee of seven or nine members (to be designated the *Consultative Committee*) shall, at the first meeting of the Congress, be nominated by the President, subject to the approval of the Congress.

5. To deal with urgent matters arising between the termination of any Session and the commencement of the following Session, there shall be a Committee—to be designated the *Inter-Sessional Committee*.

The said Committee shall be composed of the President and the Organising Committee of the last Congress. The President of the expiring Congress shall be President of the Committee aforesaid, aided by a Secretary to be appointed by the President, with the approval of the Inter-Sessional Committee.

6. In the event of the Congress being unable from absence of invitations or other cause to determine the time and place of the next meeting of Congress before the close of the Session, the duty of such determination will devolve on the Inter-Sessional Committee.

7. In the event of a President dying or vacating office before the Session for which he is appointed be held, the Local Committee of Organisation shall appoint a new President, and shall notify the appointment to the Inter-Sessional Committee.

8. The Proceedings of Congress shall be regulated as far as possible according to the practice observed at previous meetings. In the event of questions arising, the President of the Congress or Section, as the case may be, shall determine them, with power, should he see fit, to refer questions of difficulty to the Consultative Committee.

9. These rules may be repealed, varied, or revised, by Congress in Session, provided that due notice be given of any motion to that effect.

10. A copy of these Regulations shall be supplied to every subscriber to the succeeding Congress.

THOMAS H. THORNTON,
Hon. Secretary of Committee.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS,
General Secretary.

PRIZE COMPETITION.

The subject of the Prize Essay for which a Gold Medal has been offered by H.M. the King of Sweden and Norway is as follows:—"A comparative treatment of the Grammatical Forms peculiar to the Rig-Veda, Yajur-Veda, Sāma-Veda, and Atharva-Veda, distinguishing the forms peculiar to the Mantras, Brāhmanas, and Upanishads." The Memoirs may be in French, English, German, or Latin, and should be sent *registered* (with the name of the writer in a sealed envelope) to Professor F. Max Müller, Oxford, not later than March 1, 1894. The prize will be awarded at the Tenth Congress to be held at Geneva in September 1894. The following gentlemen have consented to co-operate as judges: Professor Lanman, of Harvard College; Mons. Victor Henry, of the Paris University; and Professor Oldenberg, of Kiel University.

ENTERTAINMENTS AND EXCURSIONS.

To those Orientalists who attended the Eighth Congress in 1889 and partook of the splendid hospitality of the King of Sweden and Norway and his subjects, the festivities in London in connection with the Ninth Congress may have seemed of a somewhat humble character. But they were none the less enjoyable, for the omission of the Government and other public bodies was amply compensated by the cordial hospitality of private entertainers.

Following the precedent of former Congresses, the Committee arranged for a preliminary meeting of the members on Sunday evening the 4th September. This was held at the Whitehall Rooms of the Hotel Metropole, and was well attended. Sir Thomas Wade, supported by several members of the Committee, received the guests, among whom were many distinguished foreigners. On Monday, Lord Northbrook, an ex-Viceroy of India, formerly one of Her Majesty's Ministers, and President of the Royal Asiatic Society, entertained the Delegates at dinner at his private residence, and later in the evening held a brilliant reception open to all the members of the Congress.

On Tuesday, September 6, about a hundred members spent the afternoon at Ightham Mote, near Sevenoaks, and were entertained by Mr. and Mrs. Colyer Fergusson (daughter of Professor Max Müller, President of the Congress). Among those present were the President and Mrs. Max Müller, Sir Francis and Lady Grenfell, Sir Henry Howorth, Dr. and Mrs. Ginsburg, Dr. and Mrs. Flinders Petrie, Dr. and Mrs. Reed, Dr. Thornton, and representatives of many nationalities, including Sheikh Mahommed Rashid, one of the Delegates of the Egyptian Government.

Ightham Mote is a very ancient manor, the house entirely surrounded

with a moat, though it does not take its name from this circumstance, but from the fact of its having been an old Saxon meeting-place. The "Mote" dates back to Edward III., the latest part being of the Tudor period. Fortunately its history has always been a peaceful one, and its old walls and timbered sides remain intact.

The visitors were shown over the house and grounds by their host and hostess, after which Sir Henry Howorth proposed a vote of thanks, and the Sheikh made a speech in Arabic, interpreted into French by Ahmad Zéki Effendi. The party were photographed in the old courtyard by the Messrs. Downey of Ebury Street, and the afternoon came to a pleasant conclusion.

The same day another party of Orientalists, numbering about forty, were entertained at Hopedene, near Dorking, the charming residence of Mr. Vincent Robinson. They were met on their arrival at the station, and driven through a picturesque part of Surrey to their destination. The house, designed by Mr. R. Norman Shaw, and built under his superintendence seventeen or eighteen years ago, is fitted up with tapestries, panelling, Italian and English furniture of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by Mr. Robinson. The new, and still incomplete, Arab billiard-room is formed of the materials of a room at Cairo, partly destroyed and brought over to England, the pictures, arms, and armour having been collected by the owner in his travels.

A vote of thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Vincent Robinson was proposed by Mr. William Crooke, Delegate of the Government of the North-West Provinces of India, and the party returned to town.

On Thursday afternoon the members of the Congress met at the Waterloo Station and went down to Twickenham to enjoy the hospitality of Sir Mountstuart and Lady Grant Duff. York House stands on the banks of the Thames, and has many historical associations. It was inhabited by that Duke of York who married Anne Hyde, and who afterwards became James II. In one of the upper rooms Queen Anne and her sister Mary, consort of William III., were born. Finally the house came into the possession of Sir Alexander and Lady Johnston, in whose time it was frequently visited by Ramohun Roy, the great Hindu reformer.

On their return to town the Orientalists spent a couple of hours among the old MSS. and other treasures at the British Museum. A special display of old coins and MSS. was laid out in the King's Library, and the galleries were lighted by the electric light.

On Friday evening Sir Somers Vine invited the members of the Congress to visit the Imperial Institute, where they were shown the exhibition of Indian art metal-work.

On Saturday excursions were made to Oxford and Cambridge. The Oxford party, numbering about 120, were conveyed by special train, and on arriving at the station were met by Professor Max Müller and repre-

sentatives of the University. Here they were divided into six groups and conducted over the principal colleges and places of interest, including the Indian Institute, the Bodleian Library, the Ashmolean and the magnificent Pitt-Rivers collection. Luncheon was provided at six colleges: Balliol, Queen's, Exeter, Oriel, Christ Church, and Trinity; the presidents in each case being Sir William Markby, Dr. Magrath, Mr. Willert, Provost D. B. Munro, the Rev. Canon S. R. Driver, and Mr. Raper.

In the afternoon there was a general re-assembling in the gardens of Wadham College, where the company were received by Mrs. Tylor, Mrs. Max Müller, Lady Hunter, Mrs. Driver, Mrs. Macdonell, and Mrs. Clifton. The band of the Oxford Militia played while the ladies, the Dons and Orientals of both sexes chatted on the lawn. The visitors having spent a pleasant day, returned to town at six o'clock.

About fifty went to Cambridge. On arriving at the station, they were conveyed by special trams to the Senate House, where Dr. Peile from the Vice-Chancellor's chair gave them a warm welcome. The Orientalists were then intrusted to the care of Sir Thomas Wade, Professor Robertson Smith, Professor Macalister, and Mr. Burkitt, under whose guidance they were shown, among other treasures, the Chinese books collected by Sir Thomas Wade during a forty years' residence in China, the Sanskrit MSS., the Fitzwilliam and Archæological Museums. They visited and admired the quaint courts and galleries of Queen's and Corpus, the magnificent chapel of King's, the rooms of Erasmus, Newton, Wordsworth, Darwin, and other distinguished Cambridge men. At lunch-time the party re-united at Christ's College, where the Vice-Chancellor, in his capacity as Master of the College, presided on the dais. By the custom of the College, post-prandial speeches are eschewed, but the ancient ceremony of the "loving cup" was duly performed, the special form of drinking it up-standing to one's neighbours being observed. A few appropriate words of thanks to the entertainers were spoken by Professor Land of Leyden, after which the party broke up, to meet again in the Fellows' Garden, famous for "Milton's mulberry-tree." Here Mrs. Peile received the guests, and dispensed further hospitalities till it was time for some of the visitors to return to town, while others more fortunate remained as guests of the various colleges. Thanks are also due to Mrs. Lewis for kindly offering to give a garden-party, time alone preventing her from carrying out her hospitable intentions.

London on Sunday is not the most attractive place for foreigners, but thanks to Sir William Flower, the members of the Congress were admitted to the gardens of the Zoological Society, where they passed a pleasant afternoon.

On Monday evening, September 12, the proceedings were brought to a close by a banquet given to the foreign members at the Hotel Metropole. About 130 were present, and the chair was taken by Sir M. E. Grant Duff, who, in proposing the toast of the "Ninth International Congress of

Orientalists," spoke of the utility of these Congresses in promoting friendly feelings and good-fellowship. He said that the success of the present one was largely due to the presence of so many distinguished scholars of different nationalities, who, undeterred by the outbreak of cholera on the Continent, and the consequent difficulties in the way of travelling, had come long distances to attend our gathering. Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, and many other countries, to say nothing of India and other distant but most important parts of the British Empire, had been admirably represented.

The toast was responded to by Professors Karabacek and D. H. Müller on the part of Austria-Hungary, Professor James Darmesteter and M. Ed. Drouin on behalf of France, Professors Emil Kautsch and Kielhorn for Germany, Professor Land for Holland, Professors Ascoli and Count Angelo de Gubernatis for Italy, Professor Donner for Russia, Professor Karl Piehl for Sweden, and Professors Gilman and Lanman and Dr. Hayes Ward for the United States of America.

The "Ladies" was proposed by Professor Ernst Leumann, who said that this was the first occasion on which ladies had taken part in our work by contributing papers and discussing scientific subjects with us. By doing so they had earned a right to associate themselves with this Congress, a right that we hope will not be denied to them in the future. Mr. Percy Newberry responded for the ladies.

Hofrath Dr. Bühler proposed the final toast of "The Committee" coupled with "The Treasurer," who briefly returned thanks for himself and his colleagues.

Thus ended the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, memorable for the unfortunate dissensions which inaugurated it, but chiefly, let us hope, remarkable for the eminent men who took part in it, and for the high character of the memoirs and debates it called forth.

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

BY

PROFESSOR FREDERICK MAX MÜLLER.

It is generally at the end, not at the beginning, of scientific meetings that votes of thanks are proposed. But in our case, when we owe our very existence to the valuable help received from so many quarters, it seems but right that we should express our gratitude at the very outset.

Our first thanks are due to H.R.H. the Duke of York, for having granted us that sympathy and gracious support without which, I am afraid, our Congress would never have drawn its first breath, and our labours might indeed have been in vain.

We could not venture to disturb a father's grief and ask H.R.H. the Prince of Wales to grant us his royal protection. But His Royal Highness has testified the warm interest which he feels for our Congress, as for everything that is likely to draw the bonds of friendship between England and her great Indian Empire more closely together, by authorising H.R.H. the Duke of York to act at the present Congress as the worthy successor of H.M. the King of Sweden, the Royal Patron of our last Congress. In granting us his royal protection the Duke of York has but proved himself the true son of the Prince of Wales, the worthy grandson of the Queen, and has shown once more to the world, that nothing which concerns the highest interests of India can ever fail to evoke the warmest sympathies on the part of those to whom a Divine Providence has intrusted the Crown and the care of that glorious Empire. We regret the unavoidable absence of H.R.H. the Duke of York to-day; but we all rejoice that his place has been filled by one of the wisest

and most beloved Viceroys of India, the President of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Earl of Northbrook.

We have next to express our thanks to the Secretary of State for India and to the illustrious Members of his Council, for having given us every encouragement in their power for successfully carrying out an undertaking which has excited a widespread interest in India, and has received powerful approval and support from some of the most respected leaders of public opinion in that country.

It has been said indeed that, in a free country like England, a Scientific Congress should not look for royal favour and protection, or for help from Government. But it seems to me, on the contrary, that in a country like England, which is called a free country, because its Government is truly representative of the will of the people, and because the Crown is so completely identified with all that is good and noble in the aspirations of science and art, the absence of royal patronage and governmental support would have conveyed a very false impression.

What would the people of India have thought if this meeting of scholars from all parts of Europe, who have devoted their lives to the improvement and enlargement of our knowledge of the East, after having been recognised and patronised by the Sovereigns and their Ministers in every country of Europe in which they met before, had been ignored or slighted in England? And what would those scholars themselves have said who remember the kindness with which they were received in France, Italy, Germany, Holland, Austria, Russia, and last, not least, in Sweden, if in this, the greatest Oriental Empire which the world has ever known, the Government, and more particularly the Indian Government, had declined to give the same hospitable welcome to the Delegates of other countries, which the Delegates of the Indian Government have accepted year after year from foreign Governments?

By accepting the Honorary Presidency of our Congress, H.R.H. the Duke of York seems to me to have testified his conviction, and the conviction of the nation at large, that the East can never be foreign to the sympathy of the people of England, and that they consider a scholarlike study of the literature and the antiquities of their great Eastern Empire as deserving of every encouragement, and worthy of the most generous support. Need I add that the presence of the Queen's grandson is but another proof, if any proof were wanted, that Her Majesty the Queen, the first Empress of India, who has so often shown her warm and tender feelings for

her Indian subjects, is with us in spirit, and wishes success to our labours.

We have next to express our gratitude to the Chancellor and Senate of the University of London, to the President and Council of the Royal Society, to the Society of Antiquaries, to the Astronomical and Geographical Societies, for having placed some of their rooms at the disposal of our Congress. The authorities of the British Museum have granted us facilities which will be highly appreciated by the members of our Congress. The valuable Library and collections at the India Office have been thrown open to all our guests. They will find there in Sir George Birdwood a most valuable guide, as well as in Dr. Rost, whose services, I am glad to say, have been retained for the Library of the India Office.

Nor would it be right for me to open this Congress without giving expression to the warmest feelings of gratitude and admiration, which all who had the good fortune of being present at our last Congress in Sweden must ever entertain for our Royal Patron, His Majesty King Oscar of Sweden and Norway. He too is the ruler of a free country, and in him too we could recognise the true representative of the will and wish of his people. The brilliant success of our Congress at Stockholm and Christiania was due no doubt to the popular sympathy by which we were greeted everywhere, and the truly Scandinavian hospitality with which we were received in every town and village through which we passed, whether in Sweden or in Norway, and likewise to the active participation of the best intellects of the country in our labours. Yet it was an exceptional good fortune that His Majesty King Oscar should personally have felt so enthusiastic an interest and so warm a love for all that is beautiful in the East. Not only did he show himself the most gracious host and most generous patron, but he made time to sit patiently through our lengthy and often tedious meetings. Who can ever forget his noble presence when he stepped in among us, every inch a king, a head and shoulders taller than all the rest; and who was not surprised on hearing him not only conversing in all the languages of his guests, but delivering eloquent addresses in Swedish, in English, in German, in French, and in Italian, nay, bidding us all farewell in a Latin speech full of vigour and kindness? I doubt whether at any former Congress so much solid work was done as at Stockholm and Christiania. There are idlers and mere camp-followers at every Congress; but, as President of the Aryan section, I can bear true testimony to the indefatigable industry of our members, who never allowed the festivities of the evening to

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interfere with the duties of the next morning. Our minutes and transactions are there to speak for themselves. We learn from a report published by an Indian scholar, Mr. Dhruva, that there were in all 106 papers read by 86 members, 48 being in French, 37 in German, 18 in English, 2 in Italian, and several by Orientals in their own languages. This proves once more, if any proof were wanted, how popular Oriental studies are and always have been in France, how carefully they have been fostered by the French Government, and how much the progress of true scholarship owes to the brilliant genius, and even more, to the indefatigable industry of French Orientalists.

His Majesty has lately given us a new proof of his continued interest in the principal object of our Congresses, the advancement of sound Oriental scholarship. His Majesty has deputed his personal friend, Count Landberg, to present to us a lasting memorial of his Royal favour, a Swedish drinking-horn, to be handed down from President to President, and he has offered a gold medal for an essay on some subject connected with Aryan philology.* Like many of our most distinguished guests, Count Landberg, I regret to say, has been prevented by quarantine regulations from attending the Congress in person.

We are also deeply indebted to a former Patron, H. I. H. the Archduke Rainer, who has never ceased to take an active and powerful interest in the success of our meetings. You know what we owe to him and to his princely liberality in securing the unique treasures of Egyptian papyri which, in the hands of Professor Karabaček and his learned colleagues, have become a monumental landmark in the history of Oriental literature. Another of our Patrons, H. R. H. Prince Philip of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, might claim his place among us, not simply as a Royal Prince, but as a learned numismatist and a persevering and judicious collector of Eastern coins.

You will probably expect me to say a few words about some misunderstandings and personal jealousies which broke out after our last Congress. I should much prefer to say nothing about these truly childish squabbles, but I hope I shall be able to explain and justify our position without giving offence to anybody. At the end of our former Congresses there was generally an official invitation from some Government or University, asking us to hold our next Congress in one or other of the great capitals of Europe. None had been received when we dispersed after our Scandinavian Congress, though several places had been privately suggested. As

* See introductory remarks.

we had no permanent Committee, a resolution was passed by the Congress, according to the official minutes, unanimously; or, according to the statements of certain members, with one or two dissentient voices, that our former Presidents should be requested *pro hac vice* to form such a Committee for the sole purpose of receiving, and either accepting or rejecting, such invitations as might be sent to them. Nothing could have been more natural, more correct, more business-like in every respect. But a French savant, M. de Rosny, and some of his friends, professing to represent the founders of our Congresses, and to speak in the name of the Oriental scholars of France,—though many of these French scholars have declined to accept M. de Rosny as their spokesman,—suddenly protested against this resolution as *ultra vires*. They appealed to a body of Statutes which had been drawn up in 1873 by M. de Rosny himself and those who called themselves the founders of these Oriental Congresses. These Statutes, it is now admitted, had never been discussed *in pleno*, and never been formally ratified by any subsequent Congress. And how can unratified Statutes claim any legal or binding character? But even supposing that these Statutes, unknown to most of the members of our Congress, and never appealed to before when they were broken year after year by their very authors, could claim any legal force, it can hardly be disputed that every corporate body which has the right of drawing up Statutes has also the right of suspending or over-riding them by a majority of votes. Without such a right no Society could possibly exist and cope successfully with the sudden emergencies that are sure to arise. However, though the members of the Oriental Congress could not recognise the exclusive proprietorship in these international Congresses which M. de Rosny and his confederates claimed for themselves, they had no objection whatever to a friendly separation of elements which had often proved discordant at former Congresses. It seemed to many of us simply a case of what is called development by differentiation or growth by fission. There were at former Congresses a number of visitors, most welcome in many respects, but whose tastes and interests differed widely from those of the majority; and though we should never have parted with them of our own free will, many of us feel that we shall be better able to maintain the character of our Congresses, if each party follows its own way. There will be in future the so-called Statutory Congresses of M. de Rosny and his associates, while we shall try to preserve the old character and the continuity of the International Congress of Orientalists, and shall gladly

welcome some of the old members who for a time have deserted our Congress.

What we chiefly want are *Oriental scholars*, that is to say, men who have proved themselves able to handle their own spade, and who have worked in the sweat of their brow in disinterring the treasures of Oriental literature. We do not wish to exclude mere lovers of Eastern literature, nor travellers, or dragomans, or even intelligent couriers; they are all welcome; but when we speak of Oriental scholars, we mean men who have shown that they are able at least to publish texts that have never been published before, and to translate texts which have never been translated before. Of such I am glad to say we have lost hardly any.

You will be glad to hear that we have received an invitation to hold our next, the tenth Congress, in Switzerland. The names of the members of the Swiss Committee are the best guarantee that our meeting there will keep up the standard of our former meetings, and will hand down our tradition to those who will continue our work when we are gone. We have also received a most tempting invitation from His Majesty the King of Roumania, to hold our eleventh meeting at Bucharest. The present Congress will have to decide on both these proposals. We wish to part with our former colleagues without any reproach or recriminations. We say indeed with Abraham, "Let there be no strife; separate thyself, I pray thee, from me. If thou wilt take the left hand, I will go to the right; and if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left."

Having now disposed of these preliminary matters, I shall try to discharge the duty that falls to the President, in opening this International Congress of Orientalists. No one can feel more deeply than myself how totally unequal I am to the task imposed upon me, how unworthy of the honourable post which you wished me to occupy. I know but too well that there are many Oriental scholars who would have filled the office of President of this International Congress of Orientalists far more worthily than I can hope to do. If after long hesitation, as you know, I accepted at last your repeated invitation, it was because I saw in it but another proof of that exceeding kindness which I have experienced again and again during my long life in England, and which seems to me to spring chiefly from a wish to make me feel that you do no longer consider me as a stranger, but have accepted me as one of yourselves, as a comrade who has fought now for nearly fifty years in the ranks of the brave army of Oriental scholars in England.

Never indeed could a General boast of a more brilliant staff; and if we value those honours most which are bestowed upon us by our peers, believe me that I value the honour which you have conferred on me in electing me your President, as the highest bestowed upon me during the whole of my long life in England, because it has been bestowed on me not only by my peers, but by my betters, not only by my best friends, but by my best judges.

But though the Presidential chair is this year so inadequately filled, never, I believe, has our Congress been able to boast of so illustrious an array of Patrons, Vice-Presidents, and Presidents of Sections as on this occasion. We count among our Presidents of Sections one who, by common consent, may be called the most celebrated man of our country, Mr. Gladstone, celebrated alike as a statesman and as a scholar. We are proud of the presence of another statesman, Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant-Duff, who, as Governor of Madras, has rendered an illustrious name still more illustrious, and whose knowledge often surprises us by its accuracy even more than by its extent and variety. Nor would it be easy to find stronger representatives in their special departments of Oriental scholarship in this country than our Presidents, Sir Thomas Wade, Sir Raymond West, Professor Cowell, Professor Sayce, Professor Le Page Renouf, Professor Robertson Smith, Sir Arthur Gordon, Sir Frederick Goldsmid, and Dr. Tylor.

To each and all of them and to their distinguished Secretaries I now express, in the name of the Congress, our most respectful and cordial thanks.

I have thus far explained to you our right to exist; I shall now try to explain the reason of our existence, or the objects which we have in view in holding from time to time these Oriental Congresses in the principal towns of Europe.

When we wish to express something removed from us as far as it can be, we use the expression "So far as the East is from the West." Now what we who are assembled here are aiming at, what may be called our real *raison d'être*, is to bring the East, which seems so far from us, so distant from us, nay, often so strange and indifferent to many of us, as near as possible—near to our thoughts, near to our hearts. It seems strange indeed that there should ever have been a frontier line to separate the East from the West, nor is it easy to see at what time that line was first drawn, or whether there were any physical conditions which necessitated such a line of demarcation. The sun moves in unbroken continuity from East to West, there is no break in his triumphant progress. Why

should there ever have been a break in the triumphant progress of the human race from East to West, and how could that break have been brought about? It is quite true that as long as we know anything that deserves the name of history, that break exists. The Mediterranean with the Black Sea, the Caspian with the Ural Mountains may be looked upon as the physical boundary that separates the East from the West. The whole history of the West seems so strongly determined by the Mediterranean, that Ewald was inclined to include all Aryan nations under the name of *Mediterranean*. But the Mediterranean ought to have formed not only the barrier, but likewise the connecting-link between Asia and Europe. Without that high-road leading to all the emporia of the world, without the pure and refreshing breezes, without the infinite laughter of the Mediterranean, there would never have been an Athens, a Rome, there would never have been that spirited and never resting Europe, so different from the solid and slowly changing Asiatic continent. Northern Africa, however, Egypt, Palestine, Phenicia, and Arabia, though in close proximity to the Mediterranean, belong in their history to the East, quite as much as Babylon, Assyria, Media, Persia, and India. Even Asia Minor formed only a temporary bridge between East and West, which was drawn up again when it had served its purpose. We ourselves have grown up so entirely in the atmosphere of Greek thought, that we hardly feel surprised when we see nations, such as the Phenicians and Persians, looked upon by the Greeks as strangers and barbarians, though in ancient times the former were far more advanced in civilisation than the Greeks, and though the latter spoke a language closely allied to the language of Homer, and possessed a religion far more pure and elevated than that of the Homeric Greeks. The Romans were the heirs of the Greeks, and the whole of Europe succeeded afterwards to the intellectual inheritance of Rome and Greece. Nor can we disguise the fact that we ourselves have inherited from them something of that feeling of strangeness between the West and the East, between the white and the dark man, between the Aryan and the Semite, which ought never to have arisen, and which is a disgrace to everybody who harbours it. No one would in these Darwinian days venture to doubt the homogeneousness of the human species, the brotherhood of the whole human race; but there remains the fact that, as in ancient so in modern times, members of that one human species, brothers of that one human family, look upon each other, not as brothers, but as strangers, if not as enemies, divided not only by

language and religion, but also by what people call blood, whatever they may mean by that term.

I wish to point out that it constitutes one of the greatest achievements of Oriental scholarship to have proved by irrefragable evidence that the complete break between East and West did not exist from the beginning; that in prehistoric times language formed really a bond of union between the ancestors of many of the Eastern and Western nations, while more recent discoveries have proved that in historic times also language, which seemed to separate the great nations of antiquity, never separated the most important among them so completely as to make all intellectual commerce and exchange between them impossible. These two discoveries seem to me to form the highest glory of Oriental scholarship during the present century. Some of our greatest scholars—some of them here present—have contributed to these discoveries; and I thought, therefore, that they formed the most worthy subject to occupy our thoughts at the beginning of our International Congress of Orientalists. The Presidents of our Sections will probably dwell on the results obtained during the last years in their own more special departments. I was anxious therefore to show that Oriental scholarship has also made some substantial contributions to the general stock of human knowledge, that it has added, in fact, a completely new chapter to the history of the world, and has changed another chapter, formerly the oldest, but also the most barren, into a living picture, full of human thought, of human fears, of human hopes.

I begin with the prehistoric world which has actually been brought to light for the first time by Oriental scholarship.

I confess I do not like the expression *prehistoric*. It is a vague term and almost withdraws itself from definition. If real history begins only with the events of which we possess contemporaneous witnesses, then, no doubt, the whole period of which we are now speaking, and many later periods also, would have to be called prehistoric. But if history means, as it did originally, research, and knowledge of real events based on such research, then the events of which we are going to speak are as real and as truly historical as the battle of Waterloo. It is often supposed that students of Oriental languages and of the Science of Language deal with words only. We have learnt by this time that there is no such thing as "words only," that every new word represented really a most momentous event in the development of our race. What people call "mere words," are in truth the monuments of the fiercest intellectual battles, triumphal arches of the grandest victories

won by the intellect of man. When man had formed names for body and soul, for father and mother, and not till then, did the first act of human history begin. Not till there were names for right and wrong, for God and man, could there be anything worthy of the name of human society. Every new word was a discovery, and these early discoveries, if but properly understood, are more important to us than the greatest conquests of the Kings of Egypt and Babylon. Not one of our greatest explorers has unearthed with his spade or pickaxe more splendid palaces and temples, whether in Egypt or in Babylon, than the etymologist. Every word is the palace of a human thought; and in scientific etymology we possess the charm with which to call these ancient thoughts back to life. It is the study of words, it is the Science of Language, that has withdrawn the curtain which formerly concealed these ancient times and their intellectual struggles from the sight of historians. Even now, when scholars speak of languages, and families of languages, they often forget that languages mean speakers of languages, and families of speech presuppose real families, or classes, or powerful confederacies, which have struggled for their existence and held their ground against all enemies. Languages, as we read in the Book of Daniel, are the same as nations that dwell on all the earth. If, therefore, Greeks and Romans, Celts, Germans, Slavs, Persians, and Indians, speaking different languages, and each forming a separate nationality, constitute, as long as we know them, a real historical fact, there is another fact equally real and historical, though we may refer it to a prehistoric period, namely, that there was a time when the ancestors of all these nations and languages formed one compact body, speaking one and the same language, a language so real, so truly historical, that without it there would never have been a real Greek, a real Latin language, never a Greek Republic, never a Roman Empire; there would have been no Sanskrit, no Vedas, no Avesta, no Plato, no Greek New Testament. We know with the same certainty that other nations and languages also, which in historical times stand before us so isolated as Phenician, Hebrew, Babylonian, and Arabic, presuppose a prehistoric, that is, an antecedent powerful Semitic confederacy, held together by the bonds of a common language, possibly by the same laws, and by a belief in the same gods. Unless the ancestors of these nations and languages had once lived and worked together, there would have been no common arsenal from which the leading nations of Semitic history could have taken their armour and their swords, the armour and swords which they

wielded in their intellectual struggles, and many of which we are still wielding ourselves in our wars of liberation from error, and in our conquests of truth. These are stern, immovable facts, just as Mont Blanc is a stern, irremovable fact, though from a distance we must often be satisfied with seeing its gigantic outline only, not all its glaciers and all its crevasses. What I mean is that we must not attempt to discover too much of what happened thousands of years ago, or strain our sight to see what, from this distance in time, we cannot see.

When we are asked, for instance, in what exact part of the world these ancient consolidations took place, every true scholar, and every honest historian knows that such a question is almost idle, because it does not admit of a definite or positive answer. It is easy to fix on this or that indication in order to assign with the greatest confidence the original home of the Âryas to this or that place in Asia or Europe. The very North Pole has been pointed out by a learned and ingenious American scholar as the most probable home of the whole of mankind. All true scholars, I believe, admit that we must be satisfied with the general statement that the consolidation of the Aryan-speakers took place "somewhere in Asia," for they know that this "somewhere in Asia" is not quite so vast and vague as it sounds, there being a number of countries which no scholar would ever dream of as possible homes of the Âryas at that early time, such as Siberia in the North, China in the East, India in the South, Arabia and Asia Minor in the West of the Asiatic continent.

Nothing has shaken the belief, for I do not call it more, that the oldest home of the Âryas was in the East. All theories in favour of other localities, of which we have heard so much of late, whether in favour of Scandinavia, Russia, or Germany, rest on evidence far more precarious than that which was collected by the founders of Comparative Philology. Only we must remember, what is so often forgotten, that when we say Âryas, we predicate nothing—we can predicate nothing—but language. We know, of course, that languages presuppose speakers; but when we say Âryas, we say nothing about skulls, or hair, or eyes, or skin, as little as when we say Christians or Mohammedans, English or Americans. All that has been said and written about the golden hair, the blue eyes, and the noble profile of the Âryas, is pure invention, unless we are prepared to say that Socrates, the wisest of the Greeks, was not an Ârya, but a Mongolian. We ought, in fact, when we speak of Âryas, to shut our eyes most carefully against skulls, whether dolichocephalic or brachycephalic, or mesocephalic, whether ortho-

gnathic, prognathic, or mesognathic. We are completely agnostic as to all that, and we gladly leave it to others to discover, if they can, whether the ancestors of the Aryan speakers rejoiced in a Neanderthal or any other kind of skull that has been discovered in Europe or Asia. Till people will learn this simple lesson, which has been inculcated for years by such high authorities as Horatio Hale, Powell, and Brinton, all discussions on the original home of the Âryas are so much waste of time and temper.

There is the same difference of opinion as to the original home of the Semites, but all Semitic scholars agree that it was "somewhere in Asia." The idea that the Semites proceeded from Armenia has hardly any defenders left, though it is founded on an ancient tradition preserved in Genesis. An eminent scholar, who at the last moment was prevented by domestic affliction from attending our Congress, Professor Guidi,* holds that the Semites came probably from the Lower Euphrates. Other scholars, particularly Dr. Sprenger, place the Semitic cradle in Arabia. Professor Nöldeke takes much the same view with regard to the home of the Semites, which I take with regard to the home of the Âryas. We cannot with certainty fix on any particular spot, but that it was "somewhere in Asia," no scholar would ever doubt.

It is well known also that some high authorities, Dr. Hommel, for instance, and Professor Schmidt, hold that the ancestors of the Semites and Âryas must for a time have lived in close proximity, which would be a new confirmation of the Asiatic origin of the Âryas. But we hardly want that additional support. Benfey's arguments in favour of a European origin of the Âryas were, no doubt, very ingenious. But, as his objections have now been answered one by one,† the old arguments for an Asiatic home seem to me to have considerably gained in strength. I, at all events, can no longer join in the jubilant chorus that, like all good things, our noble ancestors, the Âryas, came from Germany. Dr. Schrader, who is often quoted as a decided supporter of a European origin of the Âryas, is far too conscientious a scholar to say more than that all he has written on the subject should be considered "as purely tentative" (Preface, p. vi.).

With regard to time, our difficulties are greater still, and to attempt to solve difficulties which cannot be solved, seems to me no better than the old attempt to square the circle. If people are

* *Della sede primitiva dei Popoli Semitici*, "Proceedings of the Accademia deiincei," 1878-79.

† "Three Lectures on the Science of Language," pp. 60 seq.

satisfied with approximate estimates, such as we are accustomed to in geology, they may say that some of the Aryan languages such as Sanskrit in India, Zend in Media, must have been finished and used in metrical form about 2000 B.C. Greek followed soon after. And when it is said that these languages were finished 2000 B.C., that means simply that they had become independent varieties of that typical Aryan language which had itself reached a highly finished state long before it was broken up into these dialects. This typical language has been called the *Proto-Aryan* language. We are often asked why it should be impossible to calculate how many centuries it must have taken before that Proto-Aryan language could have become so differentiated and so widely divergent as Sanskrit is from Greek, or Latin from Gothic. If we argued geologically, we might say, no doubt, that it took a thousand years to produce so small a divergence as that between Italian and French, and that therefore many thousands of years would not suffice to account for such a divergence as that between Sanskrit and Greek. We might therefore boldly place the first divergence of the Aryan languages at 5000 B.C., and refer the united Aryan period to the time before 5000 B.C. That period again would require many thousands of years, if we are to account for all that had already become dead and purely formal in the Proto-Aryan language, before it began to break up into its six ethnic varieties, that is, into *Celtic*, *Teutonic*, *Slavonic*, *Greek*, *Latin*, and *Indo-Iranic*. The whole grammatical framework of that Proto-Aryan language must have been finished before that time, so that but little had to be added afterwards. Not only was there a common stock of roots, but all thematic suffixes for the formation of nouns, adjectives, and derivative words had been settled, the terminations of declension and conjugation had become fixed, the formation of feminines was recognised as well as the degrees of comparison, and there was a whole treasury of words, many of them already with secondary and tertiary meanings. All this must have been finished before there was a Sanskrit language different from Greek, or a Greek language different from Latin. These common Aryan words have often been used as reflecting the state of thought and civilisation previous to what I call the Aryan separation, previous to 5000 B.C., nowhere more completely than in Schrader's useful work, "Prehistoric Antiquities." The original elaboration of that wonderful work of art which we call language must have required even more time than its later differentiation. When I say that the elaboration of a whole system of grammatical forms must have taken more time than its

later differentiation, what I mean is that many of the features which distinguish Sanskrit from Greek, and Greek from Latin, need not be considered at all as new creations, but should rather be looked upon as remnants of a great mass of dialectic variety which existed in the common Aryan speech, and were retained some by Sanskrit, others by Greek. It has been clearly established, for instance, through the labours of Brugmann, Osthoff, Collitz, Fick, and others, that the Proto-Aryan language possessed three varieties of the short vowel *a*, which had been differentiated before the Aryan separation took place into *a*, *e*, *o*. In Sanskrit we have no short *e* and *o*, at least not in classical Sanskrit. But it must be remembered that in Sanskrit the short vowel *a* is never written after consonants, and that we know nothing of its peculiar pronunciation at different times, except, as Pāṇini says, that it differed from that of all the other vowels. That in certain cases it was in Sanskrit also pronounced like *e*, we know by the effect which that palatalised vowel has produced on a preceding *k*, by imparting to it the palatal character of *ch*. The fact that in Sanskrit the copula which corresponds to Latin *que* and Greek *τε* is *cha*, and not *ka*, shows that the vowel must at one time in Sanskrit also have been pronounced *e*, and not *a* or *o*, as it was in the interrogative pronoun *ka*.

If we find the verbal augment in Sanskrit and Zend and then again in Armenian and Greek, we may be quite certain that these four languages did not invent it independently, but that it existed as an optional element in Proto-Aryan times.

Even the Greek passive Aorist in *θην*, which has often been pointed out as a piece of purely Greek workmanship, has many analogies in other Aryan languages, as Curtius has shown in his excellent work on the Greek Verb.

If then we *must* follow the example of geology and fix chronological limits for the growth of the Proto-Aryan language, previous to the consolidation of the six national languages, 10,000 B.C. would by no means be too distant, as the probable limit of what I should call our historical knowledge of the existence of Aryan speakers somewhere in Asia.

And what applies to those Aryan speakers applies with even greater force to the Semitic, because the earliest monuments of Semitic speech, differentiated as Babylonian, Phœnician, Hebrew, and Arabic, go back, as we are told, far beyond the earliest documents of Sanskrit or Greek. Here also we must admit a long period previous to the formation of the great national languages, because thus only can the fact be accounted for that on many points so modern a

language as Arabic is more primitive than Hebrew, while in other grammatical formations Hebrew is more primitive than Arabic.*

Whether it is possible that these two linguistic consolidations, the Aryan and Semitic, came originally from a common source, is a question which scholars do not like to ask, because they know that it does not admit of a scholarlike answer. No scholar would deny the possibility of an original community between the two, during their radical period, and previous to the development of any grammatical forms. But the handling of this kind of linguistic protoplasm is not congenial to the student of language and must be left to other hands. Still, such attempts should not be discouraged altogether, and if they are carried out in the same spirit in which in the last number of the "Journal of the German Oriental Society," Professor Erman has tried to prove a close relationship between Semitic and Egyptian, they deserve the highest credit. Another question also which carries us back still further into unknown antiquity, whether it is possible to account for the origin of languages or rather of human speech in general, is one which scholars eschew, because it is one to be handled by philosophers rather than by students of language. I must confess, the deeper we delve, the farther the solution of this problem seems to recede from our grasp; and we may here too learn the old lesson that our mind was not made to grasp beginnings. We know the beginnings of nothing in this world, and the problem of the origin of language, which is but another name for the origin of thought, evades our comprehension quite as much as the problem of the origin of our planet and of the life upon it, or the origin of space and time, whether without or within us. History can dig very deep, but, like the shafts of our mines, it is always arrested before it has reached the very lowest stratum. Students of language, and particularly, students of Oriental languages, have solved the problem of the origin of species in language, and they had done so long before the days of Darwin; but, like Darwin, they have to accept certain original germs as given, and they do not venture to pierce into the deepest mysteries of actual creation or cosmic beginnings.

And yet, though accepting this limitation of their labours as the common fate of all human knowledge, Oriental scholars have not altogether laboured in vain. No history of the world can in future be written without its introductory chapter on the great consolidations of the ancient Aryan and Semitic speakers. That chapter

* See Driver, "Hebrew Tenses," p. 132.

may be called pre-historic, but the facts with which it deals are thoroughly historical, and I say once more, in the eyes of the student of language they are as real as the battle of Waterloo. They form the solid foundation of all later history. They determine the course of the principal nations of ancient history as the mountains determine the course of rivers. Try only to realise what is meant by the fact that there was a time, and there was a place, where the ancestors of the poets of the Veda and of the prophets of the Zend Avesta shook hands and conversed freely with the ancestors of Homer, nay, with our own linguistic ancestors, and you will see what a shifting of scenery, what a real transformation-scene Oriental students have produced on the historical stage of the world. They have brought together the most valuable, and yet the least expensive museum of antiquities, namely, the words which date from the time of an undivided Aryan and an undivided Semitic brotherhood; relics older than all Babylonian tablets or Egyptian papyri; relics of their common thoughts, their common religion, their common mythology, their common folk-lore, nay, as has lately been shown by Leist, Köhler, and others, relics of their common jurisprudence also.

Here too there has been much useless controversy. It is as clear as daylight that when we find a number of words which all Aryan languages share in common, these words and the ideas which they express, must have been known before the Proto-Aryan language was differentiated as Sanskrit, Persian, Greek, Latin, and all the rest. It has been possible to put together these fragmentary words into a kind of mosaic picture, giving us an idea of the degree of civilisation reached before the Aryan separation. To some students this picture or this idyll (*εἰδύλλιον*), seemed to disclose a much higher advance of civilisation than they expected in such early times. They therefore wrote rapturously of those early Âryas, who called themselves *ârya*, or noble, though originally this self-glorious name need not have meant more than tillers of the soil. Others, on the contrary, still under the influence of Rousseau's school, claimed these Âryas as true representatives of the Noble Savage, with all the vices as well as the virtues of the Child of Nature. Such a controversy is simply barren. What the true scholar values are the linguistic materials, brought together and critically sifted by the industry and ingenuity of men such as Bopp, Kuhn, Benfey, and last not least, Dr. Schrader, who have drawn this picture of ancient Aryan civilisation with almost Pre-Raphaelite minuteness. Till some one has given us a definition of what is

meant by Savage, it does not matter whether we call these undivided Âryas savages or sages. The only important point in the eyes of a scholar is that we should know the words, and therefore the thoughts, which the Âryas shared in common before they broke up from their old common Aryan home.

At the present moment, when the whole world is preparing for the celebration of the discovery of America, or what is called the New World, let us not forget that the discoverers of that Old, that Prehistoric World of which I have been speaking, deserve our gratitude, as much as Columbus and his companions. The discoveries of Sir William Jones, Schlegel, Humboldt, and of my own masters and fellow-workers Bopp, Pott, Burnouf, Benfey, Kuhn, and Curtius, will for ever remain a landmark in the studies devoted to the history, that is, the knowledge of our race, and, in the end, the knowledge of ourselves. If others have followed in their footsteps, and have proved that these bold discoverers have sometimes been on a wrong track, let them have full credit for what they have added, for what they have corrected, and what they have rejected—but a Moses who fights his way through the wilderness, though he dies before he enters on the full possession of the promised land, is greater than all the Joshuas that cross the Jordan and divide the land. Many travellers now find their way easily to Africa and back; but the first who toiled alone to discover the sources of the Nile, men such as Burton, Speke, and Livingstone, required often greater faith and greater pluck than those who actually discovered them. As long as I live, I shall protest against all attempts to belittle the true founders of the Science of Language. Their very mistakes often display more genius than the corrections of their Epigoni.

It may be said that this great discovery of a whole act in the drama of the world, the very existence of which was unknown to our forefathers, was due to the study of the Science of Language rather than to Oriental Scholarship. But where would the Science of Language have been without the students of Sanskrit and Zend, of Hebrew and Arabic? At a Congress of Orientalists we have a right to claim what is due to them, and I doubt whether anybody here present would deny that it is due in the first place to Oriental scholars, such as Sir W. Jones, Colebrooke, Schlegel, Bopp, Burnouf, Lassen, and Kuhn, if we now have a whole period added to the history of the world, if we now can prove that long before we know anything of Homeric Greece, of Vedic India, of Persia, Greece, Italy, and all the rest of Europe, there was a real historical community

formed by the speakers of Aryan tongues, that they were closely held together by the bonds of a common speech and common thoughts. It is equally due to the industry and genius of Oriental scholars such as De Sacy, Gesenius, Ewald, and my friend the late Professor Wright, if it can no longer be doubted that the ancestors of the speakers of Babylonian and Assyrian, Syriac, Hebrew, Phenician, and Arabic formed once one consolidated brotherhood of Semitic speech, and that, however different they are, when they appear for the first time in their national costumes on the stage of history, they could once understand their common words and common thoughts, like members of one and the same family. Surely this is an achievement on which Oriental scholarship has a right to take pride, when it is challenged to produce its title to the gratitude of the world at large.

If we now turn our attention to another field of Oriental scholarship which has been fruitful of results of the greatest importance to the student of history, and to the world at large, we shall be able to show, not indeed that Oriental scholars have created a whole period of history, as in the case of the Âryas and Semites, before their respective separation, but that they have inspired the oldest period in the history of the world with a new life and meaning. Instead of learning by heart the unmeaning names of kings and the dates of their battles, whether in Egypt, or Babylon, in Syria and Palestine, we have been enabled, chiefly through the marvellous discoveries of Oriental scholars, to watch their most secret thoughts, to comprehend their motives, to listen to their prayers, to read even their private and confidential letters. Think only what ancient Egypt was to us a hundred years ago! A Sphinx buried in a desert, with hardly any human features left. And now—not only do we read the hieroglyphic, the hieratic, and demotic inscriptions, not only do we know the right names of kings and queens 4000 or 5000 years B.C., but we know their gods, their worship; we know their laws and their poetry; we know their folk-lore and even their novels. Their prayers are full of those touches which make the whole world feel akin. Here is the true Isis, here is Human Nature, unveiled. The prayers of Babylon are more formal; still, how much more living is the picture they give us of the humanity of Babylon and Nineveh, than all the palaces, temples, and halls? And as to India, think what India was to the scholars of the last century? A name and not much more. And now! Not only have the ancient inhabitants ceased to be mere idolaters or niggers, they have been recognised as our brothers in language and thought.

The Veda has revealed to us the earliest phases in the history of natural religion, and has placed in our hands the only safe key to the secrets of Aryan mythology. Nay, I do not hesitate to say that there are rays of light in the Upanishads and in the ancient philosophy of the Vedânta which will throw new light even to-day on some of the problems nearest to our own hearts. And not only has each one of the ancient Oriental Kingdoms been reanimated and made to speak to us, like the grey, crumbling statue of Memnon, when touched by the rays of the dawn, but we have also gained a new insight into the mutual relations of the principal nations of antiquity. Formerly, when we had to read the history of the ancient world, every one of the great Kingdoms of the East seemed to stand by itself, isolated from all the rest, having its own past, unconnected with the past history of other countries.

China, for instance, was a world by itself. It had always been inhabited by a peculiar people, different in thought, in language, and in writing even from its nearest neighbours.

Egypt, in the grey morning of antiquity, seemed to stand alone, like a pyramid in a desert, self-contained, proud, and without any interest in the outside world, entirely original in its language, its alphabet, its literature, its art, and its religion.

India, again, has always been a world by itself, either entirely unknown to the Northern nations, or surrounded in their eyes by a golden mist of fable and mystery.

The same applies more or less to the great Mesopotamian Kingdoms, to *Babylon* and *Nineveh*. They too have their own language, their own alphabet, their own religion, their own art. They seem to owe nothing to anybody else.

It is somewhat different with *Media* and *Persia*, but this is chiefly due to our knowing hardly anything of these countries before they appear in conflict with their neighbours, either as conquerors or as conquered, on the ancient battlefields of history.

In fact if we look at the old maps of the ancient world, we see them coloured with different and strongly contrasting colours, which admit of no shading, of no transition from one to the other. Every country seemed a world by itself, and, so far as we can judge from the earliest traditions which have reached us, each nation claimed even its own independent creation, whether from their own gods, or from their own native soil. *China* knows nothing of what is going on in *Babylon* and *Egypt*, *Egypt* hardly knows the name of *India*, *India* looks upon all that is beyond the Himalayan snows as fabulous, while the Jews more than all the

rest felt themselves a peculiar people, the chosen people of God.

Until lately, if it was asked whether there was any communication at all between the leading historical nations of the East, the answer was that no communication, no interchange of thought, no mutual influence was possible, because language placed a barrier between them which made communication, and more particularly free intellectual intercourse, entirely impossible.

If, therefore, it seemed that some of these ancient nations shared certain ideas, beliefs or customs in common, the answer always was that they could not have borrowed one from the other, because there was really no channel through which they could have communicated, or borrowed from each other by means of a rational and continuous converse. Thanks to the more recent researches of Oriental scholars, this is no longer so. One of the first and one of the strongest proofs that there was, in very ancient times, a very active intellectual intercourse between Aryan and Semitic nations is the Greek Alphabet. The Greeks never made any secret of their having borrowed their letters from Phenician schoolmasters. They called their letters Phenician, as we call our numerical figures Arabic, while the Arabs called them Indian. The very name of *Alphabet* in Greek is the best proof that at the time when the Greeks were the pupils of Phenician writing-masters, the secondary names of the Semitic letters, Aleph, Beth, Gimel, Daleth, had already been accepted. Originally the Aleph was the picture not of a bull, but of an eagle; Beth not of a house, but of another bird; Gimel not of a camel, but of a vessel with a handle; Daleth of a stretched out hand. This intercourse between Phenicians and Greeks must have taken place previous to the beginning of any written literature in Greece, previous therefore to the seventh century at least. When we speak of Greeks and Phenicians in general, we must guard against thinking of whole nations, or of large numbers. The work of humanity in the past, more even than in the present, was carried on by the few, not by the many, by what Disraeli called "the men of light and leading," the so-called Path-makers of the ancient world. They represent unknown millions, standing behind them, as a Commander-in-chief represents a whole army that follows him. The important point is that in the alphabet we have before us a tangible document, attesting a real communication between these leaders of progress and civilisation in the East and in the West, a bridge between Phenicia and Greece, between Semitic and Aryan people. The name of the

letter *alpha* in the Greek alphabet is a more irresistible proof of Phenician influence than all the legends about Kadmos and Thebes, about a Phenician Herakles or a Phenician Aphrodite. It is strange that not one of the classical scholars who have written on the traces of Phenician influence in the religion and mythology of Greece should have availed himself of the Greek alphabet as the most palpable proof of a real and most intimate intercourse between the Phenicians and the early inhabitants of Greece.

But later discoveries have opened even wider vistas. It was one of the most brilliant achievements, due to the genius of the Vicomte de Rougé, to have shown that, though they discovered many things, the Phenicians did not discover the letters of the alphabet. Broken arches of the same bridge that led from Phenicia to Greece, have been laid bare, and they lead clearly from Phenicia back to Egypt. It is well known that even the ancients hardly ever doubted that the alphabet was originally discovered in Egypt, and carried from thence by the Phenicians to Greece and Italy. Plato, Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, and Gellius, all speak of Egypt as the cradle of the alphabet, and Tacitus (*Annals*, xi. 14), who seems to have taken a special interest in this subject, is most explicit on that point. It was supposed for a time that the Egyptians simply took certain hieroglyphic signs, and made them stand for their initial letters. This was called the akrological theory, but it is no longer tenable. The alphabet was never a discovery, in the usual sense of the word; it was like all the greatest discoveries, a natural growth. It arose, without any intentional effort, from the employment of what are called complementary hieroglyphics.* Thus in hieroglyphic writing the wall with battlements expresses the syllable *Men*; but with the waved line written under it. This waved line is called the complement of the battlements, and is always to be understood after it, even if it is not expressed. In like manner, the *crux ansata* has for its complements the waved line and the sieve, and if they are not there, they have to be supplied. This *crux ansata* means life, and is pronounced *anch*. It was therefore an almost irresistible conclusion that led the ancient Egyptians to suppose that the battlement, when followed by the waved line, stood, not for *Men*, but only for *m*, while the waved line stood for *n*; or that the *crux ansata* seemed to represent the initial *A* only, while the *nch* were figured by the waved line and the sieve. In the end the result is the same; certain hieroglyphics were accepted as standing for their initial

* Hincks, "Egyptian Alphabet," p. 7.

letters, but the process, as I have tried to explain it, is more natural, and therefore, from an historical point of view, more true.

What the Vicomte de Rougé did was to select the most ancient forms of the Phenician alphabet, as they are found on the sarcophagus of Eshmunazar (or better still, on the Stone of Mesha, which was not known in his time), and to show how near they came, not indeed to the most ancient hieroglyphics, but to certain hieratic cursive signs which have the same phonetic values as their corresponding Phenician letters. This was a most brilliant discovery, and I still possess a very scarce paper which he sent me in 1859. He never published a full account of his discovery himself, but after his death his notes were published by his son in 1874.

I know quite well that some scholars have remained sceptical as to the Egyptian origin of the Phenician letters. My friend Lepsius was never quite convinced. Attempts have been made to derive the Phenician letters from a cuneiform source or from the Cypriote letters, but the result has hitherto been far from satisfactory. The Phenician letters must have had ideographic antecedents. Where are we to look for them, if not in Egypt? What has always made me feel convinced that Rougé was right, is the fact that we have to deal with a series, and that 15 out of the 23 letters of this series are almost identical in Phenician and in Egyptian. We are perfectly justified, therefore, in making a certain allowance for some modifications in the rest. These modifications are certainly not greater than the modifications which the Phenician letters underwent later in their travels over the whole civilised world. But there is another argument in Rougé's favour which has often been ignored, namely, the fact that the Egyptians, whenever they had to transcribe foreign words, have fixed in many cases on the identical letters which served as the prototypes of the Phenician alphabet. This fact, first pointed out by Dr. Hincks, is one of the many valuable services which that ingenious scholar has rendered to hieroglyphic studies; and the Vicomte de Rougé has been the first to acknowledge how much his own discovery owes to the labours of Dr. Hincks, particularly to his paper on the Egyptian alphabet published in the "Transactions of the Irish Academy" in 1847. All the facts concerning the history of the alphabet have been carefully put together in Lenormant's great work: *Essai sur la Propagation de l'Alphabet Phénicien*. Here, then, we have a clear line of communication between Egypt, Phenicia, and Greece, which Oriental scholarship has laid bare before our eyes. To judge

from the character of the hieratic letters as copied by the Phenicians, the copying must have taken place about the nineteenth century B.C. ;* according to others, even at an earlier date. It is well known that hieroglyphic writing for monumental purposes goes back in Egypt to the Fourth, or even the Second Dynasty,† and on these earliest inscriptions we not only find the hieroglyphic system of writing fully developed, but we actually see hieroglyphic pictures of paper‡ and books, of inkstands and pens. But here, again, the beginnings escape us, and the origin of writing, though we know the conditions under which it took place, withdraws itself from our sight, almost as much as the origin of language itself. The question has been asked whether, as the oldest cuneiform writing clearly betrays an ideographic origin, its first germs could be traced back to the ideographic alphabet of Egypt. This would make Egypt the school-master, or at least the older schoolfellow of the Mesopotamian Kingdoms. But whatever the future may disclose, at present Oriental scholarship has no evidence with which to confirm such a hypothesis.

The same applies to another hypothesis which has been advocated with great ingenuity by one of the Members of our Congress, M. Terrien de Lacouperie. He thinks it possible to show that the oldest Chinese letters which, as is generally admitted, had an ideographic beginning, like that of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, owed their first origin to Babylon. It is generally supposed that the cuneiform alphabet used by the Semitic inhabitants of Babylonia and Assyria was invented by a non-Semitic race, called Sumerians and Accadians. Whether the Chinese borrowed from these races or from the Babylonians is difficult to decide. It must likewise remain for the present an open question whether these Sumerians and Accadians can be identified with a race dwelling originally in the North and East of Asia. There are scholars who place the original home of the Accadians on the Persian Gulf, though the evidence for this view also is very weak. We must not forget that ideographs, such as pictures of sun and moon, or of the superincumbent sky, of mountains and plants, of the mouth and nose, of eyes and ears, must of necessity share certain features in common, in whatever country they are used for hieroglyphic purposes. The scholar has the same feeling with regard to these very general

* J. de Rougé, *Mémoire sur l'Origine Egyptienne de l'Alphabet Phénicien*, 1874, p. 108.

† In the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford is a monument of the Second Dynasty.

‡ Rougé, l. c. p. 103.

ideographic pictures which he has with regard to the very indefinite roots of language, which are supposed to be shared in common by the Semitic and Aryan families of speech. Both are too protoplasmic, too jellylike, too indefinite for scientific handling.* Still no researches, if only carried on methodically, should be discouraged *a priori*, and we must always be willing to learn new lessons, however much they may shock our inherited opinions. It is not so very long ago that the best Semitic scholars stood aghast at the idea that the cuneiform letters were borrowed from a non-Semitic race, and that some of the cuneiform inscriptions should contain specimens of a non-Semitic or Accadian language. We have got over this surprise, and though there are still some formidable sceptics, the fact seems now generally recognised that there was in very ancient times an intercourse between the Semitic and non-Semitic races of Asia, as there was between the Egyptians and the Phenicians, and between the Phenicians and Greeks, that is between the greatest people of antiquity, and that these non-Semitic people or Accadians were really the schoolmasters of the founders of the great Mesopotamian kingdoms. But though we must for the present consider any connection between Chinese and Babylonian writing as extremely doubtful, there can be no doubt as to the rapid advance of the cuneiform system of writing itself, from East to West. This wonderful invention, more mysterious even than the hieroglyphic alphabet, soon overflowed the frontiers of the Mesopotamian kingdoms, and found its way into Persia and Armenia, where it was used, though for the purpose of inscriptions only, by people speaking both Aryan and non-Aryan languages. Here, then, we see again an ancient intercourse between people who were formerly considered by all historians as entirely separate, and we are chiefly indebted to English scholars, such as Rawlinson, Norris, Sayce, Pinches, and others, for having brought to light some of the ruins of that long buried bridge on which the thoughts of the distant East may have wandered towards the West.

Few generations have witnessed so many discoveries in Oriental scholarship, and have lived through so many surprises as our own. If any two countries seemed to have been totally separated in ancient times by the barriers both of language and writing, they were Egypt with its hieroglyphic and Babylon with its arrow-headed literature. We only knew of one communication between

* Professor Hommel, in his paper submitted to our Congress, has pointed out striking similarities between Egyptian hieroglyphics and corresponding Babylonian ideographs. Who was the inventor and who the borrower, *adhuc sub judice lis est*.

Egypt and its powerful neighbours and enemies, carried on through the inarticulate and murderous language of war, of spears and arrows, but not of arrow-headed writings. Who could have supposed that the rows of wedges covering the cylinders of Babylonian libraries, which have taxed the ingenuity of our cleverest decipherers, were read without any apparent difficulty by scribes and scholars in Egypt about 1500 B.C.? Yet we possess now in the tablets found at Tel-el-Amarna in Egypt, a kind of diplomatic correspondence, carried on at that early time, more than a thousand years before the invasion of Greece by Persia, between the Kings of Egypt and their friends and vassals in Babylon, Syria, and Palestine. These letters were docketed in Egypt in hieratic writing, like the despatches in our Foreign Office. They throw much light on the political relations then existing between the Kings of Egypt and the Kings of Western Asia, their political and matrimonial alliances, and likewise on the trade carried on between different countries. They confirm statements known to us from hieroglyphic inscriptions in Egypt, more particularly those in the temple of Karnak. The spelling is chiefly syllabic, the language an Assyrian dialect. Doubtful Accadian words are often followed and explained by glosses in what may be called a Canaanite dialect, which comes very near to Hebrew. But how did the Kings of Egypt understand these cuneiform despatches? It is true we meet sometimes with the express statement that those to whom these missives were addressed *had* understood them,* as if this could not always be taken for granted. It is true also that these letters were mostly brought by messengers who might have helped in interpreting them, provided they had learnt to speak and read Egyptian. But what is more extraordinary still, the King of Egypt himself, Amenophis III., when writing to a king whose daughter he wishes to marry, writes a despatch in cuneiform letters, and in a language not his own, unless we suppose that the tablet which we possess was simply a translation sent to the King Kallimma Sin, and as such kept in the archives of the Egyptian Foreign Office.

It is curious to observe that the King of Egypt, though quite willing to marry the daughters of smaller potentates, is not at all disposed to send Egyptian princesses to them. For he writes in one of his letters (p. 29), "A daughter of the King of the land of Egypt has never been given to a 'Nobody.'" Whatever else we may learn from these letters, they are not patterns of diplomatic

* See tablets xxvi., lx., lxix., lxxxiv.

language, if indeed the translation is in this case quite faithful.* In these despatches, dating from 1400 B.C., a number of towns are mentioned, many of which have the same names as those known to us from hieroglyphic inscriptions. Some of these names have even survived to our own time, such as Misirîm for Egypt, Damascus, Megiddo, Tyre (Şurrii), Sidon (Sidûna), Byblos (Guble), Beirut (Bîrûta), Joppa (Yâpû), and others. Even the name of Jerusalem has been discovered by Sayce in these tablets, as *Uru'salim*, meaning in Assyrian the town of peace, a name which must have existed before the Jews took possession of Canaan. Some of these tablets (eighty-two) may be seen at the British Museum, others (160) at Berlin, most of the rest are in the Museum at Gizeh. We are indebted to Mr. Budge for having secured these treasures for the British Museum, and to Dr. Bezold and Mr. Budge for having translated and published them.

To us this correspondence is of the greatest importance, as showing once more the existence of a literary and intellectual intercourse between Western Asia and Egypt, of which historians had formerly no suspicion. If we can once point to such an open channel as that through which cuneiform tablets travelled from Babylonia and Syria to Egypt, we shall be better prepared to understand the presence in Egypt of products of artistic workmanship also, from Western Asia, nay, from Cyprus, and even from Mycenae. I possessed potsherds sent to me by Schliemann from Mycenae, which might have been broken off from the same vessels of which fragments have been found at Ialysos, and lately in Egypt by Mr. Flinders Petrie. I have sent these potsherds to the British Museum to be placed by the side of the pottery from Ialysos, and to our University Museum at Oxford. Mr. Flinders Petrie in the *Academy*, June 25, 1892, writes: "Mykenaeen vase-types are found in Egypt with scarabs, &c., of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and conversely objects of the Eighteenth Dynasty, including a royal scarab, are found at Mykenae. And again, hundreds of pieces of pottery, purely Mykenaeen in style, have been found in various dateable discoveries in Egypt, and without exception every datum for such lies between 1500 and 1100 B.C. and earlier rather than later in that range." I do not mean to say that this fixes the date of the Mykenaeen pottery, nor do I wish to rely on evidence which is contested by some of the best Egyptian scholars; otherwise I should gladly have appealed to the names of

* My scepticism on this point has been confirmed, for I see in an article by Professor Sayce in the last number of the *Academy* that this translation is not quite correct.

the Mysians, Lycians, Carians, Ionians, and Dardanians, discovered in the Epic of Pantaur about 1400 B.C., in the reign of Rameses II.; and to the name of Achaeans read by certain Egyptian scholars in an inscription at Karnak, ascribed to the time of Meneptah, the son of Rameses II. What we shall have to learn more and more is that the people of antiquity, even though they spoke different languages and used different alphabets, knew far more of each other, even at the time of Amenophis III., or 1400 B.C., than was supposed by even the best historians. The ancient world was not so large and wide as it seemed, and the number of representative men was evidently very small. The influence of Babylon extended far and wide. We know that several of the strange gods worshipped by the Jews, such as Rimmon, Nebo, and Sin, came from Babylon. The authority of Egypt also was felt in Palestine, in Syria, and likewise in Babylon. The authenticity of the cuneiform despatches found at Tel-el-Amarna in Egypt has lately received an unexpected confirmation from tablets found at Tel-el-Hesy, probably the ancient Lachish. Here a letter has been found addressed to Zimrida, who in the Tel-el-Amarna tablets was mentioned as governor of Lachish, where he was murdered by his people.* In the same place cylinders were found of Babylonian manufacture, between 2000 and 1500 B.C., and copies, evidently made of them in the West. Similar cylinders occur in the tombs of Cyprus and Syria, helping us to fix their dates, and showing once more the intercourse between East and West, and the ancient migration of Eastern thought towards Europe.

Nor should we, when looking for channels of communication between the ancient kingdoms of Asia, forget the Jews, who were more or less at home in every part of the world. We must remember that they came originally from Ur of the Chaldees, then migrated to Canaan, and afterwards sojourned in Egypt, before they settled in Palestine. After that we know how they were led into captivity and lived in close proximity and daily intercourse with Medians, Persians, Babylonians, and Assyrians. They spoke of Cyrus, a believer in Ormazd, as the anointed and the shepherd of Jehovah, because he allowed them to return from Babylon to Jerusalem. Darius, likewise a follower of Zoroaster, was looked on by them as their patron, because he favoured the rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem. When we consider these intimate relations between the Jews and their neighbours and conquerors, we can easily imagine what useful intermediaries they must always have been in the intellectual exchange of the ancient world.

* *Academy*, July 9, 1892.

There are two countries only which really remained absolutely isolated in the past, China and India. It is true that attempts have been made to show that the Chinese influenced the inhabitants of India in very ancient times by imparting to them their earliest astronomy. But Biot's arguments have hardly convinced anybody. And as to Chinese porcelain being found in ancient Egyptian tombs, this too has long been surrendered for lack of trustworthy evidence.

Nor have the attempts been more successful which were intended to show that the ancient astronomy of India was borrowed from Babylon. It is well known that the Babylonians excelled in astronomy, and that in later times they became the teachers of the Greeks, and indirectly of the Indians. But the twenty-seven Vedic Nakshatras or Lunar Stations are perfectly intelligible as produced on Indian soil, and require no foreign influences for their explanation. If the Indians had in Vedic times been the pupils of the Babylonians, other traces of that intercourse could hardly be absent. It was, indeed, thought for a time that one word at least of Babylonian origin had been discovered in the hymns of the Rig-Veda, the Babylonian *mand*, a certain weight of gold. This word has certainly travelled far and wide. We find it in the tablets of Tel-el-Amarna, in Hebrew, in Arabic, in Greek, and in Latin,* *mina*, a mine. But the verse in the Rig-Veda in which this *mand* was supposed to occur, requires a different interpretation, nor would one word be sufficient to indicate a real intellectual intercourse between Babylonians and Vedic Indians. On the same ground we can hardly use the word *sindhu* in the Babylonian inscriptions, as proving a commercial intercourse between India and Babylon. *Sindhu*, as my learned friend, Professor Sayce, informed me, occurs in cuneiform texts as far back as 3000 B.C. as the name of some textile fabric. In Sanskrit *saindhava* would mean what grows on the Sindhu or the Indus,† and would therefore be a very good name for cotton or linen. But so long as this word stands alone, it would not be safe to build any conclusions on it as to an ancient trade between India and Babylon.

For the present, therefore, we must continue to look upon China and India as perfectly isolated countries during the period of which we are here speaking. But though in the eyes of the historian the ancient literature of these two countries loses in consequence much of its interest, it acquires a new and peculiar interest of its

* Possibly in Egyptian : *Zeitschrift der D. Morgenl. Gesells.* vol. xlv. p. 111.

† M. M., "Physical Religion," p. 87.

own in the eyes of the philosopher. It is entirely home-grown and home-spun, and thus forms an independent parallel to all the other literatures of the world. It has been truly said that the religion and the philosophy of India come upon us like meteors from a distant planet, perfectly independent in their origin and in their character. Hence, when they do agree with other religions and philosophies of the ancient world, they naturally inspire us with the same confidence as when two mathematicians, working quite independently, arrive in the end at the same results.*

It is true that in these days of unexpected discoveries we are never entirely safe from surprises. But as far as our evidence goes at present—and we can never say more—the idea once generally entertained, and lately revived by Professor Gruppe, that there was some connection between the ancient religion of India and those of Egypt and Babylon is, from a scholar's point of view, simply impossible. Before the time of Alexander the Great, it would be very difficult to point out any foreign intellectual importation into the land of the Indus or the Seven Rivers. The knowledge of the alphabet may have reached India a little before Alexander's invasion. We know that Darius sent Skylax on a scientific expedition down to the mouth of the Indus. This expedition, like other scientific expeditions, was the forerunner of Persian conquests along the Indus. The people called in the cuneiform inscriptions *Gaddra* and *Hidhu*, that is in Sanskrit, *Gandhāra* and *Sindhu*, occur among the conquests of Darius, at least in his later inscriptions. It is quite possible, therefore, that even at that early time a knowledge of reading and writing may have been communicated to India. Travellers from India were seen by Ktesias in Persia at the beginning of the fifth century B.C., and he describes some whom he had seen himself, as being as fair, or actually as white, as any in the world. Others he describes as black, not by exposure to the sun, but by nature. This was probably written at the same time when Buddha, in a sermon which he delivered (the Assalayana Sutta), said: "The Brahmans are the white caste, the other castes are black." This refers to their colour (*varna*), not, as has been supposed, to their character. But we have as yet no real evidence of writing, not even of inscriptions, in India before the time of Asoka, in the third century B.C. The Indian alphabets certainly came from a Semitic alphabet, which was adapted systematically to the requirements of an Aryan language. We can see it still in a state of fermentation in the

* Deussen, *Die Sūtras des Vedānta*, p. vi.

local varieties that have lately been pointed out by my friend, Professor Bühler, the highest authority on this subject. As to the religion of Buddha being influenced by foreign thought, no true scholar now dreams of that. The religion of Buddha is the daughter of the old Brahmanic religion, and a daughter in many respects more beautiful than the mother. On the contrary, it was through Buddhism that India for the first time stepped forth from its isolated position, and became an actor in the historical drama of the world. A completely new idea in the history of the world was started at the third Buddhist Council in the third century B.C., under King Asoka, the idea of conquering other nations, not by force of arms, but by the power of truth. A resolution was proposed and carried at that Council to send missionaries to all neighbouring nations to preach the new gospel of Buddha. Such a resolution would never have entered into the minds of the ancient Egyptians, Babylonians, Assyrians, not even of the Brahmins. It presupposed quite a new conception of the world. It announced for the first time a belief that the different nations of the world, however separated from each other by language, religion, colour, and customs, formed nevertheless one united family; that each of its members was responsible for the rest, in fact, that humanity was not an empty word.

It is a curious coincidence, if no more, that the name of the missionary who, according to the chronicle of Ceylon, was sent to the North, to the Himalayan border-lands, namely, *Madhyama*, should have been found in a Stûpa near Sanchi, as well as that of his fellow-worker, Kâsyapa. We read in an inscription: "These are (the relics) of the good man of the family of Kâsapa, the teacher of the whole Haimavata," that is, the Himalayan border-land.* We seldom find such monumental confirmations in Indian history. This important discovery, like so many others, was due to General Cunningham, in one of his earlier works ("The Bhilsa Topes," pp. 119, 187, 317).

China, the other isolated country of antiquity, was soon touched by the rising stream of Buddhism, and thus brought for the first time into contact with India and the rest of the world. The first waves of Buddhism seem to have reached the frontiers of China as early as the third century (217 B.C.), and so rapid and constant was its progress, that in 61 B.C. Buddhism was accepted by the Emperor Mingti as one of the three state-religions of China. We soon hear of Buddhists in other countries also, and if we consider that we have

* Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. ii. p. 234, and p. xxxix.

now arrived at a third period in the history of antiquity, which may truly be called the Alexandrian or Alexandrian period, we need not wonder that the military roads which had been opened from the Indus to the Euphrates and to the Mediterranean, were soon trodden by peaceful travellers also, carrying both industrial and intellectual merchandise from East to West. From Kashmir, Buddhist missionaries seem to have penetrated into Hellenised Bactria. Alexander Polyhistor, who wrote between 80 and 60 B.C., attests* their presence there under the name of *Samanaioi*, which stands for the *Pāli* name *Samana*, a Buddhist friar. Their presence in Bactria is attested somewhat later, at the beginning of the third century A.D., by Clement of Alexandria,† who speaks of the *Samanaioi* as powerful philosophers among the Bactrians, and again by Eusebius‡ at the beginning of the fourth century, who writes that among the Indians and Bactrians there are many thousands of Brāhmans. With regard to Bactria this can refer to Buddhists only, for the old orthodox Brāhmans did not leave their country, and Brāhman has always been retained by the Buddhists as a title of honour for themselves. Early traces of the Buddhist religion have been discovered likewise in the countries north of Bactria, in Tukhāra, and in the towns of Khoten, Yarkand, and Kashgar. M. Darmesteter has shown that in the second century B.C. Buddhist missionaries were hard at work in the western part of Persia, and it is a significant fact that the name of *Gautama*, the founder of Buddhism, occurs in the Avesta, in the Fravardin Yasht.§ This shows how closely the most distant parts of the world had been brought together by the genius of Alexander the Great, and by the genius of that still greater conqueror, Gautama Sākyamuni. Here, again, it is mainly due to the labours of Oriental scholars that so many traces of the work done by Alexander and his successors have been rediscovered. With Alexander we have entered on a new period in the history of the world, a period marked by the first strong reaction of the West against the East, inaugurated in the fifth century B.C. by the victories of Marathon, Thermopylae, and Salamis, which were

* See Cyrillus, *Contra Julian*. lib. iv. 133 : ἱστορεῖ γοῦν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ ἐπὶ κλην Πολυτίστωρ—ἐφιλοσόφησαν δὲ—καὶ ἐκ Βάκτρων τῶν Περσικῶν Σαμαναῖοι καὶ παρὰ Πέρσαις οἱ Μάγοι καὶ παρ' Ἰνδοῖς οἱ Γυμνοσοφισταί. Lassen, l. c. ii. p. 1073.

† *Strom.* i. p. 359 : Φιλοσοφία τολύν—πάλαι μὲν ἤκμασε παρὰ βαρβαροῖς—προέστησαν—καὶ Σαμαναῖοι Βάκτρων—Ἰνδῶν τε οἱ Γυμνοσοφισταί. Lassen, l. c. ii. p. 1075 ; Schwanbeck, *Megasthenis Indica*, p. 139.

‡ *Praep. Ev.* vii. 10 : Παρ' Ἰνδοῖς καὶ Βάκτροις εἰσὶ χίλιαδες πολλὰ τῶν λεγομένων Βραχμάνων. Lassen, l. c. ii. p. 1075.

§ "Sacred Books of the East," vol. xxiii. p. 184.

almost contemporary with the first victories of Buddha. But while the victories of Miltiades, Leonidas, and Alexander the Great belong to history only, Buddha, the *Gina* or Victor, as he is called, is still the ruler of the majority of mankind.

If now, after having reached a period which is illuminated by the bright daylight of well-authenticated history, we turn our eyes back once more to the two preceding periods, we may assert without fear of contradiction that our knowledge of the very existence of the first period is entirely due to Oriental scholarship, while it is equally due to the discoveries of Oriental scholars that the second period has been invested for the first time with a truly human interest. The ancient history of the world may be said to have assumed, under the hands of Oriental scholars, the character of a magnificent dramatic trilogy. The first drama tells us of the fates of the Aryan and Semitic races, as compact confederacies before their separation into various languages and historical nationalities. The second drama is formed by the wars and conquests of the great Eastern Empires in Egypt, Babylon, and Syria, but it shows us that, besides these wars and conquests, there was a constant progress of Eastern culture towards the West, towards the shores and islands of the Mediterranean, and lastly towards Greece.

The third drama represents the triumphant progress of Alexander, the Greek far more than the Macedonian, from Europe through Persia, Palestine, Phenicia, Egypt, Babylon, Hyrcania, and Bactria to India, in fact through all the great empires of the ancient East. Here we see the first attempt at re-establishing the union between East and the West. It is said * that among the papers of Alexander, a plan was found how to unite all these conquered nations into one Greek Empire by a mixture of families and manners, and by colonies, and thus to raise humanity to a higher level. Common religious services and commercial unions were meant to teach Europeans and Asiatics to look upon each other as fellow-citizens. Though this plan, worthy of the pupil of Aristotle, was never realised, his wars and victories have certainly drawn the most distant nations closely together, and enabled them to pour the stores of their ancient wisdom into one common treasury. The rays from the Pharos of Alexandria may be said to have pierced across Egypt, Persia, Babylonia, and Bactria into the dark shades of Indian forests, while the name of the dwellers in these Indian forests, the *Samanas* or Semnoi, the Venerable, as they were called by the Greeks, might be heard in the halls of the Alexandrian Library. The very name of Buddha

* See Johannes von Müller, *Allgemeine Geschichte*, p. 63.

(*Βούττα*) was not unknown to the later philosophers of Alexandria, for we see that the mind of Clement of Alexandria,* in the second century A.D., was occupied with the question whether Buddha really deserved to be worshipped as a God, though we know now that this was the very last thing that the real Buddha would ever have desired. Clement knew also that the Buddhists built some kind of temple or *Kaityas* in which they preserved the bones and other relics of Buddha and his disciples, the earliest specimens of stone architecture in India, some of them preserved to the present day.†

After the seeds which Alexander had transplanted from Greece to Egypt and the different parts of the East had begun to grow and abound, Alexandria became more and more the centre of gravitation of the ancient world, the point to which all the streams of ancient thought converged. Here in Alexandria the highest aspirations of Semitic thought, embodied in the Sacred Scriptures of the Jews, became blended with the sublime speculations of Aryan thought, as taught in the Platonist and Neo-Platonist schools of philosophy, so that Alexandria may truly be called, after Jerusalem, the second birthplace of that religion of universal love, which more than any other religion was meant to re-unite all the members of the human race, scattered in the East and in the West, into one universal brotherhood. In this way the whole history of the world becomes indeed a *Preparatio Evangelica*, if only we have eyes to see in Christianity not a mere *refacimento* of an ancient Semitic faith, but a quickening of that religion by the highest philosophical inspirations of the Aryan, and more particularly of the Greek mind.

I have so far tried to show you what Oriental scholarship has done for us in helping us to a right appreciation of the historical development of the human race, beginning on the Asiatic continent and reaching its highest consummation on this small Asiatic peninsula of ours, which we call Europe, nay, on this very spot where we are now assembled, which has truly been called the centre of the whole world. It is due to Oriental scholarship that the grey twilight of ancient history has been illuminated as if by the rays of an unsuspected sunrise. We see continuity and unity of purpose from beginning to end, when before we saw nothing but an undecipherable chaos. With every new discovery that is made, whether

* *Strom.* i. p. 131, Sylb.: Εἰσὶ δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν οἱ τοῖς Βούττα πειθόμενοι παραγγέλλουσιν, ὃν δι' ὑπερβολὴν σεμνότητος ὡς θεὸν τετιμῆκασιν; possibly resting on Megasthenes; see *Megasthenis Indica*, ed. Schwanbeck, p. 46.

† Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 3, p. 539, ed. Potter: Οἱ καλούμενοι δὲ Σεμνοὶ (i.e., Samana) τῶν Ἰνδῶν—σέβουσιν τινα πυραμίδα ὑφ' ἣν ὁστέα τινὸς θεοῦ νομίζουσι ἀποκείσθαι.

in the royal libraries of Babylonia, or in the royal tombs of Egypt, or in the sacred books of Persia and India, the rays of that sunrise are spreading wider and wider, and under its light the ancient history of our race seems to crystallise, and to disclose in the very forms of its crystallisation, laws or purposes running through the most distant ages of the world, of which our forefathers had no suspicion. Here it is where Oriental studies appeal not to specialists only, but to all who see in the history of the human race the supreme problem of all philosophy, a problem which in the future will have to be studied, not as heretofore, by *a priori* reasoning, but chiefly by the light of historical evidence. The Science of Language, the Science of Mythology, the Science of Religion, aye, the Science of Thought, all have assumed a new aspect, chiefly through the discoveries of Oriental scholars, who have placed facts in the place of theories, and displayed before us the historical development of the human race, as a worthy rival of the development of nature, displayed before our eyes by the genius and patient labours of Darwin.

It seemed to me the most obvious duty of the President in opening an International Congress of Orientalists, to show to the world at large how much Oriental scholarship has contributed to the common stock of human knowledge. In England more particularly, Oriental studies are too often looked upon as interesting to specialists only, and as far removed from the general interests of our age. I thought it right therefore to show once for all that this is wrong, and that Oriental studies are well deserving of general sympathy and support. I hope I have shown that these studies are forming now, and will always form, the only safe foundation for a study of the history of mankind, and, more particularly, for a clear appreciation of that intellectual atmosphere in which even we, in the far West, still live and move and have our being. Another prejudice against Oriental studies has found frequent expression of late. It is charged against us that the results of our labours are constantly shifting and changing, and that the brilliant discoveries of this year become invariably the exploded errors of the next. This is greatly exaggerated. True, Oriental scholarship has advanced very rapidly during this century; true, it has had to suffer much from dabblers, babblers, and half-scholars; but I hope I have shown that the permanent gains of Oriental research are both massive and safe, and that the contributions of Oriental scholars to the capitalised wealth of human knowledge need not fear comparison with those of any other scholars.

It might no doubt have seemed more attractive if in this inaugural address I had dwelt on the latest discoveries of Oriental scholarship only. But it would have ill become me as the President of this Congress, and in the presence of the very authors of some of these discoveries, if I had tried to act as their interpreter or ventured to criticise their results. We shall have plenty of this work in our special sections, but in this General Meeting of the Members of all the Sections, I felt convinced that I should best carry out your wishes by trying to sum up, in the presence of the most critical judges, what I consider the safe conquests of that glorious campaign which was opened by Sir William Jones, Colebrooke, Sylvestre de Sacy, Champollion, Grotefend, Burnouf, Bopp, and Lassen, was carried on by some of the veterans present here to-day, and will, I feel sure, lead on to even more important conquests under the guidance of those young and bold generals, many of whom we greet here for the first time.

But before I conclude, may I be allowed to tax your patience a few minutes longer, and to ask one more question, though I know that many here present are far more competent to return an authoritative answer to it than your President. Is the benefit to be derived from Oriental studies confined to a better understanding of the past, to a truer insight into that marvellous drama, the history of the human race in the East and in the West, whether in historic or prehistoric times? May not our Oriental studies call for general sympathy and support, as helping us to a better understanding of the present, nay, of the future also, with regard to the ever increasing intercourse between the East and the West? Why should so many practical men, so many statesmen, and rulers, and administrators of Eastern countries, have joined our Congress, if they did not expect some important practical advantages from the study of Eastern languages and Eastern literature?

If the old pernicious prejudice of the white man against the black, of the Aryan against the Semitic race, of the Greek against the Barbarian, has been inherited by ourselves, and there are few who can say that they are entirely free from that *damnosa hereditas*, nothing, I believe, has so powerfully helped to remove, or at least to soften it, as a more widely spread study of Oriental languages and literature.

England is at present the greatest Oriental Empire which the world has ever known. England has proved that she knows not only how to conquer, but how to rule. It is simply dazzling to think of the few thousands of Englishmen ruling the millions of

human beings in India, in Africa, in America, and in Australasia. England has realised, and more than realised, the dream of Alexander, the marriage of the East and the West, and has drawn the principal nations of the World together more closely than they have ever been before. But to conquer and rule Eastern nations is one thing, to understand them is quite another. In order to understand Eastern nations, we must know not only their languages, but their literature also; we must in a certain sense become Orientalised, students of the East, lovers of the East. In this respect much remains to be done. I believe that the small Kingdom of Saxony, counting fewer inhabitants than the city of London, does more for encouraging the study of Eastern languages and literature than England. It is quite true that when new and really important discoveries had to be made, English scholars, men of true genius, have always been in the van of the victorious progress of Oriental scholarship. Their work has always been what in German is called *Bahnbrechend*, breaking the first road through a dark and impervious forest. But it has long been felt that we are deficient in providing instruction in Eastern languages, such as is offered to young men in Russia, France, Italy, and Germany, at the expense of the State. We have lately made one step in the right direction. Under the personal patronage of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, a School of Modern Oriental Studies has at last been established at the Imperial Institute. This is the realisation of a plan for which I pleaded forty years ago, and which was warmly advocated at the time by that most far-seeing statesman, the late Prince Consort. But we want help, we want much larger funds, if this excellent scheme is to grow and bear fruit. If the public at large could only be made to see the practical advantages that would accrue to English commerce from a sufficient supply of young men qualified to travel in the East and to carry on a correspondence in Eastern dialects, we should probably get from our rich merchants that pecuniary support which we want, and which in other countries is supplied from the general taxation of the country. But far higher interests than the commercial supremacy of England are at stake. The young rulers and administrators who are sent every year to the East, ought to be able to keep up much more intimate relations with the people whom they are meant to rule and to guide, than exist at present. It is well known that one of our Royal Dukes, during his stay in India, acquired a knowledge of Hindustani in order to be able to converse freely with his soldiers. It is no secret that even our Queen, the first Empress of India, has devoted some of her very precious leisure to a study of the language

and literature of India. Here are bright examples to follow. Without an intimate knowledge and an easy conventional command of a common language, a real intimacy between rulers and ruled is impossible. It has been truly said by the *Times* (July 9, 1892), that if the Transatlantic Cable had been available in 1858, there would have been no Trent Affair. One may say with the same truth, that if there had been a more free and friendly intercourse between the rulers and the ruled, between officers and soldiers in India, an intercourse such as can only be kept up by the electric current of a common language, there would have been no Indian Mutiny.

When I accepted the honourable post of President of this Congress, it was chiefly because I hoped that this Congress would help to kindle more enthusiasm for Oriental Scholarship in England. But that enthusiasm must not be allowed to pass away with our meeting. It should assume a solid and lasting form in the shape of a permanent and powerful association for the advancement of Oriental learning, having its proper home in the Imperial Institute. If the members of this Congress and their friends will help to carry out this plan, then our Congress might hereafter mark an important epoch in the history of this the greatest Eastern Empire, and I should feel that, in spite of all my shortcomings, I had proved not quite unworthy of the confidence which my friends and fellow-labourers have reposed in me.

PROPOSAL OF A VOTE OF THANKS TO THE PRESIDENT

[By HOFRATH G. BÜHLER, C.I.E., Professor in the Imperial and Royal University of Vienna, Austrian Delegate.]

THE admirable sketch of the achievements of Oriental scholarship during the last fifty years, and of its consequent rise in dignity and importance, which Professor Max Müller has just given us, must indeed fill the hearts of Orientalists with just pride. And it naturally affords particular gratification to those among us who are able to remember the not very remote times when matters stood very differently. Even so late as thirty-five years ago, war was still being waged, especially in Germany, between the Classicists and the

Sanskritists. The simplest and most indisputable results of comparative philology were by no means received with general respect, and in the Universities the study of Sanskrit was by no means viewed favourably. *Latine loqui malumus quam balbutire Sanskritē*, said one of the most distinguished philologists of the time, to a presumptuous adherent of the new school who dared to express a doubt regarding the all-sufficiency of the two classical languages. His dictum was not rarely repeated with complacency, and among others by one of my own teachers, who wished to warn me against my dangerous proclivities towards the sacred language of the Brahmans. The study of Arabic and other literary Semitic languages was regarded with more favour, but by many only under the proviso that it laid no claim to any higher position than to that of a humble handmaiden of the study of Divinity. Egyptology and Assyriology, especially the latter, were still looked upon with distrust, and very commonly declared to be pursuits unworthy of the attention of serious scholars. In short, though there were no doubt most honourable exceptions, the classical philologists and the historians, as well as the educated public, whom they influenced, mostly regarded special Oriental research with no friendly sentiments; the Orientalist was often made to feel that he was surrounded by an atmosphere if not of actual hostility, yet of scarcely disguised contempt.

If in the present day a great revulsion of feeling has taken place, and the work of the Orientalist is now everywhere regarded with sympathy and followed with intelligent interest, the change is owing partly, as we have been told, to the growth of the quantity and quality of its results, but to a great extent also—and this has not been mentioned—to the indefatigable industry and the consummate skill, displayed by some of the master workmen in setting forth their own and their fellow-labourers' discoveries.

Among these men who have conquered the indifference of the public, and who have brought home the value of Oriental research even to those reluctant to acknowledge it, hardly one has done so much and occupies so prominent a position as our illustrious President, Professor Max Müller. He has laboured for nearly fifty years, and laboured to the very best purpose both for the specialists and, what in my opinion and according to my experience is even more difficult, for the general public. To the specialists he has given such works as his "History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature," which after the lapse of a generation is still a standard book, and his splendid editions of the Rîg-Veda, the greatest and most extensive

among which has just now appeared in a second edition. The large collection of translations, unique of its kind, which appears under his guidance, renders the greatest services both to the specialists and to all interested in the history of religion. Neither the specialist nor the student of general history can afford to pass by the Sacred Books of the East. The works, which our President has addressed chiefly, though never exclusively, to beginners and to the general public, refer to an exceedingly great variety of subjects, extending from the highest problems of the science of religion to the history of the alphabets, and even to the art of spelling. Their number makes an attempt at enumeration impossible, and, as they are all admirably adapted for their several purposes, even a selection of titles would be invidious. It must suffice, and, I believe, it will suffice, if I here call attention to the well-known fact that these works have made Professor Max Müller's name a household word in every country where the English language is spoken or understood, and not less in all lands where his native tongue prevails. These long-continued and eminent services to the common cause will, I am sure, make all Orientalists here present agree with me, that it would have been difficult to find anybody better qualified than Professor Max Müller to fill the most honourable post of President of this our Ninth International Oriental Congress, and to give us in an Inaugural Address a general outline of the results of Oriental research.

Turning to the other causes of the elevation of Oriental research, I can only agree with Professor Max Müller, that one of the chief points which has contributed to raise it in dignity and importance is the discovery of connecting links between its various branches. Much has indeed been done to convert the outcome of the several sections of Oriental studies into connected chapters of the history of the human race. Much also remains to be accomplished, and there is every hope that, if the search for ancient literary documents and the excavation of the old sites, once the homes of civilisation, are carried on with the same vigour and skill as during late years, much more will be effected.

Thus there is a gap in the history of the relations of India to its neighbours, the complete filling up of which may be expected with full confidence, nay, which indeed now already may be said to be half filled. This gap is found in the history of the spread of the Indian civilisation towards the southern portion of the Far East. It has been long known that there are more or less distinct traces of Indian immigrations, and of Indian influence in certain islands

of the Indian Archipelago, such as Java, Sumatra, Bali, Borneo, and even in the distant Philippines, as well as in some districts of Further India, such as Siam, Kamboja, and Champa. But it is only since Professor Kern began, and Messieurs Barth, Bergaigne, and Senart carried on with signal success the examination of the epigraphic documents collected by M. Aymonier and others, that we have obtained an insight into the true character of the relations of the Hindus with these regions. It now appears that this portion of the Far East did not receive its share of the Indian civilisation, like China and Japan, through the barefooted friars of the Buddhist persuasion, but after being conquered with the sword by the Brahminical warriors of Eastern India.

Not much later than the time when Rome began to extend its sway beyond the frontiers of Italy, the Indian princes and nobles entered on a career of conquest which probably began with the subjection of portions of Sumatra and Java, and certainly extended as far as Kamboja and Champa, to the south of Cochin China. They carried with them their civilisation and their religion, following, it would seem, the advice addressed by *Manu* to the successful conquerors, whom he exhorts to settle in newly acquired kingdoms, learned Brahmans, artists, and artisans skilled in various handicrafts. The inscriptions from Kamboja and Champa, the oldest known among which belongs to the second century of our era, proves that Sanskrit was the official language, and that these countries boasted of poets, able to turn out very respectable Sanskrit verses. We also learn from them that the Sâmans were sung, the Rîks, the Mahâbhârata, the Râmâyana, and the Purâna were recited in the Far East just as in *Âryāvarta*, the true abode of the Âryas; that Śiva and Vishṇu were worshipped in the new country just as in the old home; and that temples were dedicated to them, built in the Indian style of architecture, the ruins of which even now strike the beholder with admiration. Much remains still to be done in order to bring out the details of the conquest and of the civilisation of the Far East by the Indian Âryas. But the outlines of the interesting story are clearly discernible, and even at present it would be possible to enrich the history of Asia by a chapter which would prove equally attractive to European readers, and to the modern Hindus, the descendants of the conquerors of the Far East.

Professor Max Müller's practical suggestion for the advancement of Oriental learning has, of course, my warmest sympathies, and I wish it all possible success. As a Sanskritist, I have good reasons for regarding England as the fountain-head of the studies to which

I have devoted myself, and, naturally, I can only rejoice at every undertaking calculated to raise the standard of Oriental scholarship in England, and to make England more and more the headquarters of Oriental learning.

I now fulfil the pleasant and honourable task, imposed upon me by the Managing Committee, of moving a hearty vote of thanks to our President for the eloquent and impressive address to which we have just listened.

VOTE OF THANKS TO THE PRESIDENT

[Seconded by COUNT ANGELO DE GUBERNATIS, Professor in the Royal University of Rome, Italian Delegate.]

DOPO la parola autorevolissima dal professor Giorgio Bühler, in risposta al vostro alto discorso, o glorioso Max Müller, potrebbe apparirvi superflua ogni altra parola; ed, in ogni modo, più efficace della mia e più lusinghiera al vostro orecchio, avvezzo alle carezze ed agli incensi dell' Olimpo, dove il vostro genio luminoso ha sempre spaziato, giungerebbe l' assenso di uno de' sommi maestri della linguistica contemporanea, del mio illustre collega e concittadino, il senatore Graziadio Ascoli, il quale, in una memorabile monografia, intitolata *Lingue e Nazioni*, ormai antica, precorse di alcuni anni, già secondato da un nucleo di valentuomini che sta per divenire falange, il moto felice presente, per mettere in accordo le indagini e divinizioni del linguista comparatore con quelle dell' etnologo e preparar conclusioni più comprensive, le quali permetteranno finalmente di rendere una maggior giustizia alla parte che ciascun popolo, anche umile, ha preso inconsciamente alla formazione progressiva de' linguaggi e ad ogni palese documento dell' umana civiltà.

Ma è sembrato forse al Comitato, che, nella mia privata qualità d' indianista, mitologo e folk-lorista, seguace lontano delle vostre prime orme luminose, o geniale maestro, e di cooperatore assiduo all' opera benefica de' Congressi degli Orientalisti, io potessi portar qui una voce non dissonante e forse simpatica, nel concerto di lodi che saluta, ad un tempo, l' opera vostra lunga e magnanima a pro' degli studii, specialmente ariani, e il lavoro solerte e meritorio, invano contrastato, de' savii ordinatori di questo nono Congresso, continuatore legittimo dello splendido ottavo Congresso che ci riunì,

sotto la presidenza augusta del Re di Svezia e di Norvegia, a Stoccolma ed a Christiania.

Nè, dopo ch' io consentii al troppo cortese invito, io mi scuserò più d' adoperare, in questa occasione solenne, la mia dolce favella nativa, posto che non posso nè pure aver dimenticato come Giuseppe Baretti, Ugo Foscolo, Giuseppe Pecchio, Gabriele Rossetti, Giuseppe Mazzini, Giovanni Ruffini, Gerolamo Picchioni, Antonio Panizzi, Aurelio Saffi ed altri illustri profughi italiani, lungamente beneficati in questo suolo ospitale, hanno insegnato la lingua di Dante alla parte più eletta del popolo inglese, non ignaro poi che lo stesso *grand old Englishman*, il quale regge ora le sorti politiche del Regno Unito e che dovea presiedere una sezione del nostro Congresso, così bene architettato, studiò già, con lo stesso amore e con uguale profondità, la lingua di Dante e quella d' Omero.

L' opera de' Congressi Internazionali degli Orientalisti mi appare, del resto, o Signori, per due grandi aspetti, importante. Oltre al porre nuovi capisaldi ed alti segnali visibili a tutti, nella via laboriosa, ma un po' disseminata, degli studii orientali, pel concorso ch' essi promuovono, d' ogni maniera di studiosi da ogni contrada più remota e dispersa, arrecanti come ad un' ara sacrificale, l' ultimo ed il miglior frutto delle loro pazienti indagini, accrescono pure visibilmente, nel paese stesso dove ogni Congresso felicemente s' aduna, la gara operosa degli studiosi nazionali, e la mettono in più nobile evidenza, somministrando ad ogni nuova riunione internazionale un contributo di studii locali di un valore non dispregevole.

Ora a me, particolarmente studioso di cose indiane, questo Congresso promosso dalla nobile e forte Inghilterra, la quale non solo possiede e governa, ma studia, educa e incivilisce tutto il magnifico e portentoso universo dell' India, dovea destare non solo un particolare interesse, ma un senso di viva e singolare riconoscenza. Posseduta invano e disputata col ferro e col fuoco, per quasi tre secoli, da tre altre valorose nazioni europee, l' India sapiente, se proprio non ci fu rivelata, è stata di certo aperta e comunicata, per la prima volta, all' Europa, dalla sola Inghilterra, sul fine del secolo passato. L' Inghilterra trovò poi, in altre nazioni europee, e specialmente nella Francia e nella Germania, le sue cooperatrici più valide; e voi, illustre, Max Müller, con la genialità dell' opera vostra, avete certamente, nella vostra sola persona, rappresentata l' anima congregante di più civiltà, intese del pari a diffondere sopra di noi la luce dell' India. La somma dell' opera vostra, illuminata da più centri di vita intellettuale poderosa, è perciò stata fruttifera; e di ottimo augurio ai lavori di questo Congresso Internazionale, ma particolarmente Anglo-

Indiano, di Orientalisti, sarà l' ispirazione che gli verrà dalla parola luminosa, con la quale oggi li avete iniziati. Onde, fiducioso d' interpretare, alla mia volta, il sentimento della maggioranza degli studiosi di ogni disciplina che si riferisce all' Oriente, riuniti in questo Congresso, mi associo, di gran cuore, alla proposta del chiarissimo professor Bühler, perchè l' Assemblea, dopo il plauso che già gli concesse spontanea, risponda con un singolar voto di ringraziamento all' alto e sereno discorso ispiratore del professore Max Müller.

Ed ora, passando ad altro, ad un innamorato dell' India, che ha pure la rara ventura di esser nato nella patria di Marco Polo e di Filippo Sassetti, sia lecito di profittare di questa occasione propizia, per una presentazione che spera poter tornare bene accetta.

In questi primi giorni di settembre, si compiono quattrocento anni per l' appunto che, solo co' suoi alti propositi, sopra una modesta nave spagnuola, dal nome mistico di Santa Maria, quasi ugualmente lontano dalle due rive del mondo, un nuovo argonauta italiano, con la mente rivolta all' India, sostenuto da una forte coscienza, portato dal suo sogno luminoso, impavido, solcava, per la prima volta, l' Oceano. Al termine della sua navigazione affannosa, una metà del mondo, popolata di gente che gli apparve e forse, in origine, era stata indiana, o prossima all' India, balzò per lui fuori dalle acque, lucente; e di quella luce conquistatrice fu irradiata, di quella conquista fu beneficata l' umanità intiera. Sognatore dell' Oriente al pari di noi era il grande ammiraglio Genovese, e però il suo nome non ci è estraneo, come l' opera di lui non ci rimane indifferente. Se egli non fu il vero ritrovatore dell' India asiatica, scoprendo, per sublime errore, un' India nuova più grande, diede pure maggior animo e nuova luce alla conquista portoghese di Vasco de Gama. E però Cristiano Lassen, uno de' più grandi maestri nell' Indianismo, col nome glorificato del genovese Cristoforo Colombo, apriva degnamente il classico suo libro sopra le *Antichità dell' India*.

Non rechi dunque meraviglia che uno studioso italiano delle cose d' oriente, messosi d' accordo con un coraggioso editore milanese, abbia promosso un Albo di onoranze internazionali a Cristoforo Colombo e ch' egli abbia trovata molta e cortese adesione non pure tra gli Orientalisti europei, ma fra gli stessi Orientali, e, in particolar modo, fra gli Indiani, i quali andarono a gara per rendere omaggio alla memoria del grande navigatore, con ogni maniera di laudi, in ogni lor lingua, fino a quella più universale della musica, come si rileverà dal saggio d' inno vedico in onore di Colombo, scritto dal Ragia Surindro Mohun Tāgor di Calcutta.

L' Albo verrà soltanto pubblicato il 12 ottobre prossimo pel

giorno anniversario del primo memorabile approdo del Genovese all'Isola del Salvatore. Ma i fogli staccati in varie lingue orientali che qui già depongo riverente, in omaggio al Nono Congresso degli Orientalisti, attestano una specie di misterioso congresso spirituale d'ogni popolo e d'ogni linguaggio, intorno ad un centro di alta luce ideale diffusa sulla terra dal nome di Colombo. La concordia di pensieri e di sentimenti umani innanzi ad uno stesso faro di luce, rende l'opera conciliatrice e pacifica di questa specie di Congressi intieramente salutare; la sola arma de' Congressi essendo poi la parola luminosa, la parola che ci viene dal religioso Oriente ha più d'ogni altra l'obbligo di esser buona, come la luce che investe d'una sola armonia il Creatore ed il Creato.

SECTION I.

INDIA.

HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA: ITS POSITION AND CLAIMS.

BY

SIR RAYMOND WEST, K.C.I.E., LL.D.,
President of the Indian Section.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I feel very deeply the honour you have done me in electing me President of the Indian Section of this Congress of Oriental Scholars. In thanking you for the distinction you have conferred upon me, I could have wished to mark my appreciation of it, and, if possible, justify your choice, by some definite and original contribution to your proceedings as the result of research in some hitherto unworked field. But the notice I received was very brief, and my books and papers, recently arrived from India, are not yet so arranged as to be readily available for reference and citation. Under these circumstances I have resolved to take as the subject of my address to you a topic with which my daily life, as an official in India, has made me more or less familiar. In offering some observations on the position of the Higher Education in India I shall dwell on a topic which, though not of a recondite nature, is yet of great importance, and must have a special interest for scholars like yourselves, zealous for the cultivation of solid and fruitful learning amongst a people upon whose history and literature your attention has been fixed through many studious years. India holds a place, and a not inconsiderable one, in the history of human thought. It may have much still to contribute to the ideas and the impulses, to the longings, hopes, and sympathies, which are the moving forces of mankind. That its intellectual wealth should be developed and directed aright is a matter that concerns all men, but especially the subjects of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress, who are immediately responsible for the welfare and honour of this great dependency. These considerations may, perhaps, be held to excuse me for endeavouring to bring about

something like a general consensus of opinion in appreciating what has been accomplished already, in recognising defects in the existing system of education, and in indicating the means by which a further great and continuous progress may be ensured.

Seeing the extent of my subject in its modern and practical aspect, I cannot at present dwell at any length on the ancient learning of the Hindus, on the means by which it was nurtured and propagated, on the schools of philosophy, the seminaries of Vedantic study, the rivalries of the orthodox and the ascetics, or the patronage of scholars by the princes and chiefs, who thus hoped both to gain a divine guidance in their undertakings, and to win an eternal commemoration of their great deeds. Our attention will no doubt be drawn to these subjects in some of the learned papers that will be read before us. I propose only to glance at one or two points as a necessary introduction to the remarks which are to follow.

A distribution of functions and division of labour have from the earliest times been recognised in the Brahminical system as part of the ordination of Providence. The Brahmins gave a sacred import to what was merely a convenient arrangement, an absolute unqualified value to virtues and capacities of conditional and limited utility. What we call principles are generally rules or propositions which, though just and true as applied to facts within a certain range, become erroneous when extended to a wider application. The subtilty of things exceeds the subtilty of words, and the phrase or formula which was highly valuable as a summation or a symbol of actual observation or experience, becomes misleading when it is assigned an independent value and made to control facts instead of representing them. Thus, as particular qualities and capacities are closely connected with particular avocations, the Brahmins conceived virtues and mental perfections as the specific characteristics of castes rather than as the attributes of developed and cultivated humanity. The common background of identical mutual needs, of duties and rights, subject only to model variations, was too much overlooked, just as in Europe until recent times the dominance of one or another set of human perfections was exclusively accepted by one or another class as all-important. In India no man, it was thought, could be expected to fill out the whole sphere of moral and intellectual greatness; in Europe that sphere itself was contracted according to the needs or narrow experience of this or that class; and virtue for all mankind was, according to different theories, to be based on different ideals. This involved a clashing and contradiction which the Brahmin avoided by his distribution of moral obligations, but it

led by degrees to higher and higher conceptions of what was possible and desirable for the progress and perfection of the human race on a footing of substantial moral equality. It allowed for that final adjustment of each individual to his proper place in the thinking and acting world by which the greatest economy of moral and material forces was to be secured, while caste and its consequences bound men down by ever-multiplied restrictions to narrowness, stagnation, and timidity in thought and action.

The higher education of Ancient India was, in substance, the education of the Brahminical class, conceived as the sole and sacred depositaries of enlarged thought and elevated morality. The attempt, nay, the mere desire, to scale the heights of learning was deemed a grievous offence in one belonging to an inferior caste. The Brahmins, by renouncing all ideas of military prowess and dominion, as inconsistent with the proper attributes of their caste, extinguished the jealousy of the Kshatriya princes, who then, on account both of the mental superiority and of the sacred character of the unwarlike "lords of the earth," became their generous patrons and pupils. The Brahmins were comparatively insensible to the stimulus of power, honours, and fortune, which in these days operate not less strongly on them than on others; but the love of learning, and of intellectual activity for their own sakes, ruled amongst them with not less force than afterwards prevailed amongst some of the monastic orders of Europe. Their experience in the conduct of human affairs being very limited, and the pictures of Government they looked on being rather those of individual caprices than of the conflicts of political ideas, and the movement of masses or parties with desires and aims wrought by mutual reaction to this or that resultant force, they could not and did not write history. From their placid standpoint of immeasurable religious superiority they looked on with real or affected indifference. But in the other chief spheres of mental activity, such as mathematics, philosophy, and poetry, they made a progress in many cases exceeding that of their European contemporaries. The contact of mind with mind, the minute familiarity with the most captivating thoughts of the past, acquired by long years of rote learning and verbal analysis, kept the intellectual life in existence, vigorous within its limits, if not progressive, as under the rule of the schoolmen and of Avenoes's Aristotelism was afterwards the case in Europe. But the capacity for expansion and growth had evidently been lost even before the irruption of the Mahomedans. The far-ranging conquests and conversions of Islam in India narrowed the

field for the chance growth of individual genius ; but the culminating point of Brahminical learning had already been reached, and it seems highly improbable that any Galileo or Bacon would have arisen to break down old ideas and force the acceptance of a new world of light on recipients triply enveloped in learned misconceptions and prejudices, without rivals or enemies, and regarding as abominable anything which should touch their cherished traditions and beliefs.

Amid the sea of Mahomedan conquest there were always some islands of Hindu independence. In the territories of the Rajput princes, and in the chiefships which arose on the decay of the Mogul dynasties, Brahminical learning circled round and round in a barren sphere of commentary exegesis and verbal controversy. Learning was kept alive, and the valuable treasures of the past were in part preserved, but with no fresh gifts to human thought of appreciable value. For centuries the case of India was as the case of Greece during its long domination by the Romans. The capacity to acquire, to imitate, to work on ground already prepared, existed ; the capacity to create and produce, to estimate with penetrating judgment and a just sense of proportion, had fallen into a state of trance or torpor amid its vaporous environment of unsubstantial learning. Yet the hereditary intellectual faculty had not perished. It only awaited contact with a living, vigorous, growing organism, to itself awaken again into new activity. The right point of view from which to look out on the problems of human nature and life had been lost. The slavish submission to authority, and to the dead-letter of the sacred writings, deepened from age to age. It required a mighty shock to break these bonds asunder. This shock was given by the British conquests, and by the energy with which European ideas in every sphere were forced on the attention of Hindu scholars and thinkers in the last century. Had the new light been as gladly welcomed as that which spread over Europe at the revival of learning, we might ere now have witnessed a complete renaissance of the native intellect. The variety of life, the infinite conflict of contending interests, which in Europe remoulded the boons of antiquity to the uses of modern society, were in a great measure wanting in India. The severance of learning and speculative power from the pursuits and the endless suggestiveness of practical life was almost complete. Religion everywhere stood forth with menacing mien to guard the traditional learning and philosophy from intrusion, examination, and improvement. Hence it is that the culture of Europe was for long so churlishly and

grudgingly accepted. Even now men are not wanting—and scholars, too—who affect to find in the outworn shastras a complete satisfaction for the spiritual needs of humanity. The change which has to be effected, which is slowly going on, needs for its achievement the earnest, enthusiastic toil of a host of many-sided men, who can absorb the modern spirit without casting off their nationality. The new must be wedded to the old, blended with it in one existence, before the plastic force which is to enrich the future can find complete development. To bring about such a consummation, it is manifest that much more must be done than merely to draw or press larger numbers along in the traditional grooves. A mere increase of numbers without an enlargement of thought rather adds to the mass of prejudice through which a path has to be made towards the light. Provision must be made, and made ever more effective, for affording the appropriate nurture to the natural leaders of mental progress. It is they who, equally with the great rishis of the past, will give its peculiar stamp to the native character. The weaker men must follow in their train. Thus, to afford to native students of superior abilities the means of growing truly learned and wise, is the noblest gift that England can bestow on India when peace and order have once been secured. There is, no doubt, a great advantage in raising the general level of low intelligence by means of diffused primary instruction. Mere skill in arithmetic is a great economical benefit. But the bonds of affinity which link the genius of one nation to another, are not to be found in the ideas and feelings of a mass of mediocrities. It is in the higher regions of thought that the points of union are found; there it is that the powers are disciplined, the judgments formed, the inspirations caught, which afterwards the crowd instinctively, almost unconsciously, obey. It is by associating with the master-minds of our own and former generations that individual genius takes the bent which fits it to be the exponent of what is eternal in the thoughts that surround it. Thus, and thus only, can be formed and perfected the fit interpreters between the long-severed branches of the Aryan family.

It cannot perhaps be said with exact truth that far-reaching aims, extending to an ultimate fusion of the civilisation of the East and the West, animated the eminent men who laid the foundations of modern State education in India. But being themselves in some degree scholars, they sympathised with learning, and desired to enter into alliance with it. Looking on native society as they did, in the condition it had reached unaffected by European influences,

the importance of the higher education was more strongly and immediately evident to them than that of primary instruction, which has since sometimes been made to stand in the way of vital progress. Warren Hastings, a man whose real greatness comes out the clearer from every fresh investigation, founded the Madresa, a Mahomedan college, at Calcutta, in 1781. Jonathan Duncan founded the Sanskrit College at Benares in 1791. Mountstuart Elphinstone held large and liberal views about education, to which he was prepared to give effect notwithstanding the risks which might attend such a policy. His immediate successor as Commissioner of the Dekkan, Mr. Chaplin, founded the Sanskrit College at Poona in 1821. This institution was abolished, and the materials were recast in 1851. It had proved useless and barren, if not worse; and but little more could be said of the colleges at Benares and Calcutta. So long as such institutions worked on a traditional and purely indigenous basis they could but maintain an inert existence. They needed communion with the learning and philosophy of Europe, with a new science, a different history, and a different social theory, before the dry bones could live again. More recent experience has shown that a revival was quite possible, and is gradually teaching how the renewed life may become wise and fruitful for India and for mankind.

The small beginnings to which I have pointed still went farther than the State in England, in the last century, was inclined to go. Yet the sense of public responsibility for the education of the people was gradually gathering force. It was easier to spend Indian than English money on an experiment in State education; and thus it came about that India took the lead of England, by almost a generation, in providing pecuniarily, to some extent, for public instruction. By the Charter Act of 1813 the Governor-General was authorised to spend an annual sum of not less than a lakh of rupees, out of the surplus territorial revenue, on the revival and improvement of literature, the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and on "the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India." The aim was a generous one, but it was vaguely conceived. The true nature and extent of the obligation and of the burdens it imposed had to be learned from experience. For many years, in Bengal, the initiative in extending education was left wholly to private efforts.

Mountstuart Elphinstone, as Governor of Bombay, laid down his interpretation of the duty cast on the Indian Government in terms

which involved the principles of the present system. The Government was, by means of its subsidies, to improve the teaching in native schools, to supply school-books, to encourage the lower and poorer classes to accept instruction, to establish schools for imparting European science and higher education, to provide for the publication of books on moral and physical science in the vernacular, to establish schools for teaching English as a discipline, and as a means of acquiring a knowledge of European science and learning, in the study of which the natives were to be encouraged. A beginning had already been made, and on Elphinstone's retirement a fitting memorial was raised to him in the shape of the institution out of which have since grown the Elphinstone College and School. At Poona, meanwhile, a charity fund of Rs. 35,000 a year was expended on the Sanskrit College, an institution of purely indigenous type, and from which European literature and science were jealously excluded.

In the Bombay Presidency State education proceeded for a generation on the foundation thus laid by Elphinstone. But the higher learning, being virtually left to the care of the Sanskrit College and of native scholars, languished, and with it the initiatory studies to which it should have afforded a standard and stimulus. Much was done to diffuse business knowledge, and the missionary volunteers who stepped into the field of education were protected and encouraged; but the mental centre of the native community remained almost unchanged; no communion was established between cultivated Hindu minds and those of European scholars. The Sanskrit College, it was found after a long trial, "had failed of its object, had fulfilled no purpose but that of perpetuating prejudices and false systems of opinion;" without abandoning the old ruts, true progress was impossible.

In Bengal, meanwhile, arose the famous controversy on the proper basis of teaching as Oriental or English, in which the last word was for long and by many supposed to have been pronounced by Macaulay in his Minute of 1836. This is full of its author's one-sidedness and rhetorical exaggeration. But in advocating English rather than Sanskrit or Arabic he was right even in the interests of these languages and of those learned in them. What those languages contain of positive learning, science, and philosophy, though valuable for the history of the human mind, for comparison and for suggestion, yet rests on a narrow and defective view of men's mutual relations, and on a distorted and erroneous observation of physical facts. A science accepting grotesque contradictions of

established truths and history, everywhere defaced by crude fable, had necessarily to be discarded. The rich grains of thought embedded in so much rubbish could be severed and saved only by the application of new standards and a newly developed faculty of discrimination.

Still the acceptance and the spread of European thought was a slow process. One great reason for this was the indifference or dislike of the higher official class to literary culture in the natives. Even in 1852 we find Sir G. Campbell saying—

“Lord Hardinge distinguished himself by a declaration, for the encouragement of education in the Government colleges, that proficiency should lead to employment in the service of Government, which has not been and cannot be carried out, mainly because a business education is not given in those colleges, and the efficient service of Government cannot be sacrificed to the gratification of literary fancies. A young Hindu may know Milton by heart, and yet not be fit for the charge of a police station.”*

The writer of such a passage as this evidently failed not only in sympathy with the cravings of able natives for an enlarged mental horizon, but in appreciation of the marked superiority of a well-cultivated mind, even for the practical work of everyday life. It has since been discovered that as the work of administration grows more refined and difficult, the graduates of a University make the best judges and executive officers in all but the lowest grades. As to education for purposes outside this narrow circle, Sir A. Lyall has expressed the general conviction of thinking Englishmen:—

“England’s prime function in India is at present this: to superintend the tranquil elevation of the whole moral and intellectual standard.”†

The wide diffusion of a colloquial knowledge of English, and a general movement of thought in matters educational, at last prepared the way for a further great advance. The Despatch of 1854, dictated by Sir Charles Wood, was the foundation of the existing system of public education in India. The Court of Directors said, “The education we desire to see extended is that which has for its object the diffusion of the improvements, science, philosophy, and literature of Europe—in short, of European knowledge. They ordered that a graduated series of schools and colleges should be established, crowned in each Presidency by a University. The time was ripe for a great step in advance. The new system was introduced, and the Acts of

* Campbell, “Modern India,” p. 198.

† Sir A. Lyall, “Asiatic Studies,” p. 305.

the Legislature creating the Universities, passed in the year of the great Mutiny, subsist as monuments of the coolness and persistent energy of the English race.

The system of public instruction thus set on foot imitates in its outlines the English system. But it is more complete and connected in its parts, and it recognises more than the English system the duty of the State to support education in all its stages as equally important to the public welfare. The boons held out by the Government have been eagerly grasped by the people. The burden of educating a nation, though shared by the voluntary bodies, grew heavier year by year. The demand for secondary and higher education, given now in a far more effective way than formerly, continually increased. Some alarm was felt at the vast numbers of youths passing through the secondary schools to the Universities. A reaction of feeling set in amongst the European community; and it is not too much to say that now for several years any extension of higher education has by many been looked on with comparative coldness, if not positive disfavour, except when it took the shape of technical instruction. Primary education, which no doubt deserves all possible encouragement, has, it may be feared, in some instances been cried up only to cry a higher education down. Some native writers even have joined in the cry. Thus Mr. Nanjoshi, writing in 1890, says, "In the 'Self-Government Acts' adequate provision is made for elementary education, but the machinery by which the adequacy has to be judged has not been working. Hundreds of villages have yet got no schools; higher and secondary schools yet continue to be the white elephants in the department, and primary education is being starved."

There are no doubt remote villages, and there are half-savage tribes to which education has hardly penetrated; but primary instruction is now so diffused as to confer an average of three or four years' schooling on every available boy of the school-going age. The education of girls has lagged far behind, but its progress in numbers is now not less rapid than that of boys.

It is unquestionably an evil when secondary education, still more when University education, so to speak, outruns primary instruction. Improved faculty, enlarged productiveness, in the lower strata of society ought to furnish the material on which its higher members work. There is no great need for a large multiplication of secondary schools and of colleges affiliated to the Universities, but there is need for access to them being made easy to ability, and great need for their teaching being raised and widened, if

those who pass through them and become the intellectual leaders of India are to be equal to their high calling, and are to take a part honourable to themselves and their nation in the creation of an imperial spirit which shall supersede all ideas of severance, and further that fusion of the philosophies of the East and West to which we may now look most hopefully for the moral and intellectual advance of mankind.

The means at the disposal of Government for purposes of education in a country where the material edifice of modern civilisation has to be built up in one or two generations are necessarily scanty. In the Bombay Presidency, where, perhaps, public education has been the most earnestly pushed forward, one-sixteenth of the land-tax is handed over to the local boards, and these are required to expend one-third of the amount on elementary education. Municipalities must provide for primary instruction, and may provide middle and higher schools. The Government, several years ago, engaged, to the extent of its means, to pay one-third of the cost of the schools which should be thus established; but the hunger for education has exceeded the resources available to satisfy it. The municipalities are so alive to the advantages of a comparatively advanced education that they desire to set up secondary schools, to which the Government is unable to contribute. The primary schools are treated as a first charge on the public resources, whether local or provincial; and secondary schools have in some cases even been suppressed. Where they gave but a meagre feast of "cram" without true enlargement or elevation, the result is not perhaps much to be deplored; but the money thus saved would be best expended on making the higher education in all its stages more worthy of that name. The tests for admission to the secondary schools and classes should be more strict. The teaching should be more individual and formative, the leaving examinations qualifying for appearance at the entrance examinations of the University should be far more exacting than they are. Not more than half of those pronounced fit by the schoolmasters succeed in the entrance examination, which, however, itself still admits many whom Nature will never allow to be scholars. The supply of professional men will not fail, and a mass of dull graduates crammed with formulas which they cannot assimilate, are a mere dead-weight on the community. The eagerness which everywhere subsists for secondary education should be satisfied in another way, the duty of the local bodies should be fulfilled in another way than by an indiscriminate establishment of new schools which,

being ill-supported, must needs be inefficient. Every town community qualified for municipal rank, say of 5000 inhabitants or upwards, should be required to provide by a small rate for the subsistence by stipends of one student at a central secondary school for each 2000 of its population, and for one student at an Arts College or a professional college for each 4000 of the population. The students sent up should be subject to proper tests, and the fees should be payable whether students were provided or not. This would be a great and systematic extension of the scheme of stipends already acted on by some municipalities. It could readily be extended to the rural local boards. The increase of individual local burdens would be almost imperceptible, and the high schools and colleges, enriched by additional contributions, could enlarge and improve their standards of education and their teaching staff.

Sir Richard Temple, writing in 1880,* said—

“The fact that the Government in India maintains colleges of its own at all is the subject of complaint in some quarters. It is urged that the efforts of the State in this direction should be confined to making grants-in-aid to the colleges belonging to private societies; that these private colleges are suffering from the competition of the Government colleges; and that the Government colleges at the Presidency cities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay ought to be closed.”

Yet, as he further observes—

“The authorities at the Presidency colleges do not attempt to undermine the missionary colleges by charging town fees; on the contrary, they charge somewhat higher fees than those of any private institutions.”

The fact is, that the greatly increased energy of teaching in the Government institutions, and the attraction of Government scholarships, had begun to draw off a large proportion of the promising pupils from the institutions of the missionary bodies. It may be true also that the now highly organised and compact Educational Departments looked with some dislike or disdain on their humbler rivals; but that any unfairness was shown in the dispensation of the Government grants was never proved. The Government had, in truth, grown only too anxious to shift the burden of education as much as possible from its own shoulders. It set on foot the Educational Commission, which, after an elaborate inquiry in all parts of India, presented its report in 1882. This recommended a far-reaching transfer of education from the Government to private

* “India in 1880,” p. 147.

control. Secondary education, the Commission said, ought to be gradually transferred to native management; it should no longer be the concern of Government when once Government could withdraw without lowering the standards. Thus the managing bodies which had proved unequal to compete with the Government schools on equal terms were to supersede them, with all their chances of lax management, defective teaching, and the impossibility of personal adaptation which attends small organisations as compared with great ones. Outside the Government schools and colleges the higher education of India was virtually in the hands of the various missionary bodies; and to them first-rate teaching of secular subjects could not, perhaps ought not, to be the principal object. In spite of ability, devotion, and force of character in individual cases, it is even more true for India than for a European state, that "a public system of schools is indispensable in modern communities," if only for this, that "of public schools you can take guarantees, of private schools you cannot." You can examine the pupils, and regulate your grant-in-aid according to the results; but you cannot maintain the same scientific methods, the same ideal of attainments, the same superiority in the body of teachers, as where they are chosen purely on grounds of scholarship and competence, are independent of the pupils and their parents, and animated with the emulous spirit of a great body free to strive, and always striving from good to better in system and practice.

The recommendations of the Educational Commission pointed to a considerable saving to the Government. Private effort was ready to take up high education, and the Government wished as far as possible to transfer it. Even "Board schools and municipal schools," the Government of India said, "are not private institutions in the sense contemplated by the Commission. What is meant is a transfer of the Government schools and Board schools to the hands of trustees in order to set free funds for the extension of education in other directions." In giving effect to the principles thus indicated, the Educational Department have "retired in a somewhat wholesale manner from the conduct of secondary schools," in spite of the grave objections already noted, and others arising from the necessity of preserving a balance amongst opposing races and sects. When private bodies of natives take up the work of education there is the further danger of its being perverted to stimulate separatist sentiments and foster national pride in forms that may prove politically mischievous. Free criticism is what every Government, founded in any degree on British principles, must be content to submit to, but

the function of public censors does not afford a safe and wholesome exercise for schoolboys, or even for their teachers. A uniform acceptance of the system under which they live, loyalty to the Throne, and proud satisfaction in forming part of a great progressive empire, are highly favourable, by the lofty calm which they tend to produce, to both mental and moral enlargement. Indolence on the part of Government, or a short-sighted indifference to the great opportunities it enjoys, may well prove the source of infinite troubles in a not distant future.

Between 1883 and 1886 there was a diminution from 282 to 230 of the English secondary schools under State management in British India, while those under Local Boards and municipalities increased from 281 to 342. "Private trustees" have as yet barely come into the field. The missionary schools and colleges only are growing in number and usefulness. The somewhat precipitate course that secondary education was taking was pointed out to the Government of India, but the result was only to draw from it a declaration in 1888 that, "in educational, as in all other matters, it is the policy of the Government of India to avoid entering into competition with private enterprise." Its activity was, therefore, to be limited "to helping, by reasonable subventions, the operation of independent institutions." It would "maintain but a few schools," in order "to afford a standard." It was laid down that "expenditure on Government educational institutions should be a constantly diminishing quantity, provided there is the assurance that the ground abandoned by Government will be occupied by local effort." There was even to be "a contraction in the numbers educated, especially in the high schools and colleges still maintained by Government."

The Administration Report of 1888-89 shows that this resolution of the Government of India, was generally disapproved by the organs of public opinion. They condemned as a retrograde step the transfer of the higher education to private bodies, not accepting the principle that the education of a people was like a manufacturing business, in which Government ought not to compete with private enterprise, or not seeing the enterprise with which it was to compete. They agreed rather with the views of Macaulay, so vigorously expressed on a similar subject in 1847.

"We have just come victorious out of a long and fierce contest for the liberty of trade. While that contest was undecided, much was said and written about the advantages of free competition, and about the danger of suffering the State to regulate matters which should be left to individuals. There has consequently arisen in the

minds of persons who are led by words, and who are little in the habit of making distinctions, a disposition to apply to political questions and moral questions principles which are sound only when applied to commercial questions. These people, not content with having forced the Government to surrender a province wrongfully usurped, now wish to wrest from the Government a domain held by a right which was never before questioned, and which cannot be questioned with the smallest show of reason. 'If,' they say, 'free competition is a good thing in trade, it must surely be a good thing in education. The supply of other commodities—of sugar, for example—is left to adjust itself to the demand; and the consequence is that we are better supplied with sugar than if the Government undertook to supply us. Why then should we doubt that the supply of instruction will, without the intervention of the Government, be found equal to the demand?' Never was there a more false analogy."

The policy of withdrawal, however, has been steadily pursued. In Madras, in 1888-89, there were 147 upper secondary schools, but of these only four remained, which were directly supported and controlled by Government. In other provinces a similar process has gone on, though on a less sweeping scale. There has been a vast extension of secondary education in the last ten years, but the charge to Government has decreased, the augmented expenses being defrayed chiefly by increased fees. Nothing could testify more strongly than this to the eagerness of the people for advanced education. They desire English education in preference to vernacular; but, judging by numbers, they desire instruction in the classical languages, and especially in Sanskrit, still fifty per cent. more than in English. It is evident that there is room now for an enlargement of the basis of Sanskrit study; it should no longer remain isolated, but should be taught and learned in connection with all that may be gained through English of the European ways of facing the same problems which Sanskrit literature presents and strives to solve. It is not unworthy of the most powerful Government that it should respond to the nobler cravings of its subjects, and the expansion of the classical teaching need not involve any such expense as would materially disturb the balance between the outlay on secondary and on primary education. The youths receiving secondary education amount, after all, to only some five per cent. of the whole number recorded as under instruction in India. The students in colleges amount to no more than one per cent. In England the proportion is twice as great; in a German state four

or five times as great, of youths under secondary instruction. In a German town, indeed, from a third to a half of the children are in the higher schools; but in Germany it is everywhere recognised, in direct opposition to the principle announced by the Government of India, that the State is more especially interested in the higher education, the town or locality in the lower. The contributions of Government are regulated accordingly.

In 1890-91 the expenditure of the Government of Bombay in aid of secondary schools is set down as Rs. 10,230 on secondary schools under municipalities, against Rs. 27,403 contributed by the municipal funds, and Rs. 27,348 obtained from fees. This is, of course, far from representing the whole case, since Rs. 125,000 were expended on secondary schools managed directly by Government. But even here fees were levied to the amount of Rs. 183,000. For aided secondary schools under private management Government contributed Rs. 190,000 towards an aggregate expenditure of Rs. 700,000. The fees produced Rs. 275,000, and the endowments about Rs. 228,000. To secondary schools managed by District Local Boards the Government contributed but Rs. 391 out of about Rs. 5000. To the Government secondary schools the municipalities contributed but Rs. 6700 and the Local Boards nothing. These figures show that the Bombay Government has not indeed wholly withdrawn from its care of secondary education, but they show, too, that the municipalities are but little encouraged in their efforts to maintain higher education, and that the public contributions all round are meagre and insufficient. So far from being pampered, secondary education is starved, except in so far as it is sustained by the payments of fees, and these in India are extracted mainly from a needy, half-famished class, having as strong a claim as any to the public aid in qualifying their children for their future callings. In the native States under Bombay the total expenditure on secondary education was Rs. 190,000, and of this the States contributed Rs. 134,000. Admitting then the claims of primary instruction, it may fairly be contended that even in Bombay secondary education, so greedily sought and readily paid for by the people, may properly ask such support from the State as shall raise it to the highest efficiency, and by means of bursaries bring it within reach of every boy of adequate capacity and promise. If all India is taken into view the case is no better, perhaps worse than in Bombay. Between 1881 and 1885 the total cost of secondary instruction for boys rose from forty-four to sixty-four lakhs of rupees, while the Government contributions actually diminished

from Rs. 1,596,000 to Rs. 1,518,000. In Madras, in 1888-89, there were 147 high schools, with some 26,000 pupils. But of these forty-seven were unaided, and, of course, uncontrolled; sixty-eight were aided; twenty-eight were Local Board schools, and only four directly supported and controlled by Government.

In University education the retrogression of Government has been marked in 1889-90 by reducing the staff of European professors at the Hooghley College, and by placing the Krishnagur and Rajashaha Colleges under a European principal of the subordinate educational service, assisted by graduates of the Calcutta University. The education at these institutions may possibly not be seriously and immediately impaired by the changes in the staff; but there is, at least, a risk of deterioration. The students in the Bengal Colleges went on meanwhile increasing, while the cost of each to Government fell by about twenty per cent. Economy was further attained by refusing grants-in-aid to 413 secondary schools in 1889-90, which was followed in 1890-91 by a decline of 2000 in the number of pupils in these establishments, though the number of schools increased. In the Punjab, of six colleges, only one remained under Government control in 1890-91. The control of University education, of which the Government is divesting itself, is not as yet passing in any large measure into native hands. In Madras, in 1887-88, of eleven first-class colleges teaching the course up to the B.A. degree, seven were aided colleges, six maintained by missionary bodies, and one the Doveton (Protestant) College. Three high schools, it is said, became second-grade colleges, teaching up to the first examination in arts, and three, it is further said, are under native committees. There is one college of higher rank, founded by the Maharajah of Vizianagram; but the most completely developed, and perhaps the only fully developed college under purely native management in India, is the Fergusson College at Poona. The college at Aligarh is a native foundation, but it is under a European principal. It is the missionaries who thus far are taking the place of Government, and the readiness with which their teaching is accepted proves the intense desire of the people for high education. There is no reason to doubt that the missionary colleges do their work efficiently; their students take honours in the University examinations. Yet secular instruction is not the aim of their being, and Sir A. Croft remarks of Bengal, in 1888-89, that the superiority of the Government colleges was fully maintained.

The institution of the science degrees in the Indian Universities,

or the introduction of the science subjects into the course for B.A., produced a certain movement from the literary to the science course. In Madras, in 1887-88, there was a transfer of about thirty per cent. of candidates from languages to the various "optional" or selected subjects. The extension of professional openings and professional studies will, it may be hoped, continue to attract many students to physical science; but, in spite of the general success of the candidates for degrees taking up the optional subjects, they have of late declined in numbers from year to year. Sir A. Croft observes that in the unaided colleges science is virtually no longer taught. The strong natural bent of the people of Bengal has prevailed against all inducements.

In Bombay the impetus given under Lord Reay's administration to technical teaching has not yet lost any of its force. It is maintained with liberality, the expenditure in 1890-91 having risen from 89,000 rupees to 123,000 rupees contributed by Government. Literary education and technical training go on *pari passu*, though pursued generally by quite different classes of students. But training for practical ends is sought in the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute, and in the classes of the Poona College of Science. In the University the old order of studies still maintains its predominance. The number of students taking up the classical languages does not decline, and the general interest of native society in the Sanskrit literature grows more pronounced as it grows more enlightened. But while the demand for a higher and more complete teaching is thus growing, the means of teaching, even where they have not been lessened, have not been allowed to increase. There would seem, as Sir A. Croft reported in 1888, to be "room for a great development of the highest form of education, of the value of which to its possessors and to the State there can be little doubt;" but the Government colleges, which could best impart the highest instruction, are bound down to tasks of a lower order by the insufficiency of their staffs. Mr. Wordsworth, the Principal of the Elphinstone College, reports: "If no additions are to be made, the work of preparing youths for the previous examinations should be carried on in the high schools or provincial colleges, and this college be open only to students preparing for the higher examinations. With our existing staff we could teach these pretty effectually, and include in our course some lectures for those reading for the degree of M.A." It is evident, then, that, as at present constituted and manned, the Government colleges fall short of giving that highest instruction without which all the lower teaching must

more or less fail to produce a creative, reproductive intelligence. It is only to Government agency that we can look for this highest teaching; and for a due balance of effort and development amongst the several classes of instruction it is indispensable.

It has already been pointed out, in the inaugural address of the eminent President of this Congress, how the study of Sanskrit has, in the past generation, added to the history of the human mind and of human institutions. It is taking an ever-widening place in the field of literature and history, and the facts and thoughts which it presents claim more and more an equal place beside those furnished by the more familiar literature of ancient and modern Europe. For India a correct appreciation of the teachings of its literature is of inestimable importance. In no other country is the present so deeply rooted in the past; in none are existing institutions, beliefs, and manners so unintelligible, except by reference to their origin in a remote antiquity. The search for what this far past has to reveal, the interpretation of what it has to tell, ought to be, must be in great part, the work of native scholars. But just as the treasures of Sanskrit are now found indispensable by the European scholar to a complete survey of human progress, so must the native student be furnished with an ample armament of general culture, with European learning and European methods of investigation, if he is to discover and appreciate the golden ore in the Eastern mines of learning. He must bear a torch of European criticism if he is to draw from his native stores matter that will be accepted as a true addition to the wealth of mankind. He it is who has to take up those elements of civilisation which Europe offers, and present them in shapes which his countrymen can assimilate, and through them find their way into the great march of modern progress. A stunted and merely Asiatic culture will for such a purpose be almost useless. Of Sanskrit, as of many other things, it may be said that to know it alone is but to half know it, and recent history demonstrates that its study cannot really flourish except when it grows side by side with a free and generous culture in the widest sense.

The few purely Oriental colleges that have survived in India have been described as "mere remnants of old institutions, designed for the cultivation of the classical learning of the Hindus and Mahomedans, especially as bearing on their religion, laws, and customs." Only three of these colleges survive: the Sanskrit department of the college at Benares; the Oriental department of the Canning College at Lucknow, and the Oriental college at Lahore.

There is also the Madrasa at Calcutta, but this has become merely a second-grade college. Its standard in Arabic is not prescribed by any University, and its literary energy stands almost at zero. The Oriental department of the Canning College has about ninety students, of whom the majority are Mahomedans. They are examined by the Punjab University for its Oriental titles, but not for ordinary degrees. The Calcutta Sanskrit College now instructs classes for the first examination in Arts. Some half-dozen or so of students may be found reading Sanskrit for the degree of M.A. The Sanskrit department of the College at Benares presents a much better figure. It has about 460 students. Proficiency is rewarded by Oriental titles. In the Anglo-Sanskrit department there are about fifty students, mostly pundits of advanced years. The crowd of Brahmins, who in former days taught Sanskrit to thousands of disciples from all parts of India, has vanished. The ancient interest in the study has died out, the newer interest seeks other ways of satisfaction. The Benares students, as may well be supposed, devote themselves to learning with great zeal and assiduity; and the knowledge they acquire is, in a narrow way, solid and complete. Yet we learn that outside "mathematics and astronomy, taught by translations from English, the teaching moves entirely in the old grooves. What we should call a critical knowledge of the language is scarcely to be found." The Anglo-Sanskrit department, opened, or reopened, in 1884, has not as yet had time to produce any material effect.

We could not gather from these examples that Sanskrit, standing alone and as a law unto itself, was capable of doing much for the mental enrichment of modern India, or even of long maintaining itself as a subject of general serious study. The Oriental College at Lahore was started with wider aims and a more promising announcement of studies. "It cultivates the Oriental classical languages along with the higher branches of European knowledge through the vernaculars. . . . Students are thus prepared for examination in arts, medicine, and engineering. . . . The chief object of the students is not the acquisition of general knowledge, but the advanced study of the Eastern classics. . . . The higher training in the classics enables us to attract classes who have a desire for Eastern but none for Western learning, and to insist on the acquisition of a certain amount of more general knowledge—that required for the entrance examination of the Oriental Faculty. . . . We hope gradually to lead our students to follow the course for degrees rather than that for titles."

The Punjab College was made a University in 1882. It was intended to be Oriental in spirit and character without being confined to the study of Oriental learning and languages. The examinations in Arts are held not only in English but in the vernacular languages, and an Oriental Faculty examines for special degrees in Oriental classics. An institution resting on such broad and liberal ideas ought *à priori* to have achieved a great success. It may be presumed to have done for Sanskrit and Arabic all that could be done by merely Oriental methods. These were carried so far that astronomy was taught for some time according to the Ptolemaic system, as adopted by the Arabians. An investigation into the working of the institution was held in 1885-86, and this "brought to light the extraordinary condition of affairs that all the students who were attending the college and school were stipendiaries, with the exception of forty-six, who were in expectation of receiving stipends." This gave occasion to some very caustic comments on the part of the Lieutenant-Governor, who found that students' stipends had been drawn for eight, ten, and even fourteen years. "With regard to the scope of the pretensions and the operations of the Oriental College and School," the Sub-Committee found that they were "altogether out of proportion to the available means, teaching power, and appliances." The Sub-Committee state, "There are, at present, no classes in Hindu and Mahomedan law. As regards the medical classes, it was found that the only instruction given was half-an-hour a day in the study of ancient Sanskrit, or Arabic medical books." Yet the Oriental classics, it was reported, were taught up to a high standard, and science and general knowledge were well conveyed through the vernacular. The purely artificial character of the Institution was proved by the fact that, as compared with an expenditure by Government of Rs. 25,447, only Rs. 578 were realised from fees.

It seems to result from this examination of all the available instances, that Oriental education, on a purely Oriental basis in India, has not quite succeeded, even when tried under the most favourable conditions. It is equally evident that there is an insufficient provision for high University education. In 1885-86, as Sir Alfred Croft points out, only twelve colleges in all India prepared candidates successfully for the degree of M.A. "If the instruction were provided, there would probably be no lack of students to take advantage of it." It ought to be provided, and especially in Sanskrit, as the completion and the crown of a thorough and comprehensive course of general study—linked closely on to the whole

body of University teaching. It is as important to the students of to-day, who are to be the teachers of the future, as a knowledge of precedents is to the English lawyer. It should be taught, if necessary, more intensively rather than extensively. It is dear to the people, the key by which the riddle of their existence is solved, a means whereby the two great masses of British subjects can at length meet upon a common ground of thought.

I have pointed to the fact that the system of public education in India was similar in its main outlines to the English system. It was well to start from a known platform, but the English plan was obviously but a fragment of a complete system. It provided only for the simplest rudimentary instruction as a public care. The State education of India is in this respect immensely ahead of it, and yet this, especially in recent years, has been obstructed and embarrassed by a tangle of notions of British growth, grown obsolete, in a great measure, even in the United Kingdom, and wholly inapplicable to a country of such widely different conditions as India. The statesman of India should be enlightened, not enslaved, by the example of this country.

“Not clinging to an ancient saw,
Not mastered by a modern term.”

Piercing through circumstances to principles he should discern that the higher and the highest education he can bestow is the perpetual want of India until it be satisfied, and that the interest of England is beyond all measure concerned in the shape and direction given to the growing and aspiring intellect of the great dependency.

The secondary schools in India have this advantage over the endowed schools in England, that they are subject to regular and searching examination. They form a part of the system inspected and controlled by the Education Department. In England, on the other hand, when the Charity Commissioners have once framed a scheme for a school, and set it going, it is thenceforward left very much to itself. It does not come within the visitations of the Inspectors of Schools, because it is not a primary aided school; the Charity Commissioners have no authority to appoint inspectors or exercise superintendence. Hence they have no official means of testing either the soundness of their schemes or the intelligence and zeal with which they are carried out by the governing bodies. Nor can the Charity Commissioners find out with any certainty where a want of secondary education is most felt, and how for each locality

it may best be supplied. Wales and Scotland are in this respect distinctly in advance of England. In England the State does not found high schools or help, or even inspect them. They are found in some places where they are almost thrown away. In others they exist not where they are most needed, or exist only through private enterprise or benevolence. There are some scholarships linking the primary to the secondary schools, and this is a point at which the Charity Commissioners aim in their schemes for reorganising educational foundations; but there is an absolute want of continuity and system as between the lower and the higher education. The State looks after the former; the latter, equally important, is left almost to chance. India, in the outline, at least, of its educational system, approaches the completeness of Germany. There is a regular gradation of schools and of studies from the lowest to the highest, and to the University. Voluntary bodies who have established schools and colleges receive grants in aid on terms which place them on an equality with the Government institutions, and which are perfectly satisfactory to them. They provide instruction in many cases at lower rates and with more consideration for individual cases than the purely public institutions. A poor boy of unusual ability knows exactly what opportunities are open to him, what line he has to take in order to make his way to a University degree; and there are aids enough on the way in the shape of Government and municipal scholarships to encourage him in diligence. The plan of Indian public education is not ill laid down. What it wants is enrichment, enlargement, the capacity and means to cultivate the best abilities, to turn out and preserve to learning a larger—a much larger—proportion of distinguished men among the host of mediocrities. But it needs, too, a recognition of the principle thoroughly accepted in Germany, that the higher the scale of education the wider the region interested in it. Thus the State should contribute a larger proportion to the secondary than to the primary school. In India it is generally just the reverse. In England secondary education is left to take care of itself. The very wealth of endowments with which the community has been enriched by the munificence of past generations has in recent years stood in the way of a systematic progress of scholars from the lowest to the highest rung of the educational ladder. Many of our great foundations date from an earlier period, but the sixteenth century was particularly fruitful in grammar-schools. It was a time when men's minds were greatly and nobly stirred, a time of rising prices, of prosperity for the middle classes, and of confidence in the future. The endowments took

generally the form of dedications of land, which were specially appropriate for large towns, because the value of the land would increase with the growth of population, and of children needing instruction. The stream of benevolence, though lessened in proportion to the nation's wealth, has never ceased to flow, but many new objects have arisen, and new means of elementary education have come into existence on lines different from those of earlier times. A generous education was in the times following the revival of learning recognised as the only education. Instruction aimed at learning, as learning was then conceived; but the practical needs of active life were little cared for by the grammar-school master, and the demand for immediately useful instruction, even on a very low level, gave rise to the private adventure schools in which the mass of middle-class Englishmen have been brought up.

No country shows more than England the impoverishment which the lower everyday studies suffer through a divorce from the higher. While classical and philosophical learning has kept on the old lines, sharing fairly in the general movement of European thought, though suffering by its partial severance from the great active interests of the nation, the exigencies of daily life amongst a lower, rougher class have been met by a rude rule-of-thumb education, or rather instruction, supplying in a fragmentary unorganised way such scraps of practical accomplishments as were indispensable for purposes of business. There is neither the systematic discipline imposed on the teachers and learners of the classical languages, nor is teaching based on a thorough study of human faculties and human growth, and working on this foundation towards a gymnastic of the mind, which shall open wider and strengthen it in such a sequence of training as may produce the maximum of energy and flexibility in the whole sphere of effort and invention within which the intended occupations are embraced. Individual genius of course triumphs in England, as everywhere over the obstacle of unfavourable surroundings, but in England perhaps more than anywhere capacity goes to waste through want of cultivation. Recent years, no doubt, have seen great efforts made by the Charity Commissioners to make the educational endowments which abound in some parts of the country available for carrying on youths of exceptional promise from one stage to another of education. The existence even of such possibilities for ability and diligence is not generally known. There is a complete absence of a system connecting the lower with the higher schools, and with the Universities. There may incidentally and occasionally be some gain in leaving

a leaven of high intelligence, even though uncultivated, to work amongst the masses; but this is not to be compared in value, socially or politically, with a continuous and regular movement upwards, bringing home to the poor and ignorant, that for them as for others—for their sons, at any rate—there is a free career open to ability. A chain of common intellectual interests, binding the different orders of the community together, is not less important in view of the rising problems of the future, than the political and religious connections which counteract the severing influence of differences of means. Now, in the matter of gradation and co-ordination in its educational system, India is distinctly in advance of England. Scotland and Wales will bear comparison with India, as they take greatly the lead of England, but in any criticism of the Indian Educational Department, it must be borne in mind that, with limited means, and with enormous difficulties to contend against, the Government has placed instruction, and the highest instruction, fairly within the reach of every youth of ability who chooses to strive for it.

By the Welsh Intermediate Education Act of 1889, provision is made for an Education Committee for each county. The Committee is to submit to the Charity Commissioners a scheme for the intermediary and technical education of the country, and for the use of existing endowments. The County Council may provide for the scheme out of the county rate, with a condition for its own representation on the governing board. The scheme has to be dealt with and put in operation by the Charity Commissioners, like one for an endowed school. Provision is thus made for a complete scheme of secondary schools if only the County Councils will vote the requisite funds. The extra rate for this purpose must not exceed a halfpenny in the pound. To the sum thus raised may be added an equal sum from the Treasury, on condition of the schools being maintained in an efficient state. The schemes proposed must be approved by the Charity Commissioners, which, it may be hoped, will prevent any degradation of the existing means, slender as they are, of higher instruction.

In Scotland, secondary education has in some way been provided for in the ordinary schools during the last two centuries. There are many more endowments than in Wales, though not so many as in England. A power of rating, not only for lower but for higher class schools, was given by the legislation of twenty years ago. It was found by experience that enough had not been done for secondary education, and further arrangements had to be made, but

the problem presented itself under far more favourable conditions than elsewhere.

By a recent order of the Scottish Education Commission of the Privy Council, a representative Committee will be formed for every county.

It will report on the existing means of higher education in each county in Scotland.

It will name the schools fitted for an additional provision, and the school districts where new schools are needed. It will say whether any secondary school, not being a higher-class public school under the Act of 1872, is eligible for a share in the grant.

It will consider any proposal submitted by the County Council for promoting technical education in connection with secondary education by means of funds at its disposal.

There are similar provisions for the great burghs of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Dundee.

The allowances are £3 a head for average of boys above 13 who have passed Standard VI.; £6 a head for children who, having been for three years in a public or State-aided school, have passed Standard VI., and such further examination as may be prescribed to test their fitness for secondary education; £2 a head for those under 13 who have passed Standard VI.; to State-aided schools making provision for higher education, £1 a head for each pupil passing the third stage of a special subject deemed secondary, and £3 for each who then remains a year learning secondary subjects.

Suitable buildings must be provided and the curriculum must be approved as conditions of the aforesaid grants.

The continuation of the grant is conditional on annual approval by the County Committee or Burgh Committee and Scottish Education Department of the work of the schools.

I have pointed already to the earnest and widely spread desire for secondary education which prevails in India. In the great towns which are the centres of industrial activity the craving for technical instruction is no less vigorous. The objects properly included in secondary and in technical education are very well indicated in Section 17 of the Welsh Act already referred to. It is almost a disgrace to great cities of the empire like Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay if they do not profit by the examples which have been set them by the chief towns of the United Kingdom, and, with the aid which they may most reasonably claim, establish secondary schools on a large and liberal scale.

If their inhabitants in the next generation are to retain their place in the world of intellect and of material prosperity, learning and science and the applications of science must be assiduously studied. A truly corporate spirit ought to manifest itself in all ways in which, as in this, combined and co-ordinated action is immeasurably more efficient than individual effort. Offers of private endowments should be met in a generous spirit, and the Government thus shamed, if necessary, into an equal liberality. Every populous municipality in India should strive to place itself on the level of Edinburgh or Dundee, and make secondary instruction in learning and in industrial arts one of the main aims of its corporate existence. In some of the municipalities below the first rank the requisite spirit exists; in the greatest it may be feared a less noble ambition or a greater stinginess prevails. But by one means or another, from one source or another, provision must be made for keeping the Indian scholar and the Indian artificer or captain of labour abreast of the general line of progress if the gains of to-day are to be preserved, and positive retrogression is to be avoided.

The mofussil or rural districts of India are now almost everywhere brought under the control of local boards established under the impulse given by Lord Ripon's administration. These may, for our present purpose, be compared with the County Councils of the United Kingdom. Wherever, within the bounds of a zilla, the want of secondary education of either class has become distinctly felt, a way should be provided on the Welsh or the Scottish model for the constitution of a local educational council or committee, and for the establishment of such secondary schools on such a footing as may be expedient. The local boards should be invested with a power of rating within modest limits for this special purpose, and the provincial Government should be empowered or required to supplement the rate in each case with an equal sum from the general provincial revenues up to an aggregate settled quinquennially by the Imperial Government. The schemes would differ materially for different districts. It may be feared that in some apathy, or the dread even of a slightly increased fiscal burden, would prevent any universal demand for higher instruction from arising. In such cases it should be open to any substantial portion of the community to make the requisite demand, and to Government to act on such demand. The contribution from the provincial revenue would be a sufficient check on hasty assent. The principle of a local provision, compulsory for primary instruction, discretionary for secondary education, is already embodied in the law, but two further steps

are necessary, or at least desirable: (1) The constitution of an Educational Commission on the Scottish system; and (2) a power to enforce action in favour of higher instruction when necessary. Add to these a uniform contribution by Government, and then the machinery would be complete. At present the Government, in Bombay desires to help local boards to the extent of one-third of the cost of elementary education, but its means, like those of the local boards, are insufficient. They could be found and would be found in the quinquennial fiscal contract between the provincial and the Imperial Governments if a statutory duty were imposed on the former to aid local communities commensurately with their willingness to tax themselves both for primary and for secondary education. In most municipalities of Western India a special education rate would be least unpalatable when devoted to the purpose of higher instruction, in a liberal sense, but with due regard to the specific wants of the population. It has, indeed, been found necessary to check a municipality's contribution, and official congratulations have been uttered over municipalities' parsimony in this direction, as leaving more available for primary instruction.

Considering the position of England as the mistress of India, and the fact that Her Majesty rules over six Asiatics for one subject of European blood, the provision made in England for the encouragement of Oriental learning is of a mean and unworthy kind. The able young men who crowd our Universities, looking anxiously forward for a career, see that, except by great good fortune, to turn to Sanskrit or Arabic, instead of Greek and Latin, would be to ruin their prospects, to place themselves on a low level of means and comfort, for all their lives. India could afford something, England could afford much, towards remedying this evil, and making English Orientalists as numerous and productive, let us say, as those of Germany. In the disposal of offices that require Oriental learning, the Universities and other learned bodies would do well to give a preference to men who, by long residence in India, have gained a living acquaintance with its literature as it lives and works in the mind of the people. Native scholars of distinguished erudition should be invited and induced to take up their residence, and to work and lecture for a longer or shorter period in the United Kingdom. Some young Englishmen of unusual zeal and promise should be sent to complete their studies at Benares. Such supplementary measures as these would complete and crown the improved development of learning in India. They would bring the metropolitan country into closer relation with its great dependency; they

would do something to correct the superciliousness which springs from ignorance, and to promote that communion of thought and feeling, without which a true and all-pervading unity of imperial spirit is all but impossible.

In India, as has been done in Egypt, a large sum might be obtained for Sanskrit education out of the numerous religious endowments, without any departure from their main purpose. In some cases which have come into the Courts new schemes for the administration of the charities have been framed, and in the place of large additions to genuine places and to the crowd of mendicants to be fed gratuitously, provision has been made for the establishment and extension of schools. An Act was passed by the legislation a couple of years ago under which the Government can in many cases do even more efficiently what the Courts have sometimes done. In the present state of feeling of the native community in India, no applications of charitable funds would be more acceptable than those by which education should be extended; and if this extension should, even in part, take the shape of placing the study of Sanskrit and of Arabic on a high and scholarly basis, it would everywhere be taken as a sign of true interest and sympathy, and do much to endear their rulers to the Hindu and Mahomedan subjects of Her Majesty. Many opulent natives of India—chiefs and others—feel a deep religious, as well as a social and benevolent, interest in the higher education of their countrymen. We have only to look at the long list of endowments conferred on the University of Bombay during its one generation of existence, to see that a generous desire to aid scholarship is very widely diffused. It is indeed the opinion of some who know the University well, that there are in proportion scholarships enough, and that more good can now be done by adding to the general fund of the University than by creating additional prizes. But all will, I think, concur, when I commend to the attention of wealthy and patriotic men the founding of lectureships and scholarships constituted specially for the pursuit of original research, and for widening and deepening the foundations on which the Indian, and especially Sanskrit, learning of the future is to be built. The aim should be to make native scholars not only complete masters of their own sacred language, but masters also of the general learning and philosophy, without which their special acquirements must lose half their value.

If the several means of governmental, corporate, and individual action which I have indicated should be brought to bear energetically

but judiciously on Indian students, the result in a generation would be a rise in the quality of native education as remarkable as its wide extension during our own time. Whether in those active pursuits which call for a large share of physical energy the Hindus will ever quite equal Europeans may reasonably be doubted; but in learning and speculation they may certainly expect to produce some great masters from among the multitude who are ready to become submissive and earnest disciples.

In dwelling as I have done on the duty and the means of enlarging and elevating the native learning of India, I would not be understood as advocating any indiscriminate multiplication of the mere passmen who take up Sanskrit or Persian as their classical language for the bachelor's degree. The aim should be rather to increase the depth and fulness of learning than to add to the crowd of half-trained scholars. The tastes and traditions of the Hindus tend always to throw an excessive number of competitors into the ranks of those who seek literary employment. Thousands become ill-educated scholars merely because this is their hereditary calling, and they have not energy to strike into a new career. These numerous ineffectives lower the general level of aspiration even amongst those who do better. They should be to a large extent excluded from the career of learning by severer tests applied at an early stage, and, as far as possible, other careers should be opened for them. The sluggish and incapable must needs be comparative failures in any line whatever, but many who have no literary gift might succeed as engineers, as builders, carpenters, and machinists. The appliances of advanced mechanical art have as yet been but little brought to bear on the construction of houses in Indian cities. Sanitation is in its infancy; sound and pure art is but little employed by the wealthy commercial classes in the embellishment of their dwellings. In every direction there are calls for the increased application of science and the industrial arts to improve the comfort and beauty of human life. A somewhat severe code of building laws and sanitary regulations would not only improve the physical well-being of the people, but would open out occupation for a multitude of specialists and experts who would thus be drawn off from the too-crowded field of literary work. Thus the material and the intellectual improvement of the people would be directly advanced by the same measures which would gradually break down the anti-economical restrictions of such employments and wasteful modes of production.

In pointing out the shortcomings of the Sanskrit College at

Benares, its principal, Dr. Thibaut, adds that the English colleges have done very little for the promotion of Sanskrit scholarship. This cannot be accepted as correct without a large qualification as applied to the colleges of the Bombay Presidency. These have produced men like Messrs. Bhándárkar, Pandit, and Telang, who know well how to employ the critical methods of European scholarship. They are able to hold their own in contests with the most advanced European scholars in matters controverted amongst them. The Bombay Sanskrit Series is a most creditable evidence in several of its productions that native scholarship,¹ while characterised by all the minute thoroughness of the old indigenous school, can yet in favoured instances quit the old grooves and expatiate in the wider field opened to it by the vigour and enterprise of European learning.

¹ *Publications by Natives in Bombay.*

I. S. P. Pandit :—

- (1) "Edition of the Rāghuvansā," 3 Nrs. Bo. S. S.
- (2) "Edition of the Mālavikāgnimitra" (No. 1, two editions). Bo. S. S.
- (3) "Edition of the Vikramorveśī" (No. 1, two editions). Bo. S. S.
- (4) "Edition of the Gāṇḍevaho" (No. 1). Bo. S. S.
- (5) "Kumāragrālarīta" (in the Press, No. 1). Bo. S. S.
- (6) "The Atharvaveda with Sāyana's Com.," discovered by Mr. Pandit, and published for the Government of Bombay (in the Press).
- (7) "Vedāsthayatra," not completed, a serial translation of the R. V. into English and Hebrew.

II. K. T. Telang :—

- (8) "Edition of Bhartrihari's Centuries" (No. 1, two editions). Bo. S. S.
- (9) "Bhāgavaddgita" translated. Sacred Books of the East, vol. xviii.
- (10) "Was the Rāmāyana copied from Homer?"

III. R. G. Bhándárkar :—

- (11) "Edition of Mālatimādhava" (one vol.). Bo. S. S.
- (12) "Report on the Search for S. MSS." 1882-83 (vol. i.). Government Press.
- (13) "Report on the Search for S. MSS." 1883-84 (vol. i.). Government Press.
- (14) "History of the Dekhan for the Bombay Gazetteer."
- (15) "Wilson Lectures on Indian languages" (published each Year). Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society.

IV. Apte.

- (16) English-Sanskrit Dictionary.
- (17) Sanskrit-English Dictionary.
- (18) Guide to Sanskrit Composition.

V.-VI. Parab and Godbole.

The Daśakumāracharita with the Comm. of Kavindra of Sūiasvati and Sivaram Tiwari; and many other editions, with Commentaries for the Nirnayasāgra Press.

E.g., Sākuntala, with the Arthadyotanikā, Priyadarśikā, by Śrī Harsha, Kathāsaritsa Sāgara, &c. &c.

This tribute is due to the not inconsiderable group of young native scholars who, in the Bombay Presidency and the region subject to its influence, have maintained and still maintain the national honour in the beloved field of national learning, while they accept and employ in a truly catholic spirit all the resources placed at their disposal by the great brotherhood of erudition throughout the world. Yet if one without pretensions to be an expert may hazard the observation, the general out-turn of Sanskrit teaching, even in the Elphinstone and the Dekhan Colleges of the Bombay Presidency is stunted and meagre as compared with the needs of the community and of the age. The ordinary students just pass the examinations and obtain their degrees on a very slender minimum of true critical scholarship. A certain limited command of Sanskrit is most easily acquired by those whose vernacular language rests so largely on a Sanskrit foundation, and whose daily converse teems with Sanskrit phrases. But this kind of rote-knowledge need not necessarily imply a more thorough scholarship than a courier's acquaintance with French or Italian. The B.A. who takes up Sanskrit as his classical language does no doubt go a good deal further than that, but still not far enough for a vivifying formative influence to be exercised over him, still less for his powers to become in their turn productive and add materially to the sum of human knowledge and the volume of intellectual harmonies amongst mankind. I should even say, from observation, that Sanskrit, studied with anything like exclusiveness and made almost the sole ground of mental exertion during those years in which a permanent stamp is given to the intellectual and moral character, is apt in ordinary cases to exercise a narrowing and self-involving influence, to give acuteness and verbal skill, while hardening and confirming local and national conceit and disinclination to receive instruction from without. It would be invidious to cite particular evidences of this; but they must be manifest to any one who closely observes the movements of native society at such a place as Poona. The position taken up by many Hindu scholars with reference to women and their place in human society shows that there may be genuine and extensive learning of a kind with but little moral expansion, and but slight enlargement of the capacity to appreciate the means by which India and the Hindus may contribute nobly to the future progress of the human race.

There seems, then, to be needed, even for the full appreciation of the Sanskrit literature and philosophy, much more than a technical mastery, however perfect, of the mere language itself. A

liberal—that is, a wide-reaching—education is essential to the Sanskritist in India as in Europe, if he would make his learning fruitful and an element of human progress. It should be informed with philosophy, with the thoughts and emotions that have a universal and eternal value. The liberal education means for the Hindu (and indeed equally, or still more, for the Musalman) a thorough immersion in European thought—not in mathematical or physical science, which has its high and separate value, but in the thought which is concerned with the proper activities of men as individuals and as members of society. Fertility, expansion, even a true conception of what each system contains and can do for man, must be got at by bringing the European and the Asiatic systems into close contact and comparison. For this the Indian scholar should resort to the great fountain-heads of Western thought in the Greek literature, and follow the stream down through the philosophers and historians who have portrayed, and partly made, the living progressive world in its successive phases down to our own day.

The study of a literature or a philosophy—the one blends with the other—thus pursued is as far as possible from deserving a sneer or a reproach as impractical. The favourite notion of fifty years ago, that the world could be regenerated and human happiness secured by mere *laissez-faire*, and the mechanical operation of barbaric self-acting laws of supply and demand, has been discredited by experience. Human society, human welfare and progress, it is now seen, present ever new problems, which demand for their solution a deeper insight into man's nature, a larger and more generous sympathy with his spiritual needs, than were dreamed of in a past generation. After a long fascination by the marvels of science, and the boons it has bestowed on our material existence, men's minds once more turn from the new standpoint thus gained towards a corresponding advance in their intellectual and moral being. The air is full of announcements of schemes for giving men more leisure, for making them more mutually helpful, for satisfying aspirations towards a beauty and completeness of life in which the soul may find rest. The time has once more arrived for the speculative and creative faculty to do some great things for the relief of man's estate. The more minds there are brought to bear on this work, and the better skilled and furnished they are with various endowments and experience, the greater will be the prospect of success. It appears to be the scheme of Providence, or a necessity of human nature, that many problems of

society should first be wrought out on a limited scale, as amongst the Hebrews and the Greeks, before the results become available to mankind at large. Each nation stirred by great impulses may hope that it will have its own definite contribution to give towards the growth of our race in power, nobleness, and moral beauty. The Hindu and the Musalman have their contributions to make, but, in order to present these in shapes that shall be effectual and productive, they must gain a wide intellectual outlook. They must qualify themselves to see and to grasp those subtle links which bind human activities in a substantial unity amid endless phenomenal diversities. Thus trained and disciplined, they may, with their fine contemplative powers, become the interpreters of the special experience of their own people—of their specific message to mankind—in forms intelligible and acceptable to all nations. They will thus repay their debt to England and to Europe by a bounteous contribution to the sources of our future welfare, to an enlarged philosophy, a wider benevolence, and to “the mighty hopes that make us men.”

II.

THE LANGUAGE CENSUS OF INDIA.

BY

JERVOISE ATHELSTANE BAINES,

Census Commissioner for India.

“ἔστι δὲ πολλὰ ἔθνηα Ἰνδῶν, καὶ οὐκ ὁμόφωνά σφισι.”—HERODOTUS.

THE subject on which I am to address you to-day is the census of the languages of India, which, I may mention, formed part of the general census of that country taken in February 1891. I may as well introduce my subject with a few words of explanation as to the scope of the inquiry and its object.

The Committee which drew up the scheme of operations for the first general census of India, of which body my predecessor, Sir W. Chichele Plowden, was the leading spirit, recommended that a return of mother-tongue should be obtained, which might serve, in combination with another of birthplace, as an indication of race, in cases of foreigners or persons of mixed blood. The suggestion was approved by the Government, and the results are to be found in the report on that census.

Ten years later, when we were making preparations for the census of 1891, we proposed an expansion of the schedule which would allow for the entry of race in cases such as those I mentioned just now, but we thought it advisable to retain the column for parent-tongue, not so much for comparison with the return for the preceding census, as to serve as an aid to future philological inquiry. I admit, of course, that the offhand inquisition which alone is practicable at a census is not much of a step in that direction; still it is a step, and it was an object with us to get a photograph, as it were, of the existing distribution of language in India, from the popular standpoint, which might to some extent guide the more leisurely and comprehensive researches of competent specialists. In accordance with this view, the instructions issued regarding language ran as follows:—

“Enter here the language ordinarily spoken in the household of the parents, whether it be that of the place of enumeration or not.”

So much for the object of the inquiry ; now as to its scope. It was thought that in some of the less advanced native states the agency available for enumeration would be inferior in experience and supervising power than that of British provinces, so we were unwilling to throw upon such tracts the burden of collecting detail which would turn out, probably, untrustworthy. We limited our demand, accordingly, to the more general points on which statistics were wanted for the Imperial returns, and along with the rest, thus thrown overboard, went those concerning language. In justice to the administration of the census operations in Rájputána and Central India, however, I must not omit to say that had I been aware beforehand of the care that was to be taken in supervising the arrangements, I should have unhesitatingly asked from them the same amount of information as was required from the population under our direct administration. As it is, the loss, so far as language is concerned, is not important, except with regard to the wilder parts of Central India, where there are dialects in use amongst the hill tribes that are said to be dying out. It is a pity, therefore, that we could not get a record of them whilst they are still current.

The omission, *valde deflenda*, of Kashmér, touches us more nearly, as there is much room for information about the dialects prevalent amongst the tribes inhabiting the outskirts of the state and the hills encircling the valley. Philology requires something wider about the archaic tongues of the recesses of the Hindu-Kúsh and the Thibet frontier than the indications, often meagre and inconsistent, of chance travellers.

Then, again, Nipál was not brought within the sphere of the census operations, though it is geographically within India. We have therefore still to do without statistical information regarding the linguistic distribution at the present time of the population of this interesting state. This is the more to be regretted, as it is probable that since Mr. Hodgson published his invaluable studies, there has been considerable change in the relative prevalence of the numerous dialects he mentions.

Finally, Manipur, in which the census was duly taken, has to be excluded from our return, because the results were destroyed, I have been told, during the deplorable occurrences of March 1891. A similar misfortune happened to the returns from one or two of the small states on the northern frontier of Burma. This is a great pity, for the country about there is a regular philological cockpit. A census has on more than one occasion been accused of having given rise to unpleasantness of this description, or some

other, that I am bound to explain that in these instances the destruction of the schedules was merely an incident in the royal outbreak, not the object of it. By the way, in none of the reports in the above warlike operations is there any mention made of the efficacy of census literature as a means of defence, but I hope that the bundles of schedules did not turn out less bullet-proof than the historic record of the family dispute in the Mutiny, though I am sure that our returns were not, as the District Judge reported that to be, "duly fortified with false evidence."

The omissions just mentioned include a population of over twenty-six millions, but we have still left the return for 262 millions, or about 90 per cent. of the population dealt with by the census as a whole. The names of the languages returned, as culled from the schedules, numbered many hundreds. Even after sifting out synonymous entries, and grouping under main heads dialectic variations which I did not think it worth while to distinguish in the general return, I have not been able to reduce the latter to less than 150 items, though about fifty of these have been relegated to the Provincial portion of the Table.

But the value of this information lies, of course, in the variety of its component parts, not in their numerical bulk. India is indeed the "happy hunting-ground" of the philologist, for we there find language in every stage of its development; or, to put it otherwise, forms of speech are there current which appertain to nearly every one of the classes recognised in philology. Its geographical conditions, almost as much as its political history, have contributed to this; so, in undertaking the explanation of the subdivision and grouping of the above mass of figures, I must call in the aid of both these elements in the ethnology of the country. Then, again, the question of race cannot be quite ignored, even in the case of the natives of the country, though I take it up, as the lawyers say, without prejudice, for I have no wish to exaggerate the value of philology in the discrimination of race.

To begin with the geographical features relevant to the matter in hand:—I need not go back farther than an age which finds India in its present conformation. The question of whether the country once formed part of the now almost submerged continent of Lemuria goes a little beyond my brief, although it has, I admit, its direct bearing on the ethnology of Southern India. I offer, however, the excuse that a census review is scarcely the place to discuss so delicate a point of physical science. The only inference I wish to draw at present is, that the influences to which the

development of the people and their language have been subjected are peculiarly local and restricted, and this is attributable, in great measure, to the main geographical features of the country in which they have settled. For instance, the sea was, up to comparatively recent ages, a complete obstacle to immigration, still more to intimate intercourse with distant foreigners. The great mountain barrier to the north can only be pierced at the north-west, and turned on the west and east; none of the routes across the Himalaya, moreover, is practicable to more than a small body of men at a time, and the passage of the many ranges that compose that system, backed as they are by desert and inhospitable table-land, must always be a matter of considerable time. If we turn in the other direction, the course of immigrants from the north-east, we find, would be naturally deflected from India by the watershed between that country and the great valleys of the Irrawaddi and Mekong, except to those who might have reached the upper waters of the Dibong. On the other hand, all the routes that debouch into India from the north-west, meet at once the Indus valley and the Panjab, from which the Gangetic plain is separated by a watershed of but insignificant height. The immigrant, therefore, once through the Himálaya or Hindu-Kúsh, would find the way open before him to choose an advance eastwards or westwards, irrespective of physical obstacles. The submontane tracts of the Panjab, with their continuation down the rich alluvial plain of the Gangetic system, afford the obvious outlet of a community disposed to agriculture, whilst the vast grazing grounds of the south-western plains would be similarly attractive to those of pastoral proclivities. Belts of either desert or forest-clad hills cut off these tracts from the Peninsula proper, so that as long as the valley provided abundant room for expansion, there would be no object in leaving the fat banks of the river to tempt the dangers and hardships of a trespass across the dividing range. Colonisation, too, if necessary, could find its way round the coast-line, especially on the west, where the road is comparatively open.

Now, tradition confirms very much what is suggested by the above description. The immigration into India by land of which we have any knowledge was the result of centrifugal movements on the part of the population of the archaic seats of habitation north of the Himálaya, following, as they did, the lines of least resistance. The tide from the east, whether it originated in the same tract, or, as seems more probable, came from the direction of South-Western China, either sought the sea by way of the Golden Chersonese, or trickled into India along the base of the Eastern Himálayas and

the Bráhmáputra valley. If any of this race came across the main chain of the Himálayas—and possibly there was a slight move in that direction—the attempt seems to have stopped in the mountains.¹ We may infer from this, perhaps, that the new-comers found the plains of the south already occupied in force.

The more important stream, that from the north-west, spread over the Hindu-Kúsh, whilst the main body probably took the Indus valley, where it turns sharply to the south at the end of the central rib of the Himálayas, and followed it down to the Panjáb. From thence the movement spread in the course of ages down the main streams, but its progress southwards, across the Central Indian ranges, was stopped, probably by political as well as physical obstacles, and of these I will speak a little later. What I have now to point out is, that from the nature of the country and the course of their migration, the immigrants by land could not have kept touch with their kindred across the snows, and as there was no intercourse by sea, the language of an Indic-Aryan community, to use the conventional title, whatever stage it might have reached before it arrived in the Panjab, was thereafter left to be developed by the necessities and genius of those who brought it with them, uninfluenced by outside experience. Similarly, within the country itself, there were physical causes of the isolation of the various offshoots of the parent stock. A mountain range, a belt of dense forest, still more the deep gorges of the Himálayas, so completely separate the respective inhabitants of their flanks, that people who have split off from the same tribe but three or four generations ago are often unable to understand each other's tongue.

From the geographical influences of the country on the language I pass to the political. The *data* for the satisfactory decision as to the unity of the autochthonous inhabitants, or its variety, seem to be so obliterated that conclusion must be largely based on conjecture. It is enough to start from the Aryan tradition, which states that this race whilst colonising the country were opposed by two classes of previous occupants. First, a yellow race, worshipping snakes and various caudate creatures, but showing no reverence to the cow and her kin. This seems to point to a community of Mongoloid or Scythic extraction, but whatever these people were, they do not seem to have been widely spread over the country, and probably they retreated before the advancing Aryan

¹ The Mongoloid characteristics of certain tribes south of the sub-Himálayan tracts do not seem sufficient to establish identity of race between those tribes and the ultramontane yellow races, and with the Scythic settlements of later date on the Panjáb frontier I am not at present dealing.

to the eastern hills and the base of the Himálayas. The really disagreeable people the Aryans had to deal with were the black races, who had undoubtedly been settled in the country some considerable time before the new-comers from the north, and had established places of abode, if not cities, in our modern acceptation of the term, and were particularly strong in the centre and south of the tract occupied. It does not appear that the acquisition of the country by the Aryans was of the nature of an invasion. They had no doubt some fighting to do on their first arrival, but afterwards the operations were more in defence against raids than aggressive movements like those of later invasions. Probably the settlers got a firm foothold on a fertile corner of Upper India, and there waxed and multiplied, until by force of numbers they pressed their way along the rivers. The Âryas had reached, it is certain, a considerable pitch of civilisation before they entered India, and their advance, which was very slow, was the usual result of contact with far less developed communities in an open and fertile country. The opposing element, especially of the black type, was forced from the plains to the hills, and there they have remained, acclimatised to conditions fatal to their dispossessors. The Hill tracts of Central India have thus been compared to patches of cover isolated in the middle of cultivated land, affording a refuge to all the wild animals which have been expelled from the rest of the country. The same may be said of the Himalayan Tarai and the ranges of Eastern India and Assam. In such tracts, there being no influence but that of tribe to keep the communities together, and the country being favourable, as I pointed out just now, to isolation, we find a variety of language unknown, I believe, in any other part of the old world; and since investigation has been impeded by political circumstances till quite recently, there is still almost virgin soil left for the philologist.

To return to the Âryas:—It does not appear that anything like an organised extermination of the opposing races was either intended or carried out. With the exception of the ruling and more warlike clans of the latter, the bulk seem to have accepted the position of helots under the colonists, and intermarriage between the two races became a common practice, in proportion as the occupation of the country led the Âryas further from their seat of origin. Such intercourse must have had a certain influence on the vocabulary and pronunciation of the new-comers. Then, too, the spread of the Âryas was not that of a nation, but of a congeries of clans, which was gradually disintegrated, so that independent communities sprang

up in all directions, as the wave of population rolled eastward. Now, it has been observed that it is only civilisation that is able to spread a language through considerable masses of people, and the growth of the Arya element in India was probably too quick for the development of its civilisation. The erection of independent states and the admixture with the daughters of the land were not the only influences that tended to break up the unity of the language brought with them by the Âryas. The firm establishment of that race in the plains was followed by the elevation of the family priest into the member of a hierarchy, so that from being the agent of the tribal or family chief in the ceremonial of sacrifice, he acquired control of all social as well as religious ritual. The sacred formulæ became his monopoly instead of the peculiar appanage of the chief, and it is not difficult to see how the disintegration of the mother-tongue of the clan was helped on by this change. For the more the latter got debased in the process of dispersement over the plains, the more exaggerated was the value that the priest was able to place on the exact knowledge of the sacred words, and the closer was the restriction of that knowledge to within the hieratic class that he was able to impose. In the end, it was made a positive offence for any but the upper classes to even listen to the recitation of the texts. A survival of this triumph is found in the present day, when in parts of India it is the practice of the impure castes of Hindus, who are the direct descendants of the helots I have just mentioned, to get an ecclesiastical sanction to their weddings by performing the same at a distance from, though within sight of, the corresponding ceremony amongst the orthodox, who are being tied together with full rites. In old days, the prohibition in question amounted practically to the refusal of instruction of any sort to the masses, since the early learning consisted here, as in so many other countries, solely of erections of various forms on the foundation of the ritualistic texts, known only to the ecclesiastic body. We may contrast this with the precept of Egypt, if the maxims of Ptah-Hotep are to be taken as reflecting the policy of his class, for it is there written, "Converse with the ignorant as freely as with the scholar, for the gates of knowledge should never be closed." From the point of view of the philologist, however, the practice of the Brâhman rather than the theory of his compeer on the Nile should receive our commendation, for the unbroken tradition of the former has preserved for us his language twenty-five centuries after it ceased to be a vernacular and became a classic.

But this is a digression from the subject of the disintegration

of the Aryan language, as brought southwards from its home in Oxiana. We begin to trace the process in the valleys of the western ranges, where dwell the tribes of Kafiristán, Chitrál, Gilgit, and the other variations of similar type. The connection in what is now Afghanistan is less apparent, as the Eránic vocabulary has been long introduced and the Indian construction obscured by local usage. In the Kashmír valley the connection is complete. In India itself, according to the ancient grammarians, there were two offshoots of Sanskrit current in the northern plains, the Sauraséni and the Mágadhi, the former south and west, the latter east and north of the rallying-point of Bráhmaṇ civilisation. But these two were apparently broken into numerous local forms, even if they ever represented the real divisions of the speech of the masses amongst the descendants of the Áryas. I have to mention them, however, as the Mágadhi form of Prakrit was the nominal vernacular of the tract in which the next political movement important to the Aryan colonisation took place. This was the rise of the Buddhistic sect, which led to the deposition of the Bráhmaṇ and the abrogation of his monopoly in favour of less restricted modes of attaining the end of man. Linguistically, this reformation had two main results. First, the new creed carried with it the dialect of its birthplace, so that Mágadhi or Páli became the language of religion in Ceylon, Burma, and Java, as well as in the transniyeen tracts of the north, Thibet and South-Western China; secondly, it unexpectedly affected the language of the Southern Himalayan valleys, for the Bráhmaṇs of Maithila and Gaud, flying before the enthusiasm of Buddhistic iconoclasts, sought refuge in those secluded spots. Here they found consolation of a worldly nature in the families of their hosts, and started a mixed colony which the whirligig of time brought into power in Nipál, as being of the warrior caste of the Áryas. For the Bráhmaṇ learnt wisdom from his defeat, and in due course of time, when Buddhism had accomplished its task in India, so far as it could be assimilated by the masses, its adversaries, debasing the spiritual currency of their scheme and exalting its social tenets, triumphantly recovered the key of futurity. Mágadhi entered the same palladium as Sanskrit, and the vernacular regained its position.

I must now have a few words on the southern portions of India. These, as I have already had occasion to mention, were placed beyond the pale of Áryawartta, probably because there was no sufficient reason for trespassing beyond the comfortable quarters of the Gangetic valley. The tracts in question, too, seem to have been inhabited by a race approaching, indeed, if not identical with, the

black races of the more northern parts of the country in colour, but of more developed civilisation. The intercourse of the Âryas with this population appears to have been confined to the stray visits of ascetics and other peaceful wanderers, some of whom settled down in the chief seats of the Dravidians, as they called the Southrons. In their case, at all events, the frock, or what corresponds to it in the garb of the Hindu professional, was not followed by the sword, and the influence of the Brâhman, either for this reason or because the Dravidian was already pretty well advanced in prosperity, was not apparent on the language of the country to any remarkable extent, though in time the religion was brought into harmony with that of the inhabitants of Upper India through Brahmanic propagandism. But the whole of the intercourse between the two races seems to have been of a peaceful character, and the wars of which we have recorded tradition were the intestinal feuds of local potentates, to whom the Brâhman partisans had given names taken from their own northern genealogy. As to the hill tracts, the same thing happened here as in the north, and they became the home of the more warlike of the wild tribes which had fled from the vassalage imposed on their fellows by the communities of the low country. I may add that geographically and physiologically these tribes are inextricably mixed up with those swept aside from the Ganges valley, though their language is in a higher state of development. Their converted kindred of the southern plains are none the less of the same type, though they are surpassed by no section of the Indian community in their devotion to Brahmanic orthodoxy, and they have adopted freely the Aryan vocabulary in all matters appertaining to ritual and the ceremonies of common life.

The subsequent history of India proper need not occupy us long, as the changes that have occurred have consisted chiefly in the short but sharp impact of alien races from the north-west of Asia, or the movements of sections of the people itself, or, again, the occupation of the country by foreigners from a distance, in such small bodies that they are lost in the sea of Indian ethnology, even if they had not for the most part the *animus revertendi* to their native country.

The invasions made for the sake of plunder only have left little trace. The Musalman dynasties imported with them a foreign element which settled in the country and administered its resources. They have set their mark on the vocabulary, but have not touched the rest of the language. The dialect known as Urdu, from the Tûrki name for the chief's camp, consists of the vernacular of the

tract round the seat of government, interlarded with large numbers of Persian words, or of Arabic words received through the Persian.¹ There has been no introduction of the Persian construction, nor are the Arabic terms inflected according to their own rules, but they have to conform to the grammatic system of their host. Of Túrki there is but a very slight trace in the vocabulary, and none elsewhere in the language. But some of the conquerors sought to propagate their creed amongst the people under their rule, and the results on the language of the latter is curiously varied. In the north, where the conversion has been on a large scale, the vernacular has suffered no change. For instance, in Baltistan or Little Thibet, where the population is Musalman almost to a man, the language is the same as that of their Buddhistic neighbours in Ladákh, and only the special terms required by the new faith are introduced, and these are modified to suit the local pronunciation. In Kashmér, where again the masses are Musalman, it is the same with the Aryan vernacular. No change, too, is noticed to follow conversion in the Panjab. In its neighbour, Sindh, and in the Laccadiv Islands and with the Mappila of Malabar, it is the same, though for correspondence the Arabic character has been adopted with a few modifications. There are, similarly, certain well-known mercantile bodies in the west of India who are all Musalman, but though they study Arabic for religious purposes, they have remained staunch to their native Gujaráthi or Kachhi in all besides. So, too, the converted cultivators of Gujaráth are undistinguishable in speech from their Hindu neighbours. On the other hand, there is all over India a numerous class of Musalman converts, especially in the towns, comprising artisans, domestic servants, and those who largely swell the bodies of the police and the native army, who have not only abandoned their original caste titles, and have affiliated themselves to foreign tribes, but regard the dialect of Hindi known as Urdu as the peculiar appanage of their faith, and adopt it, accordingly, with a strange and varied garnish of the local vernacular.

As to the movements amongst the inhabitants of India itself, I may briefly notice those of the Sikhs and the Maráthas. One of the results of the success of the Sikhs in emancipating themselves from Brahmanic orthodoxy was the erection of Panjábi to the position of a separate language. This was an accident, like the establishment of Vraj or the Dehli Hindi as the court language of the Moghals, with this difference, that the latter had already an

¹ See Bernier's account of Delhi and Agra, which cities he describes as moving almost *en masse* when the Emperor shifted his quarters for the summer.

established position, whilst the former cannot be even now said to have any recognised standard. Then, again, as the Panjáb tongue was so nearly related to its eastern rival, there was no occasion for an aggressive propaganda on the part of the new state across the Jamna, and the Lower Indus valley did not tempt occupation.

In the case of the Maráthas, too, no attempt was necessary to extend their language. The object of their expeditions was mainly gain, where it was not to obtain possession of territory already inhabited by their own race under foreign domination. The invader took what was to hand, and left a sufficient establishment of his own adherents to ensure the due realisation of future benefits, when the time came. In the meantime he was called to distant duties, and when ousted in his turn from his new nest, naturally nothing would be found of a permanent character in his arrangements, still less in the effect of his occupation on the language of the conquered tract. For instance, in Orissa there is no trace of Maráthi in the language, though the Marátha domination lasted over fifty years. In Tanjore, the Deccani is a myth save in the precincts of the late court.

The political history of the people of the north-east of Assam is mostly that of tribal movements from the south-western frontiers of China, and the languages introduced have remained more or less undisturbed in the hills first occupied. In one instance of a later age, however, the ordinary process has been reversed, and the conquering Ahôm have been won to the language of their subjects so completely, that their own, a branch of Shán, has been practically obliterated, and there are said to be few, and those only the oldest of their priests, who can still understand, or even decipher, the scattered relics of literature introduced with the original settlers. Our information regarding the hill tribes between Assam and Burma is still too recent to indicate the sources of the many and varied forms of speech found in that interesting tract.

In Burma itself we are on comparatively fresh ground. Of the four chief races of that province, there is but one which has no tradition of its advent into the region it now occupies. Unfortunately it is this, the Môn or Talaing, which opens the widest field for speculation. The Talaing is the name given them by the Burmese, and the people themselves begin their history with a story of the arrival of a foreign colony amongst them of divine origin, but hailing from the North Coromandel coast of India. Their vocabulary shows, moreover, a curious similarity to that of the larger hill tribes swept into the hills of Central India and Orissa by the Aryan occupation. Here, however, the resemblance ends, so it is hardly a

basis for concluding the identity of the two communities, especially as there must have been some one to receive the Indian prince of the tradition and offer him the kingdom; for the story does not, I think, attribute to him the paternity of the race, and the greater portion of the Môn are spread over the more distant parts of the lower Peninsula.

Of the three other races of Burma, two undoubtedly came from the north and north-east respectively, and were probably driven south by the pressure of the Chinese population from the north. It is not certain, but there are strong reasons for supposing that the Karén tribes are of the more eastern origin, as their tradition and language are nearer akin than those of the Shán to the Chinese. The Burmese attribute to their ancestors an Indian, or at least a western origin, but there are strong grounds for referring them to the same nucleus as the Shán, though from a different part of Eastern Turkestan. It is true that the inhabitants of the Nipál hills and Tarai bear a strong resemblance to the Burmese in feature and a fairly traceable one in language, but it is difficult to fill the gap between that state and the Irrawaddi valley. The yellow race, as I had occasion to remark before, has held its own along the Himálaya from Nipál eastwards, and the only crevices into which Hinduism has been able to force an entrance are in Nipál, where the court language is probably displacing the vernaculars of the hills, and the Bráhmupútra valley, where conversion of the races which have taken to the plains is in full progress. Elsewhere, linguistically speaking, agglutination is left to work out its own reformation.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE LANGUAGES.

Now, reviewing the whole position from a philological standpoint, it can be seen that India is hemmed in on the north and east by forms of speech of what is known as the TONIC class, in some parts, too, in the agglutinative stage. In the centre, the Hills have been left to wild tribes using an atonic form of speech, rudely AGGLUTINATIVE, and the south of the Peninsula is almost entirely DRAVIDIAN in its language—that is, the agglutination has reached a stage in which it is scarcely distinguishable from the INFLECTIONAL or synthetic class. This last holds the whole of the northern plains and the base of the Himálaya with the Gangetic delta, the whole course of the Indus, and the upper coasts of the Peninsula. It also stretches beyond our frontier on the west. In its highest stage, that is, in the region round its traditional centre, it is the least

inflectional, or the most analytic of all this class, approaching the western languages of Europe in its tendency in this direction. It meets in this stage the lagging Hill dialects above mentioned; and what with the opening out of the country by roads and railways, the administration of the forests on the modern economic system, and the reluctant advance of the village schoolmaster, even the wildest of those tribes are being brought within touch of the outside world. Means of livelihood are being disclosed to them of which a few years ago they never dreamed, and each step forward is accompanied by the acquisition of something fresh in the way of vocabulary, even if the adventurer does not pick up an entirely new dialect, with which the philologist of the future will have to wrestle, even as his predecessors strove with the mongrels of their day.

These remarks bring me to the classification of our language return, with which I deal as follows:—

Class of Language.	Number per 100,000 of population returning language.	amongst the immigrants I have termed the Âryas, which are returned by about three-fourths of the population. Secondly in numerical sequence, though <i>longo intervallo</i> , comes the Southern or DRAVIDIAN group, in which I include the languages of the hill tribes of the central ranges which form the northern frontier of the Deccan on the eastern side, though almost isolated geographically from their comrades,
Indic-Aryan	74,597	
Dravidian	20,213	
Kolarian	1,129	
Gypsy dialects	153	
Khâsi	68	
Shân	68	
Thibeto-Burman	2,784	
Môn	88	
Sinitic	272	
Erânic-Aryan	507	
European	94	
Semitic	21	
Basque, Malay, Japanese, } Negro dialects, &c. }	6	

and much mixed up with the class we shall come to next. I have also included, though with some diffidence, the northern but entirely separate language, Brahui, since it has been admitted to be morphologically of the south. Sinhalese, too, with its offshoot Máhl, or the tongue returned by the inhabitants of the lonely little island of Minikoi, midway between the Laccadiv and the Máldiv groups, have been included, swelling the total to about one-fifth of the population. The small remains of a much older type of language, restricted to the Hills of Western Bengal and Central India, with a branch or two running west and south, has been denominated KOLARIAN, though there are no doubt good objections to that name. It has been adopted, however, by so many distinguished writers on Indian philology and ethnology, that if it be wrong, I

err in good company. The whole group bears a proportion of but a trifle over 1 per cent. of the total, and contains only two items of any considerable prevalence.

There are two groups of languages statistically insignificant, but having special interest of their own in other ways. The first is the language of the inhabitants of the KHÁSIA and Jaintia Hills, between the two main valleys of Assam. This tongue has not been affiliated to any of the surrounding languages, whether of the Aryan or the tonic families. Till recently it was unwritten, but now, owing to the labour amongst them of the Welsh missionaries, the Roman character has been adopted, and is in general use. The whole community, however, with its three dialects, only numbers about 178,000 souls.

The second of these groups is the aggregate of the many tongues spoken by the wandering or GYPSY¹ tribes of the plains of India, and numbers just over 400,000. It is out of the question to distribute these languages amongst those having fixed dialects, as their character changes with the locality most favoured by the tribe using them, and, whilst retaining a backbone peculiar to itself, freely assimilates the local vocabulary and pronunciation. The most prevalent of these dialects is that of the Brinjáras or Lambáni, the carriers of Upper and Central India, which is based on a sub-Himalayan Hindi vernacular. The tribe, however, is found as far south as the Madras table-land, and it is not improbable that the Lambáni of the Deccan could hardly make himself understood by the corresponding caste farther north. Again, the earth-workers, called Od or Waddar, carry a language of their own from Pesháwar to the sea, using a vocabulary less and less Dravidian as the tribe frequents tracts farther away from the East Deccan, from whence it probably originated. More difficult still, as regards classification, are the dialects used by the less reputable tribes of wanderers, such as the nominal Hindi of the thieving castes of Hindustán, and the Telugu and Maráthi of the mat-weavers and pickpockets of the Deccan. All these can doubtless be generally divided into degraded forms of either Hindi or Telugu; but in doing so we have to disregard the local characteristics I have just mentioned, so they have all been taken under a heading of their own, namely, Gypsy dialects.

We pass now into the TONIC zone of language, which comprises in all its branches just over 3 per cent. of the population. As in the case of the Aryan regions of India, this proportion would be

¹ I use the term Gypsy conventionally, as the equivalent of vagrant. The only class to which it now applies in its European signification is that mentioned at the end of this paragraph, the subdivisions of which are legion.

higher if the whole of the races using language of this formation had been brought under enumeration. But a large tract on the borders of Burma and Assam had to be omitted from the census, owing to the unsettled state of the tribes just included within our territory, and the difficulty of getting competent enumerators for a population not only entirely illiterate, but also using a language in most parts which has never been reduced to writing. In tabulating the information obtained, I have had to group this otherwise unwieldy class by geographical position, beginning with Thibet, and working eastwards through Assam down into Burma, where the largest of the component units are found. Here, the main group, called in the return the THIBETO-BURMAN, is touched by three smaller groups of a kindred class, though differing enough to be separately shown. These are, first, the Tai or SHÁN; secondly, the MÔN, of which I have spoken already, and lastly, the KARÉN. The two first appear in the tables to a very small extent compared to the total number of the races by whom they are spoken. The Tai group, for instance, includes a small colony or two in East Assam, and a few more representatives in Burma, but the bulk of the Sháns are found either in the border states, where language was not returned, or in the neighbouring kingdom of Siam. The Môn group, too, is found only in Lower Burma, with an isolated tract on the frontier of Upper Burma, whilst the greater portion of the Môn race lies in Anam and Cambodia, or Khmér. The Karéns are chiefly confined to Lower Burma, and with their language I have classed the Chinese, to which, according to the best authorities that have been consulted, it can be most safely affiliated. The JAPANESE language is hardly represented. The MALAY class is chiefly interesting from an Indian point of view, on account of the curious group of sea-gypsies, called Salôn, inhabiting the Mergui Archipelago, in the south of Tenasserim. As for the Nikobári, which was returned by only one individual, I do not find that its correct allocation has been yet satisfactorily settled, so I have allowed its single representative to bring up the rear of the Burman group, though possibly he would be more congenially mated with the Malays.

On the same grounds as those on which Chinese has been grouped with Karén, though the bulk of those who use it are foreign to India, I may include in my survey the ERÁNIC section of the Aryas, which is represented by a considerable number of border tribes on the north-west, and the SEMITIC, because Aden shows the majority of its small population to be speakers of Arabic.

The SCYTHIC or Turanic group is a very small one in our return, and the HAMITIC, like Arabic, almost confined to Aden, where the settlers or sojourners from the opposite coast are relatively numerous. As for the EUROPEAN element, all I need say is that the whole tale is about 246,000 persons, of whom 238,000 return English. To conclude, we had one person whose parent tongue was Basque.

THE STATISTICS OF LANGUAGE.

I have now to take up the languages in detail. It is as well to begin with the largest, which is also the most advanced group, namely, the Indic-Aryan, or the inflectional or synthetic class. I have had to subdivide this into three geographical groups, the northern, the western, and the eastern. The first is by far the largest, as it includes HINDI, which predominates throughout Hindustan and Behár, two of the most thickly peopled tracts in India. The title itself is admittedly a comprehensive one, and includes all the varieties of Aryan speech between the Jamna and Rajmahál. It has thus absorbed such distinctions as *Vraj*, *Baiswári*, and *Bhojpúri*, as well as *Maithili* and other Behár varieties of Hindi. The same is the case in the south and west of Hindustán, where *Búndéli*, *Bághéli*, *Rángadi*, and *Nimádi* were returned by but a small fraction of the persons known to use a local variety of the standard language. On the other hand, *Lária*, the last form of Hindi found in the south-east, was returned pretty completely. A want of detail of this sort is often attributable to the absence of literature in those tongues, which fact led to the enumerator's hesitation to give them official recognition in a formal document, such as he considered the schedule to be. It is noticeable, too, that most of the returns of dialect were made by persons not belonging to the place where they were enumerated, so the enumerating agents, having foreigners to deal with, thought it most prudent to accept the term dictated to them rather than betray their ignorance by controverting its use. Then, again, as far as Hindustán proper is concerned, that is, the present North-West Provinces and Oudh, the language of the plains is officially "Hindustani," so it is not likely that any attempt would be made through the medium of the census to contravene this

Language.	Population returning it.
Hindi	85,675,373
Western Pahári	1,523,249
Central ¹ "	1,153,233
Eastern "	24,262
Panjábi	17,724,610
Kashméri	29,276
Hindu-Kúsh dialects	17

Total Northern Group . 106,130,020

¹ Garhwáli, 647,739; Kumaoni, 505,494.

authoritative decision.¹ On all these considerations, therefore, I have absorbed all such sporadic entries into the general title, lest the separate recognition of such small and scattered numbers should give a misleading notion of the actual prevalence of the dialects in question. I must not omit, however, to point out that west of the Jamna, the boundary between Hindi, Panjābi, and Marwādi is scarcely distinguishable; and similarly, on the east, the tongue of North Behār becomes gradually more and more Bengali in construction as well as vocabulary and pronunciation. In South-West Bengal, too, Hindi is returned by many of the Hill tribes, who have abandoned their own tongue in favour of a very vulgarised form of the language of the plains. The variety of dialect prevailing in the submontane tract and lower valleys of the Himālayas west of Nipāl requires a few words of explanation. I have taken the term "Pahāri," or Hill-tongue, as distinctive of the whole body; but as they are by no means uniform in detail, the tables show them in three sections, the Western or Panjāb, the Central, including Garhwāli and Kumaoni, and the Eastern, which is practically equivalent to the Nipālī dialect of the south-western portion of that state. I am unable to use the title Nipālī for this last, as it has been appropriated by the regiments of Nipāl soldiers collectively known as Gúrkhas, whose language is very largely of the Thibetan type. At the same time, it is said that owing to the adoption by the ruling families of the Khas or Parbatia dialect, which, as I have already stated, is based on Hindi, there is a tendency on the part of the tribes of the higher valleys to abandon their own tongue, as they enter more intimately into the military system of the state. But until Nipāl is brought under the census operations we are without clear information on this point.

In connection with the statistics of Hindi, a few remarks are needed about the Urdu form of that language. As to Upper India, it may be broadly stated that no line can be drawn between the vernacular and the Persianised speech of the larger towns, where, as I have before observed, the foreign element has been assimilated to the local construction. South of the Vindhya range, in places where the Musalman element is in a considerable minority, and has been recruited in such a way that the converted communities do not retain their original *status*, there is in use a distinctive dialect, based on the Dehli dialect, largely tempered with vernacular words. This was returned as Musalmāni or Deccani, and it has been taken to

¹ It is a question, too, whether the distinctions are recognised at all, otherwise than by grammatical inquirers.

be the equivalent in the south of the Urdu, or *lingua franca* of the foreign settlers in the north. It must be distinctly understood, therefore, that the 3½ millions entered under this designation by no means represent the relative prevalence of the diction of the Bāgh-o-bahār and the Prém Sāgar. I will conclude my remarks on Hindi by mentioning that though this language was returned in every one of the main divisions of India, 77 of the 85½ millions of *soi-disant* Hindi speakers were enumerated in Hindustan, Behar, and the Panjāb, and 7 millions more in the Central Provinces.

Next in order of the Northern group comes PANJĀBI, which differs from Hindi rather in vocabulary and pronunciation than in any other particular. It owes its position as an independent language more to political causes than anything else, and throughout the tract of its adoption shows variety every few miles. The three main branches are the South-Western, called Jatki or Multani, the Dogri, and the Pahari. The first is returned by 1¼ millions, all from the plains of the Indus and the borders of Sindh.¹ The second is the lower Hill dialect of Jammu westward, so it is represented more in the Kashmēr state than in our returns, and is, moreover, lapsing into Panjābi where it meets the tongue of the plains. The third, which has been noticed above, shows over 1½ millions of representatives. In the south of the province the language is a mixture of Bāgri, here classed with Marwādi; but curiously enough there is no trace of Sindhi in the west. Owing mainly to the number of recruits furnished to the native army by this province, Panjābi is found represented widely over India and Burma, but as a vernacular it is confined to the land of the Five Rivers.

Of the other languages in this group I have little to say. Kashmēri, the most interesting and important, has strayed but a short way out of its native valley, and is spoken chiefly by the colonies of weavers and carpenters in the Panjāb, and by wandering shawl-merchants elsewhere. The falling off since the last census is probably due to the temporary immigration of people driven out of their country in 1879 by the pressure of famine, and who have now returned. The small settlement of Kashmēri in the North-West Provinces is a permanent one, apparently consisting chiefly of the Hindu or literate class, not of artisan Musalmans. There are but few instances of the languages of the Hindu-Kúsh. In

¹ The tongue of the Jats, *Getæ* (*Xanthii*), through whom we derive probably our words Egyptian, Gypsy, Gitano, as it was a colony of this tribe which was first transported from Western India to Persia and Asia Minor, and spread thence into the Lower Empire and though Rumelia up the Danube.

the Panjáb a few families of Gilghit, Chitral, and even of Kafirstan and Hunza, or Borishka origin, were found, but the majority of the population of those tracts were altogether outside the census. I do not therefore feel myself bound to enter into the discussion of the correct nomenclature or classification of this group of little known languages.

I pass on, then, to the Western group, which includes nearly 33 $\frac{3}{4}$ millions. Taking the languages in their geographical order,

Language.	Population returning it.
Sindhi	2,592,341
Kachhi	439,697
Mārwādi	1,147,480
Gujarāthi ¹	10,619,789
Marāthi ²	18,892,875
Goanese, &c.	37,738

Total Western Group . 33,729,920

¹ Patnūli, 77,534.

² Konkani, 314,435.

freely. Indeed, since the country has passed under British rule, a modification of the Arabic character has been adopted in place of the local combinations of debased Devanagari letters. These last, both here and in parts of the Panjáb, only serve to record personal memoranda or accounts, and can hardly be called a means of correspondence, since one of the main objects of the scribe is to keep his production legible by no one but himself. Sindhi is not at all a widely spread language, and most of those speaking it beyond the province are to be found in the two states of Kachh and Bhawalpur, contiguous to Sindh, where the proportions of the sexes show that the migration is only the ordinary interchange of children in marriage between adjacent villages. Like the Kashmér trader, however, the merchant of Sindh is met with in most of the large towns of India, and, if a census were taken of Russia, would be found in the far-off markets of Bokhara and Samarkand, and even Nizhni-Novgorod, or, rather, he would have been so found at the time of our Indian census, for there is a report that this race has since received notice to quit the territory of the White Czar.

The connection between Kachhi and Sindhi is very close, and were it not that the parent state of the former is politically and geographically more in touch with Gujarāth than with Sindh, it would be hard to say that Kachhi was not a dialect of the latter. In the present day, however, the vernacular is receiving a strong tinge from its southern neighbour. As Kachhi is the home of a large body of the most enterprising merchants of Western India, it is not surprising to find their language returned from nearly all parts of the country.

Sindhi comes first. Philologically, it is a more backward language than Hindi, having retained far more of the inflections it derives from its Sanskrit parentage. On the other hand, owing to its frontier position, it has borrowed from the languages of the Persian Gulf

The case of Márwádi, again, is one in which it is hard to say whether a distinction should be drawn, as with Panjábi, or whether the language thus returned should not be absorbed, like Bundeli, Maithili, and so on, into the general term Hindi. We have not, however, the advantage of seeing from the census of Marwar what is the opinion of the people of that state and Bikaner, or rather that of their enumerators, on this question. At any rate, Márwádi approaches very near Gujaráthi as the latter is spoken on the south border of Rájputána; so I have taken it as forming a link between Gujaráthi and Hindi. Like Sindhi and Panjábi when written by Hindus, Marwadi has no graphic merits, and several good old tales are current as to the consequences of extending its use to correspondence, a purpose for which it was never intended. As regards its local prevalence, it is superfluous for me to state that Marwadi is a widely spread tongue. The thrifty denizen of the sands of Western and Northern Rájputána has found his way to fortune all over India, from the petty grocer's shop in a Deccan village to the most extensive banking and broking connection in the commercial capitals of both East and West India. The census returns show us Márwádi as a vernacular only in the tracts immediately adjacent to Rajputana, but it appears largely in Berar, where the race has established itself in the villages and in connection with the cotton trade, and also in Bombay and the Central Provinces, for much the same reason, with the additional attraction in the case of the former, of the grand field for speculation in rain, grain, and silver afforded by the circumstances of the chief town. Relatively to the population and the distance of the region from their native land, the Márwádi is strong in Assam, but Burma is a country which he has not yet begun to tap. For a peaceful man, whose inclination is to start life in a village remote from competitors, commercial existence in rural Burma is too full of the unexpected to be palatable.

Gujaráthi, in like manner, has become the commercial language of Western India. But as it is also the vernacular of a considerable area of British territory as well as of Baroda and many of the states connected with the Bombay Presidency, it appears in the returns to be nearly ten times as prevalent as Márwádi. In reality, it may be about thrice as numerously represented, the whole country being taken into account. Gujaráthi is one of the main offshoots of the Prakrit of Northern India, and differs little, save in detail and in its more complex inflection, from vernacular Hindi. It is almost free from dialect, but as it is the language of commerce, it acquires modifications according to the class using

it. For example, the Musalman trader combines it with Kachhi, and the Parsis, whose vernacular it is, have engrafted certain peculiarities of their own. One very remarkable offshoot of Gujaráthi is found in the Patnúli or Saurashtri dialect of the silk-weavers of the Deccan and Madras. I have not been able to trace the migrations of this class, but probably it was first brought above the Ghats through one of the many local courts of old time in the Deccan.¹ The descendants of the original silk-weavers are now found exercising the same trade in Mysore, the Deccan, and quite in the south of the Peninsula. The dialect they use is peculiar to themselves, and is not current amongst them in dealing with other communities, though it has taken the colour of the countries through which the caste has passed, and is at present mainly Telugu, whereby it has lost its northern twang. The reason for this segregation may be found, perhaps, in the fact that a class of this sort, especially when engaged in a lucrative industry, raises its demands for social recognition as it recedes farther from its place of origin. We thus find the Saurashtri weaver of the south employing priests of his own caste, who claim Brahmanical honours and ignore connection with a region where silk-weavers are not in such a high position. This leads them to neglect or depreciate their former tongue. There are, nevertheless, over 77,000 Patnúli in the Madras province, who still return their language as of yore. In addition to the extension given to the Gujaráthi language by traders and artisans, there has been a considerable movement up the Tapti valley, in the shape of agricultural colonists, from the plains below, and Sindh, too, has received its share from across the lower desert. Then, too, there is the well-known class of domestic servants, called Suratis, who were returned, I see, in most provinces in India. Unfortunately, the literary activity of Gujaráthi writers is superior to the quality of the out-turn, and, in spite of the Gujaráthi-speaking community being one of the most literate in India, little of original work is produced by it.

MARÁTHI is the chief language in the Western group. In structure and vocabulary it is remarkable for its adherence to the later Sanskrit dialects of North India, and may be called particularly Brahmanic in all its elements. It has suffered less change than the rest of its companions, and retains much of the complexity of grammatical form that has been sloughed off by Hindi and Gujaráthi.

¹ Hofrath Dr. Bühler has directed my attention, since this was written, to the Gupta Inscription, translated at page 79, vol. iii., of the *Corpus Inscriptionum*. In this the colony of silk weavers which immigrated to Dasapur (Mandesur) from Central and Southern Gujaráth, are praised for their industry and piety; the latter being shown by the erection of a temple to the Sun in the time of Kumára Gupta.

The Bráhmans of Western India have for generations borne a high reputation for scholarship, and as the region under their influence was late in receiving the shock of Musalman invasion, and more or less successful in repelling it, the Hindu character of the language has been well maintained, whilst its fertility has enabled it to develop without the expedient of continually taking to itself fresh grafts from the Sanskrit. It is what some writers have called a "playful" tongue, abounding in jingles and alliterations, such as "ándhala-pángala," a blind and lame man; "dagad-gigad," a stone; "lagbag," close by, and "jat-pat," quickly. Foreign words, too, are not respected, for we find "bandhuk-enduk," a gun; "pádri-widri," a missionary; "ardóshi-pardóshi," neighbours collectively, and so on. On the same principle the Maráthas have named their hill-forts, and any villages that have anything striking about their position, and their tongue has struck out, it is said, more diminutives and secondary words than any other of the Prakritic derivatives. Setting aside the variety of pronunciation, Maráthi is singularly uniform throughout the Deccan. There are, it is true, certain entries from the north of that tract of Ahiráni as a distinct language, but this is the result of caste, not linguistic difference. It may be recollected that the later Prakrit grammarians applied the ancient name Apabhraṃsha specially to the language of the Abhira or Ahir, the cattle-grazing communities of the north-western plains, and there has always been some jealousy between the agricultural classes and those of nomad stock who settle down amongst them at a later period. A real distinction is drawn, however, on the other hand, between the Maráthi of the table-land and that of the Konkan, or the strip of country between the coast and the foot of the Gháts. As far south as Goa, this distinction is not recognised except amongst a small community of native Christians, who entered that fold under the auspices of Portuguese missionaries, and have adopted the language of their instructors from Goa; for in the latter territory there is a decidedly Portuguese element in the vernacular, due probably to the discouragement of native studies and to the destruction of the records in the vernacular when the Christians first occupied the coast and took in hand the propagation of their religion. The basis of the language, however, is distinctly Maráthi. Farther south, the foreign element changes to Kanarese, which is more perceptible as we approach Mangalore, where Konkani gives way to pure Kanarese and to Tulu. But wherever Konkani is the vernacular, it may be held to be a variety of Maráthi. The language spoken by the Christian natives of Goa, who are found nearly all over British India, is

usually given as Goanese, but so many have returned it as Portuguese that to avoid misconception, I have combined the two, and given them a place after Maráthi in the Indic, not the European, section of the tables. The return of birthplace shows the very small number of Portuguese who are of European parentage, and whatever may be the language used by the class in question in their correspondence, the proportion of Portuguese in the spoken dialect is insignificant.

The geographical distribution of Maráthi remains to be noticed. It covers a wide area, including as it does the whole of the North Deccan plateau and the Konkan coast, Berar, the western portion of the Central Provinces, and the greater part of the western districts of the Nizam's dominions. It is met above the Gháts by Kanarese in the south and Telugu in the south-east. On the coast, as I have just said, it merges through Konkani into Kanarese or Tulu. In the north, it meets Hindi and Gujaráthi, without mixing with either. Settlements of Maráthas are to be found in Mysore, and there is the small Tanjore colony in the south of Madras; but as a rule, the language is not found much in tracts where it is not the vernacular. In Baroda, for instance, which is a Marátha state, there are only about 52,000 Maráthi-speakers, mostly confined to the south division of the state, where there is a forest tract in which it is the vernacular, and to the troops and retinues of the Gaikwár and his officials. In other parts of the west and centre of India, too, those who return this language are chiefly in the native regiments, or engaged on railways or as clerks.

Crossing India from the Deccan, only one Aryan language is met before we enter the Eastern group of that family. This is the HALABI, which is prevalent only in the south-eastern portions of the Central Provinces and the tracts adjacent thereto. I have grouped it with the Eastern Aryan tongues from its position, although in structure and vocabulary it is more akin to Hindi. In fact, I am not sure whether it is not mainly a dialect of the latter adopted by the Hill men on coming into contact with others from the plains, like the cases I have mentioned in connection with the Gangetic valley; but I have seen no specimens of it from which I could judge. On the other hand, it is surrounded by Dravidian Hill languages, and the people by whom it is spoken are not reputed to have made such an advance in civilisation as would lead to the change of their former language. Their whole strength is only 143,000 souls.

I now reach the Eastern group proper, beginning with URIYA or Utkali, the least advanced of the Prakritic tongues. The country of its adoption is difficult of access, and the hilly tracts that protect

it on the west bear an evil name for air and water, the two elements of comfort in a residence that a native of India first values. They have been left, accordingly, in the possession of a collection of tribes of the black race, either Dravidian or Kolarian. The language of the Hindu population of Orissa, therefore, has retained a good deal of its archaic form and vocabulary. It is also peculiarly free from dialectic variation. In addition to geographical isolation, Uriya has the drawback of a remark-

ably complicated and awkward character, attributed by several good authorities to the use of strips of the leaf of the Palmyra (*borassus flabelliformis*) as writing material, on which the local scribe performs with a sharp steel stylus, in place of the reed-pen

Language.	Population returning it.
Halabi	143,720
Uriya	9,010,957
Bengali	41,343,672
Assamese	1,435,820
<i>Total Eastern Group.</i>	51,934,169

common to most of Aryan India. Thus the horizontal line which keeps together the Devanágari characters and their immediate descendants is here out of the question, as it would split the leaf along its fibre, so the top stroke is omitted. Again, it appears that in writing, the style is worked on the left thumb as a fulcrum, a process which imparts a circular form to the results. Mr. Beames, from whose work I have taken the above explanation, adds, "Perhaps the above account may not seem very convincing to European readers, but no one who has ever seen an Uriya working away with both hands at his style and strip, will question the accuracy of the assertion, and though the fact may not be of much value, I may add that the native explanation of the origin of their alphabet agrees with this." I must mention in confirmation of the above that the same explanation has been adopted by Dr. Caldwell, the greatest authority on Dravidian language, the southern forms of which are always written on the same material as Uriya. Mr. Beames states also that when he wrote in 1871, the extension of the use of paper was leading to the abandonment of the round top to the Uriya letters; but judging from the census returns, the fashion is certainly dying hard. The literature of Orissa is neither extensive nor valuable except as showing the little change the language has undergone in the last few centuries. As to the geographical prevalence of Uriya, it appears that this tongue is practically confined to the tract from which it takes its name, and the bordering districts and states of Madras and the Central Provinces. The other representatives found at the time of the census elsewhere in India belonged probably to the class of paliki-bearers and domestic

servants, for which Orissa and the north-east coast generally are famous.

Bengáli is the largest in point of numbers in this group, and is surpassed in this respect by Hindi alone. Though it has no distinct dialects, it resembles Panjábi in having no standard, so that it varies from place to place more probably than any other of the Aryan tongues. It is true that some years ago an attempt was made to degrade Uriya into a dialect of Bengáli, so as to exclude it from schools and public offices; but fortunately history and philology prevailed over political ambition, and the elder language has held its own against its hybrid sister. For Bengáli has no doubt been unfortunate in the circumstances that have attended its development. The latest of all the Prakrit offshoots to be recognised as a language at all, it dates in that capacity only from the decay of the Dehli empire. Bengal, too, is the province of all others in which there is the widest gap between the small literary castes and the masses of the people. One of the results is that the vernacular has been split into two sections; first, the tongue of the people at large, which, as I have just remarked, changes every few miles; secondly, the literary dialect, known only through the press, and not intelligible to those who do not also know Sanskrit. The latter form is the product of what I may call the revival of learning in Eastern India, consequent upon the settlement of the British on the Hughli. The vernacular was then found rude and meagre, owing to the absence of scholarship and the general neglect of the country during the Moghal rule. Instead of strengthening the existing web from the same material, every effort was made in Calcutta, then the only seat of instruction, to embroider upon the feeble old frame a grotesque and elaborate pattern in Sanskrit, and to pilfer from that tongue whatever in the way of vocabulary and construction the learned considered necessary to satisfy the increasing demands of modern intercourse. He who lives on charity, says, I think, Swift, will always be poor; so Bengáli, as a vernacular, has been stunted in its growth by this process of cramming with a class of food it is unable to assimilate. The simile used by Mr. Beames is a good one. He likens Bengáli to an overgrown child tied to its mother's apron-string, and always looking to her for help, when it ought to be supporting itself. For instance, when my instructions for filling up the census schedule had to be translated into the vernacular for use in this province, the local superintendent of the operations, a civil servant of much experience of men and cities, obtained versions, not from the men of light and leading in the

capital, but from officers administering districts, who knew what the lieges can and will understand. We thus got hold of a good working translation, which, if read over to a Calcutta scholar, would no doubt have made him stare and gasp, and probably mourn over the opportunity thus lost of giving the widest possible dissemination of culture in style. It is not Bengali alone, I fear, that is passing into the hands of official scholarship, though this language is probably the least unwilling captive. Bengali, in whatever form it may be, is spread all over the southern valley of Assam, which was till twenty years ago a part of the province of Bengal. In Arrakan, too, this language has made some way, but elsewhere it is confined to a few colonies at religious centres, and to persons employed in offices of Government or the railway companies, both of which look largely to Bengal for their supply of clerical labour.

ASSAMESE, which concludes the list of Aryan vernaculars, has had, like Uriya, the experience of resisting the attempt of the ambitious Bengali to reduce it to a patois, and thus open a wider field of employment to the studious youth of the Lower Provinces; and, like Uriya too, Assamese has been hitherto successful.¹ Possibly the separation of the province politically from Bengal may have helped on the declaration of independence, for the tongue of the eastern and northern districts of Bengal bears, I believe, scarcely greater resemblance to the euphuistic speech of Calcutta and Nadiya than Assamese does. The latter, I may add, is hardly found out of its native valley and the immediate neighbourhood.

In bringing to a close my review of these Aryan tongues, I will mention the fact that 308 persons returned the language habitually spoken in their parents' household as Sanskrit. This survival of twenty-five centuries is a thousand better than the corresponding tale in the last census returns; still it is hardly expected that the ladies, at all events, of the households in question, spoke in a classical language. The truth seems to be that in the south of India the term *Nāgaram* is used by the priestly families of the Gujarathi silk-weavers to denote their divergence from the ordinary language of their caste, whilst in the rest of the country, the entries may be set down to schoolboys or undergraduates studying the rudiments of the ancient tongue of their faith.

In dealing with the DRAVIDIAN section of our subject, I have formed two groups. The first or Southern covers nearly the whole field occupied by this class of languages, but the balance, which I

¹ There is a tendency, however, towards assimilation, I understand, in the present day.

have called the Northern, comprises tribal forms of speech differing

Language.	Population returning it.
Tamil ¹	15,229,759
Telugu	19,885,137
Kanarese ²	9,751,885
Kodagu	37,218
Malayálam	5,428,250
Túlú ³	491,728
Tôda	736
Kôta	1,201
Sinhalese	187
Máhl	3,167

Total Southern Dravidian Group.	50,829,268
Gônd	1,379,580
Kandh (Khond)	320,071
Oraon	368,222
Mal-Pahádía	30,838
Kharwár	7,651
Brahui	28,990

Total Northern Group 2,135,352

Total Dravidian 52,964,620

¹ Kúumba, 5,288.

² Badaga, 30,656.

³ Koragu 1,868.

from the rest except in general structure; so it has been thought best to keep them apart.

The first language I take up is the TAMIL, not because it is numerically or geographically in that position, but by reason of its being the most cultivated and the best known of the Dravidian group. It has, indeed, given to the latter one of its names. Two dialects are by some attributed to Tamil, but these seem rather caste varieties than those of special tracts; so both *Irulár* and *Kúr-úmbár* have been included under the general head, whilst *Yérukala*, which has been in some cases separately tabulated, has been added

to the Gypsy dialects, of which I have already spoken. Tamil, then, may be taken to be a homogeneous language, covering the whole of Southern India up to Mysore and the Gháts on the west, and the Ceded Districts, as they are called, on the north. It is disseminated, however, as widely as any tongue in India by special classes, such as labourers, who flock chiefly to Burma, and domestic servants, who are found hailing from the Tamil country in every large town and cantonment in India. The Madras servant is usually without religious prejudices or scruples as to food, head-gear, or ceremonial, so he can accommodate himself to all circumstances, in which respect he is unlike the northern Indian domestic. He knows colloquial, very colloquial, English as well as Tamil, and is the hero of most of the traditionary Anglo-Indian domestic legends, such as straining the coffee through socks discarded by his employer, and contriving that one sanctioned day of inebriety should keep the privileged person glorious for seven more, and so on. The immaculate bearer of "Little Henry," however, was not, if I remember right, a Madrasi; nor is Gangadin, the hero of modern song.

Next to Tamil comes MALAYÁLAM, or the language of the Malabar Coast. This is an offshoot of Tamil, and has maintained a close relationship with its parent. Its name is derived from "mala," the local term for a hill, and an abstract noun signifying possession, like the Persian *dár*, so that it means the "mountain tract." The term

Malabar is comparatively modern, as the last syllable is probably the Arabic for a coast or roadstead. Malayálam has been closely hemmed in by its neighbours, and, indeed, the whole tract in which it is spoken has been peculiarly secluded from the foreign influences which have swept over the table-land overhanging it. Those returning this language in Coorg and Mysore are probably settlers just within the frontier, or temporary sojourners who have gone above the Gháts for the coffee season. In other parts of India, I have a suspicion that, except at the seaports, the entry really means Malabári, a vulgar name for Tamil, originating with the early Portuguese travellers.

I come now to KANARESE, the North-Western representative of the Dravidian group. Its name seems derived from the Telugu words for *black* and *country*, a title that the denizens of the light soils of the eastern table-land would not improbably apply to the rich western tracts of what is now known as "cotton soil." The language, itself, however, has a far greater affinity with Tamil than with its neighbour on the east. The only form of speech that can be called a dialect of Kanarese is that of the *Badaga* tribe on the Nilgiris, called by our early historians the *Burghers*. If this be admitted, it seems not unreasonable to attribute to *Kodagu*, the dialect of Coorg, a like relationship. Both communities have been shut off by their hills and climate from Brahmanising influence, and seem to have preserved in their speech the older forms of Kanarese, which have been rubbed off that language in the busier life of the plains. The tract held by Kanarese is very compact. It includes Mysore, most of Coorg, and a strip of the coast between Tulu and Maráthi. Above the Gháts, it stretches eastwards well into the Nizam's territory, and northwards to the Kistna river.

Its neighbour, TULU, is confined to a small area in or near the district of South Kanara in Madras, and it is doubtful if it ever prevailed far beyond its present limits. It has the curious feature of linguistic independence without a character or literature of its own. Dr. Caldwell regards it as a very interesting and highly developed tongue, bearing but a distant relationship to Kanarese and Kodagu, still more distant to Malayálam, which presses on it from the south, and most distant of all to Tamil. The Kanarese character has lately been adopted in printing modern Tulu works, and it is likely that Tulu will give way ultimately to that language. But as it is, it shows a considerable increase over the return in 1881.

The last of the chief Dravidian languages is TELUGU, which is also the most numerously represented at the census. It is said to be the most euphonious, and, next to Tamil, the most ancient and

advanced of the whole class. There are no dialects returned under it, for the languages returned as *Yándadi* and *Chentsu* in 1881 are said to be merely tribal corruptions of the standard language, and in no way distinct. On the other hand, the language of certain wandering tribes, such as the *Waddar* and *Kaikádi*, though no doubt of Telinga origin, suffers such change in the course of the peregrinations of these earth-workers and mat-weavers, that in provinces beyond Madras it has been grouped with the Gypsy tongues instead of with Telugu, wherever it has been returned under a tribal designation. The Telugu character has been adopted for Kanarese, as the latter has carried it on to Tulu. Like the Tamil, Malayalam, and probably the ancient form of Kanarese, it has been modified from the Devanágari of the Southern Asoka inscriptions, curved at top to suit the palm-leaf book which is current here as in Orissa. A very ancient form is still occasionally used in Malabar for formal documents, but, for the most part, the resemblance to the original is scarcely traceable. A counter theory has been adopted by some writers, namely, that the Asoka character is based on Dravidian forms; but though the question cannot be considered yet closed, the balance of evidence and probability seems to me to be rather on the side of an Aryan ancestry.

As a vernacular, Telugu is more widely spread than Tamil. We find it not only all over the eastern coast of Madras, but throughout the Ceded Districts above the Ghats and in one half of the Nizam's territory. It has also gained a considerable footing in Mysore and in a corner of the Bombay Karnatic, with branches in Berar, the Central Provinces, and Orissa. Although only the inhabitants of the North Coromandel coast have any right to the name of Kling, that title is applied on the other side of the Bay of Bengal to labourers from both Kalingapatam and Negapatam. During the rice-shipping season, and now, in fact, throughout the year, Burma is thronged with labourers from this part of the Peninsula, who have almost monopolised the hard work so distasteful to the Burmese. I noticed that in some of the schedules filled up by or for this class, the antiquated term of Gentoo was used to denote caste or race. This word was, I believe, introduced by the Portuguese, to whom all Hindus were Gentiles, even as to the British soldier, all natives of India, whether Musalman or not, were collectively Moors. In the present day Gentoo means a Telingana man.

There are a few of the minor Dravidian languages belonging to the Southern group which require a word or so of comment. First, the TÔDA, of the Nilgiris. The tribe has received a great deal of

attention, ethnological, phrenological, social, and linguistic, mainly because it resides within an easy walk of a favourite hill resort. One member of the tribe has even been distinguished by temporary incorporation into the establishment of the greatest showman of the world, the late Mr. P. T. Barnum of New York. Tôda is returned by 736 persons, instead of 673 as in 1881, and the members of the tribe are not more numerous than those who return the tribal tongue. This last is of similar origin to the Tamil and Kanarese, and was kept from advance by the secluded life of the tribe in the hills. The Kôta is another of the Nilgiri tribes, lower in condition than the Tôdas, and speaking a dialect of archaic Kanarese, like that of the Badagas or Northerners, of whom I spoke above. Neither of these languages extends beyond the limits of the eponymic community.

A few entries of insular languages of this class may as well be noticed here. The SINHALESE is included amongst the Dravidians since it shows morphological peculiarities which distinguish it from the Aryan class in which it used to be placed, owing perhaps to the cultivation of Páli by the literate classes of the island. Then, again, the MÁHL is returned only by the inhabitants of the little island of Minikoi, situated almost midway between the Máldiv and the Laccadiv archipelago, and belonging politically, though not linguistically, to the latter. The language in question is allied to the Sinhalese, it is said, though the Arabic character has been introduced, as in the Laccadives, to suit the Musalman proclivities of the people.

The Northern group of Dravidian languages comprises one large item which includes all the various dialects spoken by the numerous GOND tribes of Central India. These dialects, which are all unwritten, differ considerably in detail from each other, but are all Dravidian in their main characteristics. The *Gond* tract, entered in the old maps as "Gondwána—Unexplored," radiates from the Central Provinces into Bengal, Berar, Madras, and the Nizam's dominions, and the tribes therein are suffering much change, in the course of which their tribal dialects will infallibly assimilate a great deal of the vernacular of the encircling plains.

The KANDH or Khond of the hills of Orissa and the neighbourhood has, like the Tôda, attracted more attention than was perhaps his due, owing to his persistent attempts to keep up the habit of human sacrifice as a means of securing a good harvest. The language is localised to his native hills, and the only wanderers found on the census roll are in Assam, where, if the return be not due to clerical error, the Kandh-speakers must be immigrant labourers who have joined a gang of adventurers from Orissa. It is the same with

a few of the Kolarian tribes, which have been found even in Burma, though not retaining their tribal language there.

Farther north, we enter the region of the Kolarian languages, and the distinction between them and the Dravidian becomes much weakened. The ORAON, however, and the KHARWÁR may be said to present decidedly Dravidian features. As to the language of the inhabitants of the hills of Rájmahál, who hold that tract against the Santháls, there seems to be less information available. I have therefore followed such authority as I could consult, and attributed to this curiously isolated community a Dravidian ancestry. If this be correct, the survival of this relic so far from its fellows seems to indicate the former existence of a large Dravidian colony between the Kolárians and the black races of Lower Bengal.

Last of the Dravidians I have placed the BRAHUI, though the link attaching it to the rest is of the thinnest. There are, however, curious features in common which can hardly be ignored. Ethnologically, there seems to be absolutely no resemblance between the tawny cattle-graziers of the Khelát desert and the squat dark cultivators of the Peninsula or the mountain tribes of Central India, any more than can be found between the former and the Mongoloid settlers of the north-east, to whom Signor Finzi would attach them, on linguistic grounds. The bulk of Brahui speakers dwell in Balochistan, a tract which was not enumerated at the census, and the traditions of the race as to their migrations have yet to be satisfactorily investigated. The language of a good number of the Brahui tribes would no doubt be returned as Baloch, to which their own tongue is rapidly approaching in the frontier districts, so here again is an instance of the obliteration of valuable philological evidence.

The KOLARIAN class, to which our attention is now directed,

Language.	Population returning it.	is small, but considerably subdivided amongst tribal dialects. The chief is the
Santhál . . .	1,709,680	SANTHÁL, which includes nearly three-
Múndá (Kól) . . .	654,507	fourths of the whole. This language,
Kharria . . .	67,772	like so many others, owes its reduction
Baiga (Bhúnjia) . . .	48,883	to grammar and writing to the labours
Korwá (Kúr) . . .	185,775	of missionaries, chiefly Danes and Ger-
Bhil . . .	148,596	mans, who have devoted their lives to the
Sáwara . . .	102,039	study of this race. It is widely dis-
Gadaba . . .	29,789	seminated over Bengal, as the Santháls
Juáng, &c. . .	11,965	are first-rate labourers, and show no reluctance to leave their native
<i>Total Kolarian</i> . . .	<i>2,959,006</i>	country for work at a distance. They are found even in Assam,
		both as settlers and temporary hands on tea estates.

The MUNDÁ has apparently a somewhat wider range, but this is probably due to the partition of their tract amongst three provinces. Like the Santhál, the Mundá has taken kindly to foreign labour. The language seems to resemble Santháli in its main features, but its local varieties are frequent, and each main clan returns a separate designation to both itself and its language, and also, by the way, to its religion. The KHARRIA is on the same pattern. The BAIGA, Bhinjwa, or Bhúnjia is probably a tribe of earlier date in the country than the Mundá or the Dravidians of these hills, judging from the fact that amongst the other tribes the name is used for a priest or exorcist, even if the functionary is not of the Baiga tribe. Old residents are usually assumed by the new-comers of this type to be on more intimate terms with the spirits of the place than a stranger. In the Central Provinces, the Baigas are said to speak Hindi to a large extent, but whether their women do or not, is a more important point, on which information has not reached me. The Kúr, Kórwa, or Kúrku reaches across the hills to the west of the Kolarian tract, and joins the BHÍL, which carries the class on nearly to the sea. The former varies in detail throughout its length, and is different in Berár, for instance, from what it will be found to be in the Chútia Nágpúr division of Bengal. As to the Bhíl tongue, it has been adulterated to such an extent that it retains little but corrupt Hindi, Maráthi, or Gujaráthi, according to locality, in its vocabulary, though its construction, at all events in the eastern portions of the tract it occupies, is still agglutinative.

The most southerly forms of Kolarian speech are the SÁWARA and GADABA, both of which are almost confined to the hills bordering on Orissa, in the Madras Presidency. The former may have extended nearly to the sea in earlier days, as it is said that the *Suaroi* of Greek travellers are the ancestors of the present Sávára. The last of this class of languages which I have to notice is the Juáng or Patua, spoken by a tribe which Colonel Dalton, in his work on Bengal Ethnology, considers the lowest of all found within the tract he describes. It is but within the last few years that either sex wore clothes at all. They were till then content with bunches of leaves tied round the waist in front and behind, and renewed, as required, when the fair wearer went to fetch in the cattle from the wood which provided her millinery.¹ With the Juáng is grouped the Malér, which is not returned by more than a few hundred persons.

¹ An attempt was made some years back to introduce waistcloths, which were distributed gratuitously, but it is reported, I believe, that, as a rule, the innovation did not outwear the material.

GIPSY DIALECTS.

The group entitled GIPSY DIALECTS contains many items which are in use only amongst a single caste or tribe. I have mentioned the chief of them, which is that of the respectable body of carriers and cattle-breeders, the BRINJÁRAS, a community which is spread all over Northern India as far as the Deccan, where many have permanently settled as land-holders, speaking Maráthi only. In the south of the latter tract it gives place to a similar tribe, known as the LAMBÁNI, which is the term used, too, in the Panjáb. In both provinces the tribe has an evil repute. There are also the numerous tribes of wandering artisans, such as Knife-grinders, Grindstone-makers, and Matting-plaiters; the last of whom alone is held popularly to be of bad character, wherever in India it is found. Perhaps, as formerly with the broom-making trade in England, the facility of the occupation makes people regard it as only a cover for nefarious but more lucrative means of livelihood. Then come the Tumblers, Rope-dancers, and Acrobats, with the castes which unabashedly maintain the name of Cut-purse (*Ganti-chor*), all notorious evil-livers, each with its special form of thieves' Latin, unintelligible to respectable people. Jugglers and snake-charmers, who are equally nomad in habit, are not invariably regarded malevolently, though open to suspicion. These tribes collectively represent the class from which originate the Róm, or Gypsy, of Europe and Asia Minor, and the Lúri of Persia. Their name of Gypsy is probably a corruption of Zotti, or Jat, as already mentioned (p. 97), which became "Egyptian," either by misnomer, or because, as some say, Nikomedia, through which they reached Europe, was sometimes called "Little Egypt." The other term for them, Zigane, is probably due to their capacity for music, *Chang* being a stringed instrument in Persia, and *Chingian*, the musician, in Western Turkey.

KHÁSI GROUP.

There remains the small group of KHÁSI dialects (178,637) between me and the enormous field of the Thibeto-Burman tongues. I have stated already that this group cannot be affiliated to any of its neighbours, and I may add that it is confined to the range of hills that separates the two valleys of Assam. There are three tribal dialects—the Lyngám, Dýko, and Sýnteng. Through the efforts of the Welsh missionaries in this tract, the Roman character

is now used in all three, and the census was taken in it. It seems thoroughly established, and as the surrounding languages are different in structure, Khási will probably withstand their influence. The Khási possesses, I may remark in passing, the peculiarity of repeating the personal pronoun before the verb, which is shared, I believe, by the Gaelic. For instance, "the man goes" is rendered in Khási as "the man he goes," just as in Dean Ramsay's story the Highland divine expanded his text, "The devil goeth about as a roaring lion," in a manner conscientiously grammatical, but bearing a colloquial signification very different from what the preacher meant to convey.

THIBETO-BURMAN CLASS.

The Thibeto-Burman group, which is the first and largest of the TONIC class with which I have to deal, has been subdivided, chiefly for convenience in treatment, into geographical sections, in the same way as the Aryan. The first of these comprises not only the Thibetan of the region immediately to the north of the Himálaya, but the languages of the Mongoloid tribes of the higher valleys on this side of the range, and those of Sikkim and Bhotáni, none of

Language.	Population returning it.
Thibetan	20,544
Kanáwari	9,265
Nipáli, unspecified	141,273
„ Murmi	20,597
„ Mangar	11,281
„ Limbu	12,605
„ Newari	5,217
„ Sunuwar	4,236
Other Nipáli dialects	657
Lepcha	10,125
Bhotáni	9,470

Total Himalayan Group 245,270

Bôdo (Kachári)	198,705
Gáro	145,425
Lálúng	40,204
Kôch	8,107
Méch	90,796
Tipperah	121,864
Other Bôdo dialects	4,314

Total Bôdo Group 609,415

Miri-Ábor	35,703
Other frontier dialects	1,282

Total N. E. Frontier Group 36,985

which regions were included in the census. We are thus dealing with immigrants, except in the comparatively insignificant case of Kanáwari, or the language of the higher valley of the Satlaj, where it passes through the state of Bashahr, between Thibet and the Panjab. The THIBETAN was found chiefly in the valleys of the Panjáb Himálaya, in the neighbourhood of Sikkim and the Bengal Himálaya, and in the Tarai of the north-west, which is the winter resort of the inhabitants of the upper valleys of Kumaon and Garhwál. The Rong or LEPCHA is nearly allied to the Thibetan, like the BHOTÁNI, or the tongue of that portion of the Himálayas known in

Language.	Population returning it
Nága dialects *	102,908
Mikir	90,236
Kákhyin and Lisháu	5,669
<i>Total Nága-Kákhyin Group</i> . .	198,813
Manipuri (<i>Kathé</i>)	88,911
Kuki	18,828
Zhó (<i>Lúshai</i>)	41,926
Khyin	126,915
<i>Total Khyin-Lúshai Group</i> . .	276,580
Arrakanese (Magh)	366,403
Burmese	5,560,461
<i>Total Burmese Group</i>	5,926,864
Nikobári	1
<i>Total Thibeto-Burman Group</i> .	7,293,928

* Seven, but not completely distinguished in the returns.

India as Bhotaut, or the end of Bhot, Thibet. The former language is found only at Dár-jiling, and the latter either there or amongst the winter traders in North Assam.

I must retrace my steps a little to pick up the tangled thread of the languages of Nipál. I deal only with those of the Tonic class. Most of these are the mother-tongues of people living beyond the British frontier, and many of those mentioned by Mr. Brian

Hodgson, the chief authority on the subject, were not represented at the census at all, either because the tribes had not penetrated down to India, or, having got there, were confounded by a Hindu enumerator in the general term NIPÁLI. In addition to the recruits in our infantry regiments, Nipál furnishes a fair number of immigrants of Himalayan race to the adjoining Hill country in Bengal and the west of Assam. The Gúrúng and Mangar are the main languages returned by the former class, and Múrmí, Limbu, and Newári, by the latter. It is remarkable that we find hardly any trace of the great Nipáli family of Kiránti languages in the schedules, and none of those of what Mr. Hodgson calls the "Broken tribes" of the lower portion of the state. The Nipáli soldiery as often as not had their language set down as Gurkháli, a title to which probably very few of them would have advanced a claim in their own country.

Keeping still to the east, we enter the thorny path of Assam Hill philology, which requires as cautious treading as those of the country itself where stockades, pitfalls, and bamboo caltrops beset the unwary at every turn. The languages of the western and southern tracts are comparatively easy to classify, as they have been studied for some years. On the advice of local experts, I have formed them into a separate group, called, from the leading dialect, the *Bódo* or *Kachári*. This last has been fully examined in the works of Messrs. Hodgson and Endle. It is spread widely over the tract in question, and holds nearly the whole of the north-west of Assam. There is no literature or means of keeping up a standard of Bódo, and variations are therefore frequent. It is curious that no trace of the allied language Dhimál, mentioned by Hodgson,

should appear in the Assam return, and in Bengal, too, there are only a couple of individuals returning it. It is probably confined to the Eastern Tarai, within Nipál territory. I have therefore included the two persons just mentioned under the Nipál group. The Gáro language is current in the Western Assam Hills, and is said to be closely allied to the Bódo. The Méch, Rábha, Hajong, and Hojai, with the Lálúng, are all more or less local forms of the same family, and prevail respectively in small tracts along the Bengal and Assam border-land and the north bank of the Bráhma-pútra. There are two other languages of this group worth note. The Kóch, which includes the so-called Páni-Kóch, belongs to an early tribe of settlers along the great river, which has been almost entirely converted to Bráhmanism. The vernacular has been abandoned for Bengali towards the west, and the small state which represents the former Kóch domination found no more than a dozen in it to return the ancestral tongue. The Tipperah language is found almost contiguous to the south-eastern branch of the Bódo, with which it is closely connected. It is returned chiefly from the state bearing this name on the Bengal frontier. The repelling force of the Hill tribes of a more northern descent has proved sufficient here, as farther south, to keep the dialects of the plains strictly within their political limits.

Of the curious group of Tonic languages spoken amongst the wild tribes of our north-eastern frontier, we have but little on the census record. The Aka, Daphla Abor, Miri, and Mishmi inhabit the lower valleys of the Himálaya and send but few offshoots into what is known there as the "inner belt" of our influence. There is a settled colony of the Mishmi, however, in British territory, and some progress has been made with the investigation of the languages of this and the neighbouring tribes by frontier officers, to whom we have to look at present for our knowledge of the subject. Probably better acquaintance will lead to the discovery of more links between the various forms of speech amongst them; for in this corner of the Empire tribal hostility is the leading feature of intercourse, and the mere fact of separation is reason enough for considering a neighbour a natural enemy, and in disclaiming, of course, any former connection with him.

Between the above group and the next in order lies a small wedge of the Tai or Shán family, with which I must deal in connection with the languages of Burma later on. The NÁGA group is not confined to the tribes which bear that name, but includes the inhabitants of the Mikir hills to the north-west, and the tract

stretching east, probably along the whole of the northern frontier of Upper Burma, which is in the hands of the people collectively known as Kákhyîn. This title is applied indifferently to all Hillmen of the north by the dwellers on the plains of Burma, and until philology creeps up from both the Assam and Burma side of the wild country thus known, it will not be ascertained how far the tribes are subdivided. Our information on these matters advances with every one of our little frontier disturbances, and by the next census it will probably be possible to give a complete ethnological map of the upper waters of the Khyindwyin and Irrawaddi. There are seven tribal languages of the Nágas returned at the census, but unfortunately there is also a large body of people who are shown as speaking Nága only, without the distinction that could easily have been obtained had the enumerators been warned to look out for it. We have, for instance, a fair approximation to the number of the Angámi and Á-o Nagas, but the Kácha or Empe-o, the Kezháma, the Lho-tá, the Séma, and the Reng-má are but poorly represented. The language of the main Nága tribes on the western slope of the Indo-Burman watershed has been reduced to more or less grammatical form by Mr. Davies, the officer in charge of the Hill tracts, who is at present the best authority on the subject; and when similar work has been accomplished for the language of the Burmese tribes of the same race, the two results will be a very valuable contribution to philology.

There is in the corner of Assam a curious offshoot of the Kákhyîn race, which had its centre at Mogoung, on a tributary of the Irrawaddi, just below where the fighting of last year took place. This tribe now calls itself, as is not unusual with a community *in partibus*, "the men"—Sing-pho or Ching-pau. It established itself in Assam near the end of last century, and made slaves of a good many of the Assamese of the neighbouring tribes. A mixed race, the offspring of this connection, is in existence, but returns the language of the country, not of the foreigner. The whole community is very small, just over two thousand in all, of whom two thirds are Sing-phō, and the rest, Duánia, of half-breeds.

The next group on which I have to comment comprises the languages of the tribes of the range of hills separating India from Burma. In their northern extension these tribes are collectively known as KÚKI. The term Lúshai, which is applied farther south, is not recognised by the people themselves, who use the name Zhô. Shendú is also a synonymous title for the Lúshai tribes. In the country between Bengal and Burma, the tribes are known as KHYÎN

in the east, and by a variety of local names in Bengal. The whole mass was left very much to itself in former years, as the inhabitants of the plains hold such races in considerable respect, and, trading on this feeling, mountaineers have manifested their superiority over the peaceful communities they overhang in ways that the British had to stop with some vigour. It is hardly necessary to point out that with so many tribes close together, each under hereditary obligations to lay by a store of the skulls of its neighbour, the diversity of language is as great as in the tract across the Bráhma-pútra. Information on these dialects has not yet been obtained, as the hills have but recently been permanently occupied. The only civilised community is that of the valley of Manipur, which acquired so painful a notoriety from the disturbances of March 1891. The language of this tract is called Manipuri in Bengal and Assam, and Kathé or Ponnú in Burma. The returns available relate only to the colonists or visitors in the adjacent portions of Assam, and the *entourage* of the late chief in Bengal and Mathura. In Mandalay there is still a considerable colony, descended from prisoners or slaves brought over during the wars of the late dynasty. In Lower Burma the number is decreasing, owing either to cessation of immigration or to the adoption of Burmese by the settlers, since there is no single colony in that part of the province like that of Mandalay where the similarity of fortune and intimacy of intercourse has helped to keep up the original language. The cultivated dialect of Manipur has been studied and described by Colonel Lewin and Mr. Brojonáth Sháha, according to whom it shows a great advance on the rest of the tribal dialects. It is said to have had a special character of its own, which, like that of Malayálam, is only now used occasionally in formal deeds. For ordinary purposes it has been superseded by Bengali, introduced by officials and settlers from that province. Manipur, like Nipál, has had its Bráhman invasion, and there is a good deal of mixed blood in the central valley, which accounts for the relatively high culture of that tract. The hills are still held by Kúki and other tribes of the same stock, and it is doubtful, therefore, if the language of Imphál is current far beyond the immediate influence of the court and its Hindu officers.

Between the Zhô country and Arrakan the tribal languages are badly mixed at the census. We have, however, grammars and vocabularies of the dialects current on the Burma-side of the Yóma hills, amongst the Southern Khyíns, but the literary Burman, in his contempt for the men of the mountain, avoids discrimination of the rest of these tribes, and to him all Khyíns are one, or nearly so.

We find, however, a few tribal languages set down, such as Mrô (15,891), Khwé-mi (14,126), and Daignét (856), from Northern Arrakan, but some of the races returning these are doubtless more numerous than the above figures would imply. Possibly, therefore, as the tribes grow beyond the shelter of the hills, they are absorbed linguistically into the gulf of Burmese.

This brings me to Burma itself, and here I have had to show the main language under the two heads of Burmese and Arrakanese. Historically and philologically they are the same, but geographically it is possible to distinguish them. *ARRAKANESSE* is the older form of the language, and has preserved features, especially of pronunciation, which the soft and indolent inhabitant of the rest of Burma has been willing to let drop. But there are still dialects outside Arrakan which belong to it rather than to the inland tracts. *Tavoyi*, for example, the special dialect of Tenasserim, and *Chaungthá*, a vanishing relic, may be cited in proof of this. On the Bengal side of the Bay, north and east of Chittagong, the language is returned as *Magh*, a name unknown to Arrakan, and, like the Goanese of the western coast, calling to mind the modern kitchen rather than the ancient kingdom from which it is derived, for the Magh and the Goanese furnish European India with the best of its *chefs*.

In *BURMESE* we have the language most numerous represented at the census of all the Tonic class. There is a tradition that this tongue came from the west, as I have had occasion to mention already, but the only impression received from India is the alphabet in a very modified form, and a comparatively small vocabulary relating to the Mágadhi-born religion. On the other hand, the appearance of the people betokens a far more northern descent. If Burma were colonised by its present occupants from the west, the stream would have flowed along the Himálayan base through Assam or North Bengal, a fact of which we have no trace. On the contrary, the Assamese Mongoloids apparently entered the country from the east. There seems, too, no reason why the Burmese should not have spread downwards by the valleys of the Irrawaddi and Sálwîn, instead of crossing the Himálayas so far off. Within historic times Burmese has proved itself a great absorbent of local dialects, either owing to political influences from Pegu and Mandalay, or to the prevailing ecclesiastical system, which includes monastic training and education. Yebein, a tongue held to be distinct from the Burmese, and which was represented by 436 persons in 1881, has vanished from the returns, though there are nearly 2,300 of the tribe left. Kádu, and Dánu, and Yau, too, are well on the way

to the same fate, and show signs of decrepitude in the last ten years, though the tribes are flourishing. But however strong the Burmese may be in its own country, it spreads but little into India. With the exception of the Maghs of Chittagong, most of the Burmese speakers who have strayed across the sea have done so against their will, and include the late King and his establishment, and the "true patriots" scattered amongst the Indian jails—

"For be it understood,
They left their country for their country's good."

The MÔN or Talaing languages may be mentioned here, though I have little more to say about them than I said above in connection with the general subject of classification. The language is found in Anam and Cambodia, though in the latter case the influence of Chinese is very marked. It is worth noting, too, that the same tradition as to the advent of a prince from across the Bay of Bengal is current in all three communities. The only link between Pegu and the Môn colonies of the far east is found in Palaung, a language spoken by a small and isolated tribe in the north-east of Upper Burma. In the time of the late dynasty the Môn language was almost obliterated in Lower Burma, owing to the discouragement of it by the Burmese rulers and their officials, and it was expected to become extinct in a generation or so. Now, however, the census returns seem to indicate that this language is either reviving, or that persons who were reluctant to return it on former occasions have taken heart, so that it is possible that in due course it will resume its position as one of the leading vernaculars in Amherst and Pegu. But as yet it is returned by little over one-half of the Talaing community.

Between the two branches of the Môn language there has been thrust a long belt of the SHÁN languages, called in the centre and south Láo, or, by Europeans, Siamese. This race seems to have entered Burma and the Mekóng valley from the north-west, and to have shot out a tongue westward as it crossed the hills. I have already had to point out that the Ahôm or Shán settlers of Upper Assam failed to preserve their language in their new circumstances, so we find no entries of that tongue amongst them ;

Language.	Population returning it.
Môn . . .	226,495
Palaung . . .	2,847
<i>Total Môn Class</i> .	229,342

Language.	Population returning it.
Shán . . .	174,871
Láo (<i>Itai</i>) . . .	4
Aitôn . . .	2
Khámti . . .	2,945
Phakiál . . .	625
<i>Total Taic Class</i> .	178,447

and the Aitôns, a more modern tribe, are returned as mostly speaking Shán only, which is very likely due to mistake on the part of Hindu enumerators. The two other Shán colonies in Assam return a few entries of Khámti and Phakiál respectively, but the tongue does not extend beyond the limits occupied by those tribes. Khámti has been investigated by a frontier officer, and a grammar written of it; but there is a gap between this tract and the Láo or Htái of the Siamese kingdom, in which the intervening linguistic changes have still to be investigated. This cannot be done until the cis-Sálwín Shán States have been brought into closer touch with the new administration of Upper Burma. By next census, therefore, more information will have been obtained, even if the states be not completely enumerated.

The MALAYAN class of languages is represented chiefly in the south of Burma, where there are a few settlers from the Peninsula.

Language.	Population. returning it.
Malay	2,437
Salôn	1,628
Javanese	19
<i>Total Malay Class</i> . .	<u>4084</u>

The Sea-Gypsies or Salôn of the Mergui Archipelago, too, speak a tongue of this class, and owing to more careful enumeration, show nearly double the number that appear in the returns of ten years back. The rest of the Malays are seafaring people enumerated at the ports of India. As this class of languages does not appertain to the sphere of my operations, I need say no more about it.

I can dispose of the JAPANESE in the same way. A few residents of the chief towns, mostly women, are all that return this language, and its introduction is due probably to the fame of the Musmé of the baths and tea-houses of the Far East, which has been productive of emulation.

The SINITIC class is represented by two languages, CHINESE and KARÊN. The former is scattered nearly all over India, since mer-

Language.	Population returning it.
Chinese	38,504
Kárên	674,846
<i>Total Sinitic Class</i> . .	<u>713,350</u>

chants, carpenters, and cane-workers of this race are to be found in most large towns and cantonments. In Rangoon and Upper Burma there are regular communities from the Flowery Land, though in the latter the number of immigrants seems to have decreased since the country became British. In nearly every district, however, there are a few Chinese. They belong, I believe, to two classes. First, the merchant who hails from Canton or the east, and who comes round by sea; secondly, the people from Yún-nán, who come across by land to

trade in petty wares and forest produce, and whose language is different from that of the former.

As to Kárên, I have classed it with Chinese on the authority of Dr. Cushing and other missionary scholars. The Kárên tract has been for some years the main field of missionary labour in Burma, and the results are to be found in most districts of the lower division of that province. The three chief dialects of this language differ considerably from each other, owing probably to much the same reason found operative in the case of the Lushai group, namely, the dispersion of the tribe over wide tracts of difficult country after the first arrival from the north. The Pwô dialect was returned by 449,450 persons, though only about 27,000 are given as of that tribe. The Sgáu shows 225,193. The Bghái or Kárên-nî was returned under these titles by no more than 16, so is evidently included in the first-named dialect. Taungthû, Mópghâ, and so on, are said to be only local names for one or other of the above three dialects. The Kárên does not extend much beyond the tract occupied by the tribes themselves, and some of the outskirts are said to be getting rapidly Burmanised in speech.

ERÁNIC-ARYAN CLASS.

I now take my leave of the languages of India, and touch upon the other Asiatic tongues. First comes the sister branch of the Aryan class, which I will call the Eránic, because, whatever its origin, the few representatives we have to deal with are well under the influence of Persian. As regards this last, in spite of the

Language.	Population returning ft.
Persian	28,189
Armenian	833
Pakhtu (Pashtu)	1,080,931
Belôch	219,475
<i>Total Eranic-Aryan Class</i>	1,329,428

connection of India with Iran, and the settlement of natives of the latter in the north and west of the country, the language has obtained little footing within the Empire, that is to say, as a parent tongue. It is still the language of polite society and of *belles lettres* amongst the educated classes of Musalmans, but those to whom it is the only or the most familiar language are but few. In Bengal and Rangoon there are remnants of the old ruling families of Dehli and Lucknow; in the Panjáb, traders and immigrants are found, with the refugees from Afghánistán; and in Bombay, horse-dealers and refugees from Persia, who have settled down in the chief towns. Beyond these centres there is hardly any real Persian spoken, and a good deal of what is returned as such is but the better sort of Urdu.

ARMENIAN is the parent tongue of a small colony of that race in Bengal, Lower Burma, and a few other parts of India. The persons returning it are permanently domiciled in India, and probably use English more and more each generation.

Pakhtu or PASHTU, the language of the Pathán (Pakhtuán), belongs, it is said, to the Indic-Aryan class in its structure, but to the Eránic in its vocabulary. I have grouped it under the latter, as it is geographically beyond India, and Persian of a sort is undoubtedly the vernacular of the north and west of Afghánistán. Most of the Pashtu-speakers are located in the Panjáb, either as settlers or amongst the retainers of the refugees. There is another class which travels over nearly all India peddling rugs and fruit, and sometimes selling horses brought down from their native land. They leave the latter in the autumn, perambulate the genial plains of India during the winter, and return to Ghazni, or wherever it may be, in the late spring, in time to resume their home occupation of agriculture and fruit-growing. Year after year they do this, and many tribes of the Sulaimán and Kharoti map out India into regular divisions, one of which is assigned to be exploited by each company. There are a few who do not return at all, but remain all the year round in India, varying the monotony of commerce, according to the police, with exploits less legitimate.

BALÔCH, again, is a language of Persian affinity, used as a vernacular only in the frontier districts of the Lower Panjáb and in Sindh. The prevalence of this tongue in some of the native states, according to their returns, is due to the number of mercenaries of Balôch race entertained by the chiefs as personal retainers and treasury guards. They are usually Makránis, speaking that dialect of Balôch, and not of the pure type of the north.

TURÁNIC CLASS (*Seythic*).

Next to Erán, we naturally come to its enemy, Turán, but the latter is very poorly represented in India linguistically. The majority of Túrki-speakers come from Turkestán, and there are a few Osmánli settled in Bombay and Hydrabád. It is not worth while for so small a number to distinguish the various entries of Uzbegi, Yárkandi, Chagatai, &c., from the cultivated dialect of Stamboul. The FINN entries are from the vessels in port on the census night, at Calcutta and Rangoon. MAGYÁR is returned by a few merchants

Language.	Population returning it.
Turki	607
Finn	10
Magyár	42
<i>Total Turánic</i> . .	659

and travellers, and by artisans on the railways, where nearly all the tongues of Europe are to be found. I have reserved the term Turánic for this class of languages, instead of extending it, as some would do, to the whole of the Tonic and Agglutinative class of Burma and the Himálayas, for which the title I have used above raises, I hope, fewer questions.

SEMITIC CLASS.

This Semitic is the last of the Asiatic classes with which I am concerned. It is made up mainly of ARABIC, which is the vernacular of Aden, and that settlement furnishes nearly half the return. Most of the rest of the entries are returned from Hydrabád, where a portion of the Nizám's force and the body-guards of his chief nobles are recruited from Arabic-speaking tribes of Africa and the coast of the Persian Gulf.

Language.	Population returning it.
Arabic . . .	53,351
Hebrew . . .	2,171
Syriac . . .	12
<i>Total Semitic</i> .	<u>55,534</u>

HEBREW was returned by a number of Jews, much on the same principle that Sanskrit was put down by Brahmans, and Arabic by Musalman teachers of the Kurán. It is the distinctive language of their faith, though it can hardly be called a mother-tongue; so it is considered dignifying, if the head of the house is at all conversant with it, to have the fact recorded. The entries were chiefly from Jewish colonies where Arabic, Maráthi, or Malayálam would be the correct return. Turkish Arabia supplies a good number of Israelitish settlers. In Cochín there are two permanent colonies, one of which is certainly of foreign origin, whilst in the coast district round Bombay the class of rural Jews habitually use Maráthi in their households. In Aden, too, the colony is permanently settled, and speaks a dialect of Arabic. I have no definite information regarding the few entries of Syriac which are found here and there. Possibly they are traceable to Nestorian priests, of whom there are some in Cochín and other parts of the country.

With this language I close my list of Asiatic tongues.

NEGRO DIALECTS.

From Africa we get a number of dialects, found mostly in Aden, where there is a constant stream of migration to and from the opposite coast. The Somáli and Swahíli tribes furnish most of the

entries. The negroes who are employed on board the steamers trading with India are often called Sidi or HABSHI, which, strictly speaking, is Abyssinian. They are from farther south, however, and usually take ship at Zanzibár, or come from the Persian Gulf ports, such as Mascat. It would be incorrect, therefore, to class their languages as Abyssinian, which would bring them into the Semitic class. It may be remembered by some that in the early days of operations against the slave trade on the east coast of Africa, vessels full of boys and girls were captured, and the children made over to certain Missionary Orphanages and other institutions in Bombay. They were trained to a mechanical trade or to domestic service, and thus remained in the country of their adoption. Another class found in the households of chiefs and rich nobles is still recruited in less reputable ways, mainly on account of the high character for fidelity to their employer borne by men of this race.

EUROPEAN LANGUAGES.

Language.	Population returning it.	
{ English	238,499	variety, though none but English is strongly represented. ENGLISH (which is held to include for census purposes <i>Scotch</i> , though not Gaelic) is returned by 100,000 or so born in the United Kingdom, by scattered denizens of Australia, the United States, and Canada, &c., as well as by the increasing class of Europeans of British descent born and domiciled in India, and the Eurasians. Of the other languages returned, GERMAN, FRENCH, ITALIAN, and GREEK may be taken as those of commercial sojourners, and WELSH, GAELIC, and IRISH are recruited from the regiments that happen to be on service in India. In the same way, the SCANDINAVIAN languages depend on the number of vessels in port on the census night for their representatives.
{ German	2,215	
{ Dutch	119	
{ Flemish	22	
{ Danish	94	
{ Swedish	187	
{ Norwegian	152	
{ Welsh	245	
{ Gaelic	264	
{ Irish	299	
{ Celtic (<i>unspecified</i>)	2	
{ Greek	380	
{ Latin	1	
{ Italian	690	
{ Maltese	32	
{ Roumanian	22	
{ Spanish	159	
{ French	2,171	
{ Russian	95	
{ Polish	46	
{ Czech	1	
{ Bulgarian	49	
{ Slavonic (<i>unspecified</i>)	1	
{ Basque	1	
Total European	245,746	

Comparing the return of these languages with that of the preceding census, it will be seen that the Europeans have increased by some 37,000, out of which number more than 35,000 are

amongst the English-speakers. Changes in the garrison, as well as the natural increase amongst the domiciled population and Eurasians, sufficiently account for the latter. Of the foreigners, the three commercial classes, German, French, and Greek, have all largely increased, but the Italian population has fallen off, owing partly to the disappearance of a colony of that nationality from Rangoon, where it was established during the existence of the kingdom of Upper Burma. The Scandinavians were much fewer, and the Celts many more, than in 1881, owing to temporary causes, as I have just explained. Looking up some of the details, I am glad to see that the priest who returns Latin as being the tongue of his mother the Church, has safely weathered the intercensal decade; so too have the two Celts and the single Slavonian, who still refrain from further particularising their mother-tongue; but the Lapp has given place to a Basque, and representatives of Bohemia and Iceland have appeared, besides various Bulgarians.

I have attempted no comparison between the two returns for the Indian items, since I find that partly owing to the wider scope of the present operations, partly, perhaps, to the better understanding of the rules by the enumerators, it is only in the purely localised or tribal dialects that such comparison could be practicable.

I will conclude this review with a summary of what I think are the merits and defects of the material on which I have been working, and will add a few words on the way in which the task towards which this is but the first step can be continued. We have got a very fair delimitation of the various language-fields of the country, and can see, to a certain extent, how far the accepted scientific nomenclature is in accord with the usage of the masses. But it is in the latter respect that our return falls short of philological requirements. The question put to those enumerated was simple enough, no doubt, but to even the most optimistic census superintendent this is no reason for expecting a straight answer. Often, if not usually, the first impulse is to return the name of the caste or tribe as the parent-tongue; for instance, the potter will give "Potterish," and the weaver, "Weaverish," especially if he be a stranger in the place of enumeration, or his caste or tribe be a large one. In other cases the name of the district or state will be given. In both instances the main objection is that the tables, in their rough state, are thereby complicated by the superfluous detail; but this is a defect on the right side, and classification is easily effected when the results are under final revision. There are

cases, too, in which the tribal designation indicates a real distinction. The real difficulty arises when the return happens to be not in accordance with the enumerator's sense of what is fit, or where official views on matters linguistic may have filtered down to him. In that way a good deal of valuable information may be, and probably was, lost in the course of the census, since a general term like, say, Hindi, was substituted for a locally recognised title.

So far the results of our inquiry must be held to be deficient, but we can safely say, I think, that what I have called the photograph of the language-distribution of India in 1891 is interesting and useful, if only as an aid in getting a complete and a scientifically conducted survey of the whole field of investigation. An operation of that nature can only be conducted by a skilled philologist, who knows exactly the lines on which information should be collected, so that the results may be susceptible of comparison over the whole of India. It is hardly necessary for me to add that he ought to have some practical knowledge of the country and its inhabitants, and not work from books alone. Moreover, such an inquiry, if taken in hand at all, should be commenced without delay. In the plains, old linguistic landmarks are being rapidly obliterated by the advancing tide of popular instruction. The Hill tribes of Central India are being brought more and more under the influence of a vernacular too far from their own in construction and dialectic variety to amalgamate with it; so ultimately the weaker will give way, and the tongue of the Kôl, like that of the Cornishman, will become a tradition in the mouth of a single tough old woman, whilst a debased vernacular from the plains reigns in its stead. Many a dialect which may be, as Sainte-Beuve puts it "*une ancienne qui a eu des malheurs, ou bien une nouvelle qui n'a pas fait fortune*," will be ere long beyond the reach of investigation in the process of opening out the Hill tracts. It is not the intrinsic merit of these rude forms of speech that is of value, but the links they afford between the tongues of localities far apart from each other. The languages of the Eastern frontier are only just now being brought within the field of inquiry by the industry and experience of individual officers, working independently. By the time the results have been collated, not only with each other, but with the corresponding out-turn of other labourers in distant fields, who can tell how much of the dialects may not have fallen into disuse? I end with the repetition of my former opinion, that for such a task one single inquirer, and he a specialist, is necessary,

for the path of the philologist in India is full of the pitfalls of incomplete data, false analogy, question-begging titles, and imposing speculation, quite sufficient to deter from its pursuit any sciolist who, like myself, knows just enough of the subject to be able to gauge his ignorance.

III.

ARYAN THEORY OF DIVINE INCARNATIONS.

BY

BHAGWANLAL R. BADSHAH.

To PROFESSOR MAX MÜLLER, the President.

विराजसे त्वं विदुषां समाज ।
सूर्यो ग्रहाणामिव न समूह ॥
त्वं मेक्सूल्प्रतिपालकोऽसि ।
वाचो गुरुणां तव संस्कृतायाः ॥

“ Virâgase tvam vidushâm samâge
Sûryo grahâṇâm iva vai samûhe |
Tvam Meksa-mûlar pratipâlako 'si
Vâko gurûnâm tava samskritâyâh || ”

“Thou shinest in the assembly of the learned like the sun in the company of the planets ;
Thou, O Max Müller, art the protector of the holy speech of the Gurus, which is adorned by thee !”

A PAPER on the Aryan theory of divine incarnations will, I hope, prove interesting to Oriental scholars. In this paper, therefore, I am attempting to offer my humble thoughts on the Hindu theory of divine incarnations, as propounded by the authors of the Puranas. But before doing this, a brief outline, I believe, of the original religion of the Hindus is necessary to give continuity to the subject.

The common Aryan forefathers of the Hindus, the Europeans, and the Persians occupied, it appears, the regions round the Oxus in Central Asia. It appears also that a drought compelled them to abandon their primitive homes and seek refuge in regions their wandering enterprise happened to lead them to. Some of them

peopled Europe, some Persia, and some went still farther and occupied Afghanistan and the Punjab.

The religious notions of these Aryans of Central Asia, fluctuating as they were, show what impression the natural scenes made upon their minds. They naturally found something miraculous in the sun, in fire, in water, in the heavens, in the wind, and in the very earth on which they lived, and they looked upon them with awe and reverence, and considered them supernatural, or as objects that could control their existence. They also believed that they were at their mercy. These objects were afterwards called Asura—that is, mighty, from the root अश्, to breathe. Up to the time they left their homes in Central Asia, they had no idea of one Omnipotent Creator of the universe. This fact may be traced through the earliest religious writings of the different branches of the divided race.

The Indo-Aryans seem to have migrated into India 7000 years B.C. They carried with them their ancient customs, manners, language, and religion into the new country peopled by them. They admired, praised, adored, and worshipped natural powers step by step. They had begun to compose Mantras or hymns before they migrated.

This can be proved by the traces of similarity of ideas in the prayers of the other branches. They afterwards made voluminous additions to these Mantras, and called them Vedas.

The Hindu literature consists of the Vedas and Puranas. The Vedas are four in number, and they are supposed to be as old as the world. The Puranas are eighteen in number, and are supposed to be of much later origin. The Vedas treat of hymns, praises, and invocations to different deities, as well as of the ritual precepts. Each of the four Vedas has its own Brahmana or exposition text. These Brahmanas generally treat of sacrificial performances.

As all nations claim their earliest religious writings to be revelations from God, the Hindus also believe that their Vedas too are revelations from God. But it is beyond doubt established from the very construction of the Vedas that they are creations of different Rishis. In the Mantras, great importance is given in the first place to the gods Sun and Fire. These gods are invoked with several names. The mysterious production of Agni (fire) made it more important than even the Sun-god, and the Rishis of the time always kept Agni alive in their house day and night, and did so as a religious observance. They found that the sun was rising punctually, and gave them no trouble. The water in the rivers was

always at their disposal, and the wind never or seldom missing. But they thought fire was always difficult to be obtained when wanted, and that god gave them trouble. They therefore kept fire alive day and night as a religious observance, as said before. The first hymn in the Vedas is in praise of the god Fire. Afterwards Indra, god of rain, was looked upon as all-important, when they came to know that they could not feed themselves without the favour of Indra. They came to realise that without rain their existence would be an impossibility. They therefore deified rain and its companions, thunder and lightning, and called this god by the name of Indra, who, from his thunders and lightning, appeared to them very tremendous and awful, but at the same time very gracious. As this god and his miracles were unintelligible mysteries to them, they gave profound reverence to him, and considered him the mightiest of gods. He was thus placed at the head of all deities.

Later on, the philosopher Durvasas discovered the cause of the phenomenon of rain, and the Aryans then began to perceive that rain, thunder, and lightning were the results of natural phenomena, and consequently their reverence for Indra became less.

In this way the Indo-Aryans exercised their power of comparison till they conceived the idea of a Trimurti or triad of deities, alluded to in the post-Vedic literature so popular at present. The more ancient gods, Indra, Varuna, and others, were believed to be under the paramount authority of the Trimurti, or perhaps they were considered the component parts, or so many manifestations of Trimurti, consisting of the three gods Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva. From this it appears to me that the Hindus, as a nation, were polytheists, and are still such. The names of Shiva and Brahma occur nowhere in the Rig-Veda Samhita. They occur occasionally in the Atharva-Veda, which is supposed to be of the most recent origin. The name of Vishnu, which is a god of the Puranas, occurs in some places in the Rig-Veda Samhita, but by this epithet the god Sun is meant, as indicated in the following verse :—

अतो' द्वा अ॒वन्तु नो यतो विष्णु॑ दि॒चक्र॒मे ।
इ॒थि॒व्याः स॒प्त धा॒र॒मिः ॥

Translation.

“ May the gods protect us with the seven means of the earth, from thence whence Vishnu crossed.”

The learned commentator Sayanacharya is of opinion that the epithet Vishnu means God Almighty, and this interpretation seems to have been accepted by later writers.

The Vedas show the mental capacities of the Rishis of that time. They are not prose writings, but are mostly verses of varied metres, ably composed. The Rishi Madhuchhandas appears to be the father of the Vedic poetry. He was the first Rishi poet. His very name indicates this, which means मधुनि च्छंदांसि यस्य स मधुच्छंदाः.

Further, the Vedas afford examples of the manners and customs of the social life of the Hindus of that time.

Though the doctrine of animal-sacrifices is treated in the Brahmana portion of the Vedas generally, the Mantra portion is not wholly without them. The first allusion in the Mantras is made by the Rishi Dirgatamas. The beginning verse indicates the diffidence of the author. He begins with apologies to the chief gods thus :—

मा नो' मित्रो वरुणो अर्यमायुरिन्द्र ऋभुक्षा मरुतः परिं ह्यन् ।
यद्वा जिना' देवजातस्य सग्नेः प्रवक्ष्यामो विदधे' वोर्धाणि ।

Translation.

“ May not the gods Mitra, Varuna, Aryaman, Vayu, and great Indra despise us because we are describing in this sacrifice the exploits of the powerful and god-begotten horse.”

This shows that the practice in the beginning was not advocated by other Rishis. This practice, which appears to have been more prevalent at the time of the Vedic Brahmanas, seems to have met with opposition from the aborigines, to whom perhaps the idea of animal sacrifices appeared shocking. They must have had the support of some Aryans of an independent state of mind, who, disliking the cruel practice, attempted to throw off the sacerdotal authority, and who therefore were called demons or atheists, along with the aborigines. By this I do not mean to suggest that the idea of animal sacrifices was quite new to the Indo-Aryans. No ; this is not my meaning. This practice had prevailed among the Aryans before they left their primitive homes. The hecatomb of the Iliad is familiar to us along with other Greek and Roman animal sacrifices ; but the subsequent opposition proves that these sacrifices were not generally approved, as the Brahmins had gone even to the extremity of human sacrifices. First they were opposed by the aborigines, and at a subsequent period they were secretly joined by some Aryans

of independent spirit. But though they wanted to be independent, they had no moral courage, as they did not come forward openly, and thus there was no open opposition until the rise of Buddha. When the pot was full up to the brim, those who were tired of the sacerdotal yoke took this opportunity to throw it off. Time then showed that there remained only a small minority of Brahmins in favour of animal sacrifices, as a very large number of dissenters flocked round the standard of Buddha, and it took centuries to re-establish the Brahminical religion, after great difficulty, and that, too, by the promise of entire abandonment by the Brahmins of the practice of animal sacrifices.

The idea of गोमेष, or cow-sacrifice, among the Brahmins will appear to an Occidental reader quite startling. But he must know that there were among the ancient Brahmins such things as cow-sacrifices and human sacrifices too.

The Vedas further show that the ancient Brahmins were eating the sacrificial flesh and drinking liquor too. Soma-juice, a kind of liquor, was offered to the gods at a sacrifice, and it was considered an essential part of the performance.

The Aryans appear to have mastered the art of reading and writing before they were divided, and some traces of similarity in the alphabets of the Sanskrit, Greek, and Persian languages bear testimony to this. They also knew agriculture.

गोभिर्द्यवं न चर्क्षषत् ।

Translation.

“As a man tills a barley-field with bullocks.”

The art of weaving clothes was not unknown.

सं मां तपन्यभितः सपत्नोरिव पश्विः ।
मूषो न शिञ्जा व्यदन्ति मार्यः स्त्रोतारं ते
शतक्रतो विचं मे अस्य रोदसो ॥

Translation.

“My sides are giving me pain on all sides like fellow-wives. Distresses, O Indra, are consuming me, who am your own devotee, as mice consume the weaver’s threads steeped in glue. Know this then, O earth and heaven !”

This verse is very important, as it shows the practice of polygamy prevalent at that time.

The Vedic Aryans did not compute their time by months or years, but by the number of autumns that passed. The maximum number of years for which man could live was even at that time estimated at one hundred. The following verse illustrates this:—

शतमित्रं शरदो अन्ति देवा यत्र न स्रक्ता जरसं तनूनाम् ।
पुत्रासो यत्र पितरो भवन्ति सा नो मध्या रौरिषतायुर्गन्तोः ।

Translation.

“Man only has a hundred years, O gods! then you cause old age to our bodies, when our sons become our protectors. May you then not destroy our life while it is in its course.”

The following verse indicates that Manu was considered to be the great patriarch before the time of the Vedas, and even before the Aryans were divided into different branches. My opinion is that the whole Aryan race considered Manu to be their common father, and the Sanskrit, Saxon, German, Dutch, and Gothic expressions for the word man confirm my opinion:—

त्वमेव वसूरिह रुद्रा आदित्या उत ।
यजः स्वध्वरं जनं मनुजातं दृतप्रुषम् ॥

Translation.

“Bring here, O Agni! for sacrifice the Vasus, the Rudras, and the Adityas and Manu-born beings, rich in sacrifices and throwing showers of ghee.”

Now, without stopping to make any reference to the Smritis, the Hindu law-books, I proceed directly to the Puranas, which form an important part of the post-Vedic literature. The study of the Puranas, which are eighteen in number, is very interesting, as not only do they present a perfectly developed phase of the literature of the learned Hindus before the time when India was troubled by foreign invasions, but they attempt to give the history of the creation of the universe.

The chief god of the Puranas is Vishnu. I have already remarked

that no place is given to this god Vishnu in the Vedas; still the Puranas give prominence to Vishnu, and call him the mightiest of gods. He is represented as having undergone nine different incarnations to deliver the world from ruin, and is supposed to undergo the tenth hereafter. Vyasa, the author of the Mahabharata, seems to have first conceived the idea of divine incarnations. By him the god Vishnu, the prominent god of the Puranas, is represented as having undergone nine incarnations, and is expected to undergo the tenth in the future. This doctrine may have been originally started to check the progress of Buddhism and to reorganise Brahmanism.

I expound the ten divine incarnations in the following way:—

1. *Matsya-Avatar* (Fish-god).—In this Vishnu is represented as having come down in the form of a fish. The tradition of the universal deluge is common to all the ancient nations. In this universal calamity the world was flooded over with water. Everything on the earth began to be drowned. At this time the sage Manu, our supposed patriarch, saw a fish swimming in the water. Thereupon the idea of making a fish of planks suggested itself to Manu. When everything was being drowned, Manu tried this remedy with his family and friends, and was safely borne upon the waters. By this fish-shaped craft he was carried to the highest peak of the Caucasus, and was safe with his party. The idea of making a fish-shaped boat is thought to have been suggested to Manu by inspiration, because then God decreed the deliverance of Manu in this way. Thus the suggesting fish is considered an incarnation of God.

Thus Manu is believed to be the progenitor of mankind, and, as said before, the Saxon, German, Dutch, Gothic, and Sanskrit forms of the word Man support this idea. And my opinion is that this Manu is the first Manu, and not the seventh. The corresponding legend of Lamech's son, Noah, confirms this view, and the Sanskrit word Nau for the English "ship" leads me to believe that this Aryan Manu could have been the Semitic Noah, had it not been for the difference in dates. But the assigning of dates to the most ancient events, in the absence of reliable history, is a mere guess. Therefore such dates may differ.

2. *Kurma-Avatar* (Tortoise-god).—Next comes the incarnation of the tortoise-god. In this the god Vishnu is represented as having descended upon the earth and assumed the form of a tortoise, to deliver the earth. This has reference to the earth in the form of a tortoise-shaped island, as redeemed from water after the deluge. All parties then united together and explored the sea. A fragment of the earth's sphere seems to have broken off at this time, and to

have wandered round the mother-sphere, in obedience to the law of gravitation. This brilliant satellite appeared as exhilarating to them as the Soma-juice. Therefore this bright, delightful thing was called Soma. Afterwards it appeared to measure the heavens, and was called Mas, from the Sanskrit root Ma, to measure. Hence this luminary was employed to measure months, of which the Sanskrit equivalent is Masa. The name or worship of the moon does not occur in the Rig-Veda hymns. The Aryans appear to have discovered the moon after their migration, as proved by the respective earliest religious writings of the different branches.

Then, by ascending the rock Mandara, they discovered other islands formed in the waters, and they were reached by means of navigation ventured by the joint labour of all parties. This enterprise increased their stock of things, and they were much enriched.

3. *Varaha-Avatar* (Boar-god).—Then comes the boar-god, who is represented as having descended upon the earth in order to recover the lost Vedas. This has reference to the then unsettled state of the earth, as the world was originally a mass of hot vapours. On account of its still unsettled form, a great portion of the earth's surface seems to have again resumed its liquid state a third time. The waters again dried up, and muddy and marshy land appeared, with boars lying upon it. The credit, then, of redeeming the earth from the possession of the demon sea, appears to have been given to the boar, and the boar was considered an incarnation of God.

4. *Narsinh-Avatar*.—Then comes the god Narsinh. In this we can trace the origin of monarchy among the ancient Hindus, on the principle of "Might is right." One Hiranyakasipu, a mighty and wealthy man, seems to have domineered over the Indo-Aryans, and, as usurpers generally prove tyrants, this monarch treated his subjects very cruelly. Besides, he had no faith in the worship of the natural powers. On the contrary, he despised the gods Indra, Varuna, and others. He was therefore considered a confirmed atheist. His son Prahlad made a rebellion against him, and he did not want followers to join him. At last a plot was made to capture the king in his own palace, in pursuance of which he was taken by surprise in his own house by a band of rebels, and was slaughtered upon the threshold of his house at the dusk of day by one of the rebels, as brave as a lion. The word Narsinh is a Karmadharaya compound, and it means a man as brave as a lion. This Cœur-de-Lion rebel, who delivered the people from the oppression of the tyrant, was then respected as a god under the name of Narsinh.

5. *Vaman-Avatar* (Dwarf-god).—The fifth incarnation is of Vaman or dwarf-god. The last incarnation shows us that the system of monarchy began in that age. We likewise see there that people had begun to lose faith in the worship of Indra and other gods. In this age a king named Bali exercised dominion over the Indo-Aryans. He was a monotheist, and was adverse to the worship of natural powers. People also began to follow the faith of their sovereign. Thus the worship of the ancient deities was in great danger. To counteract this tendency, the Brahmins, the protectors of the Vedas, entered into a conspiracy to ruin this mighty King Bali, who was a truthful man of reformed views. He was a noble and generous king, always true to his promise. When, therefore, this generous king, after a reign of some years, ordered the performance of a sacrifice in order to gain the favour of God Almighty, the Brahmins took that opportunity to deceive the king to his ruin. The sacrifice being over, the sacrificial priests were requested to ask Dakshina, or prize-money. The crafty Brahmins then asked him to give them land measuring the three steps of Vaman, the head priest, which was immediately granted. Then they claimed land covering the three steps of Vaman, that is, of the sun, that being the epithet of the sun, which covered the whole of the Eastern hemisphere. The king, who was always faithful to his promise, and who was panic-struck, could not refuse this, and was obliged to retire to the nether hemisphere, and there perhaps died of this shock. The Brahmins then gave the credit of delivering Indra and other deities from the disrespect of the king and his people to the Brahmin Vaman.

6. *Parasuram-Avatar* (god Parasuram).—Then comes the incarnation of Parasuram. In the last incarnation we saw that the Brahminical government was established after the banishment of the king Bali, and for several generations the Brahmins held dominion. But they could not remain in undisturbed possession. The Brahmin Jamdagni was assassinated by a Kshatrya, and his son Parasuram avenged his death by a wholesale slaughter of the Kshatryas. This Parasuram is represented as having destroyed the Kshatryas twenty-one times. Parasuram was a very brave Brahmin warrior. As he almost annihilated the Kshatryas and left the Brahmins in undisturbed possession of their dominion, he was respected and worshipped by them as a god, and was considered an incarnation of the god Vishnu.

7. *Rama-Avatar* (god Rama).—The seventh incarnation is of Rama. Though the god Parasuram destroyed the Kshatryas almost

to a man, the country was not entirely cleared of the Kshatryas. There remained some brave seeds. At last, Dasarath's son Rama, a brave Kshatrya, appeared on the stage. His first exploit, which brought him to the notice of Parasuram, was the breaking of a very unwieldy bow. When Parasuram learnt that there was such a Kshatrya hero who could wield the so-called unwieldy bow and break it, he set out to meet him and beat him down. Accordingly, when Rama, with his suit, was on his way back from Mithila after his marriage with Maithili, the daughter of the king of Mithila, he was met in the way by Parasuram. A scuffle ensued between the two heroes, and the combat was a drawn battle. But Parasuram experienced the valour of the mighty Kshatrya hero in this battle, and was therefore obliged to sue for peace, which was made. Parasuram promised to retire from political life, while Rama, on his part, promised to treat the Brahmins with deep respect.

Rama's father, Dasarath, king of Ayodhya, being old, proposed to retire in favour of Rama. While preparations, therefore, were being made for the coronation of Rama, his stepmother, Kaikeyi, envied this, and asked her husband, Dasarath, to allow her to ask a boon, as he had once promised. The king consented, and Kaikeyi asked that Rama should be banished and her own son, Bharat crowned. Dasarath was panic-struck by this, but could not refuse it. When Rama came to learn this, he went to his father and consoled him by saying that a true Kshatrya should be faithful to his promise, and that therefore he would fain consent to the coronation of Kaikeyi's son, his half-brother Bharat, and would go to the forest as an exile. Rama then left Ayodhya with his wife Sita and his brother Lakshman. He bent his course towards the Central Provinces, and went as far as Nasik, at present in the Bombay Presidency. It must be here remembered that the Aryans as they entered India had not advanced further than the districts to the south of the River Jumna. The remaining part of India was, therefore, inhabited by the wild tribes, who were called demons.

During his progress through the Central Provinces, Rama destroyed some of the chief demons who were infesting the Aryans. This enraged the demon-king of Ceylon, who was the head of the demons, and he therefore was impatient to see the Aryan hero who killed so many chief demons. Accordingly he privately went to Nasik, where Rama was staying in exile. And when Rama one day went on a hunting excursion, followed shortly by his brother Lakshman, leaving Sita alone, Ravana approached Sita's residence in the disguise of a mendicant and forcibly carried her away. When Rama and

Lakshman returned, they found to their extreme sorrow that Sita was not there, and had therefore been abducted by some one. They soon suspected that some demon might have ravished her. The two brothers then went in search of her, and were informed by some foresters that it was Ravana, king of Ceylon, that had carried her off. Being sensible that they were unable to cope single-handed with such a terrible foe as Ravana, they formed an alliance with Sugriva, the chief of the rude foresters, as rude as monkeys. With these allies he marched upon Ceylon. But the difficulty of crossing the waters between the southern extremity of India and Ceylon at first appeared insurmountable to them. But the undaunted foresters brought blocks of distant mountains, and made a bridge of these blocks. By crossing the stone bridge they reached Ceylon and besieged it. But the invincible Ravana could not be subdued still. At last the foresters contrived to induce Ravana's brother, Vibhishan, to come over to their side, and this done, the deserter made the foresters acquainted with all the ins and outs of Ceylon. Ravana, thus betrayed by his own brother, was killed in battle by Rama. Rama then recovered Sita, and the two brothers went to Ayodhya with her. Then Rama ascended the throne of his father after the expiration of the period of his banishment.

Rama treated the Brahmins with deep respect, and his name is traditional as a very wise and just ruler. This Rama, therefore, was considered an incarnation of God, as he had struck such terror among the demons that no demons ventured to molest the Aryans any more.

8. *Krishna-Avatar* (the god Krishna).—The eighth is the incarnation of the god Krishna.

In Mathura there was a King Kansa. His sister, Devaki, was married to one Vasudeva of the Yadava family. An augur in Mathura had predicted that Kansa's death would be caused by a son of Devaki, his sister. Thereupon the King Kansa imprisoned his sister Devaki with her husband Vasudeva, and ordered to slay all her issue. The eighth issue was Krishna, and to save him his father, Vasudeva, escaped from imprisonment with him, and took refuge in a herdsman's house, to whom he related his grievances. It happened that the herdsman's wife had then given birth to a daughter. He therefore advised Vasudeva to go back to the place of his imprisonment with that girl, and there to place her in the bed of Devaki, intending thereby to lead Kansa to believe that his sister had given birth to a daughter. Vasudeva did this, and the herdsman, in order to be secure from the fear of Kansa, migrated to Gokul, and

subsequently to Vrindavan, where Krishna grew up among the herdsmen. Krishna turned out a powerful hero, and such was his valour that he could lift up blocks of the Govardhan mountain with his hands.

After killing his uncle Kansa, and thus fulfilling the prophecy of the augur, he became the king of Mathura, and established his capital at Dwarka, in Gujarat.

The deification of Krishna is due to the prominent part he played in the battle of Kurukshetra, otherwise called the first battle of Panipat, between the Pandavas and the Kauravas, the heroes of the Mahabharata. In this battle he espoused the cause of the Pandavas, and by his political tact made them victorious. As the Pandavas owed their success to this hero, and as he destroyed the wicked Kauravas, people called him god incarnate.

9. *Buddha-Avatar* (Buddha-god).—Next comes the incarnation of the Buddha-god. Sakyasinh, the son of Suddhodan, king of Kapilvastu, was a great religious reformer. Disgusted with the cruel system of animal sacrifices in the name of religion, and intending to deliver the people from the oppression of the sacerdotal class, he set up a separate religion of Buddha, or freedom of thought. He came forward as the champion of free-thinkers, and a very great number of followers, that he secured without much difficulty, shows that the people at that time were entirely tired of the tyrannical domination of the Brahmins.

Sakyasinh did not want to call himself Buddha, but he wanted to give the name of Buddha to the new religion he set up. As he delivered the people from the oppression of the Brahmins, and as he compelled the Brahmins almost to stop animal sacrifices, people called him an incarnation of God.

10. *Kalki-Avatar* (the god Kalki, or the god of art and inventions). The tenth incarnation of Kalki, or the age of art and inventions, had not taken place when the Puranas were written. It is said about this incarnation that it will take place in the future. This prophecy has now already been fulfilled. This age of art and inventions has reference to the British rule in India. Kalki is described as riding on a white horse; a white horse means a white-skinned race. The origin of this then future incarnation is in the invasion of India by Alexander the Great, when the influence of Buddha was in full force.

There are grounds for this exposition, as the people of India twenty years ago were speaking of the British Government as Rama-rajya, that is, a godly Government. As deifications are comparisons, this comparison will soon be sanctioned universally as a deification.

And it is no flattery to acknowledge in a straightforward manner that Her Most Gracious Majesty's Government deserves to be ranked as such with such noble colleagues. And I pray that Her Majesty's Government may be long spared to enjoy the good name so deservedly earned.

IV.

MODERN HINDU RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY.

BY

LALA BAIJNATH, EX-CHIEF JUSTICE OF INDORE.

ASTROLOGY.

HINDUISM, like other religions, has an esoteric as well as exoteric side, both having in common a spirit to conceive the Infinite, to utter the Unutterable, a longing after the Unknown and a love of God. Taking the more common and the exoteric side first, the first thing noticeable among us Hindus is our deep religiousness. Whether in the palace or in the cottage, every Hindu is a lover of his religion. That religion may not be all that is true and good in Hinduism, rightly understood, but the love is there. No nation on the earth is so deeply religious as the Hindus, nor does any let its religion play such an important part in its secular affairs. From the time he is conceived in his mother's womb to the day his corpse is taken to the burning ghat, the Hindu does nothing without his religion. Eating, drinking, sleeping, walking, his religion always keeps him company. If he wants to wear a new coat or a new pair of shoes, or undertake a journey however short, or eat a fruit, or smell a perfume, or string a bead, or open a shop, or take a new partner in an existing one, or do anything else of the commonest sort, he must not do it without consulting his astrologer for the auspicious moment. Every Brahmin, if he does not wish to starve, must know something of astrology. The *Sigrabodh* and the *Mohurta Chintamani* are now-a-days more popular with our Pandits than the Vedas or the Smritis. The worship of the nine *grahas* corresponding with the days of the week, as well as Rahu and Ketu, must be performed on every occasion, joyous or otherwise, and the *mantras* of the Veda have been pressed to support the practice. Says the Brahmin to his disciple, "All the world is subject to the gods, the gods are subject to the *mantras*, the *mantras* are subject to the Brahmins,

therefore the Brahmins are supreme gods." So great a hold have astrology and *mantras* upon our people, that even now *mantras* for killing, making some one insensible, driving him away, and bringing him into subjection, are not uncommonly resorted to. The principal gods of these *mantras* are Devi Hanuman and Bhairava; and the *mantras* represent initial syllables taken from the names of those gods; for instance, "Dam Durgayai Namah." Others are unmeaning symbols; for instance, "*Hring Kling*," "*Hring, Hring, Hung Bagla mukhyai phat Swaha*." These *mantras* are, however, losing hold on the general public, and are more confined to the followers of Devi Bhairava, Hanuman, &c., &c.

WORSHIP OF BRAHMINS.

Next to his love and slavish adherence to astrology, which forms such a prominent feature of the Hindu's daily life, is his desire to serve the Brahmins. Everything good must be given to a Brahmin before it can be used by the family. Fresh fruit for the first time in season, new corn, milk of a cow calved for the first time, these and many other things are given to the Brahmins in every Hindu household before any one of the family ventures to touch them. There is a religious merit attaching to every month of the year, the month of Magh and Baisakh being specially sacred for gifts to Brahmins. In the month of Srawan (July–August) childless people employ Brahmins to worship Siva, and on the conclusion of the period reward them with gifts of money and dresses. The month of Aswin (September–October) is a gala month for Brahmins, and unfortunate is he who does not dine out for all the sixteen days of its dark half. Every Hindu is bound to observe not only the anniversary of the death of every male and female member of his family, but also the corresponding date in Aswin as a day for feeding Brahmins; and not even the Protestantism of the founder of the Arya Somaj has been able to shake off this custom. The number of Brahmins invited to such feasts corresponds with the host's means and the nearness of his relationship to the person whose anniversary is celebrated. A Raja would, for instance, feed a thousand Brahmins, a ryot only one on his father's anniversary. Then every Hindu lady, especially if she is a widow, would make a vow of not eating certain articles of food during the rains. One would live without salt; another would live on fresh fruits alone, taking no cereals nor any cooked food; a third would take food only on alternate days; a fourth would keep *Chandrayana Vrata*, which means that she would

only eat when the moon is visible. All these penances mean gifts of as much quantity of food as the performer of the penance would have consumed if she had not observed it. In addition to these are the various feasts and fasts, as well as occasions for going to and returning from pilgrimages, births, deaths, marriages, investitures with the sacred thread, &c., some of which are enjoined by the Shastras and some by custom, upon which gifts must be made to Brahmins. In short, in no other country does the priestly class flourish with so much vigour as in India. The Brahmin would repeat the following verse in support of his claims: "Learned or unlearned, the Brahmin is my (God's) own body," and the ordinary Hindu believes in the truth of the saying. His idea is that if he makes a gift to a Brahmin—the larger the better—he lays by a store of good for himself in the next world. Therefore after astrology, charity to Brahmins plays a very important part in the Hindu's daily life.

PILGRIMAGES.

The next important feature in the Hindu's life is his love of places of pilgrimage. From the Hindu king to the peasant and the labourer, one thinks a visit to a sacred place to be a means of salvation. The institution is very old, and we read in the Mahabharata of pilgrimages to sacred places being the easiest means of acquiring religious merit by those who could not afford to celebrate costly sacrifices enjoined in the Vedas. But it was also said that persons whose minds were under control could only enjoy the fruits of these pilgrimages. The Hindu of to-day, whether his passions are under control or not, believes in the purifying power of the *tirthas*, and many are the sacrifices he makes, and much trouble and inconvenience he undergoes for visiting Hardwar, Mathura, Prayaga, Kasi, Gya, Ujain, Nassik, Jagannath, Rameasram, Dwarka, Badrinath, Pushkar, &c., &c.; the longer the journey the greater the merit. The Hindu thus goes to maintain a class of priests called the *Pandas* of these places, who, to say the least, are sometimes a disgrace to their religion. In Mathura the *Chanbas*, those stout burly figures which one sees rolling at the Vishrant ghat on the Jamna, only add to the number of idlers and vagabonds of that city. Though called Chanbas (*lit.* Chaturvedis), they are, as a class, the most ignorant and stupid of Hindu priests I have seen. I once asked a Chanba, a stout well-made man who was soliciting me for alms, why he did not work, saying that if he worked he would get a much less precarious livelihood. But he quoted in reply the well-known saying

of Malukdas, "The ajgar snake does not serve, nor the birds of the air work for anybody. Rama is the giver of food to everybody. So says Malukdas." The crowds that assemble at Mathura on every occasion are indescribable. People from all parts of India, especially from Bengal and the North-West, visit it in large numbers every year in Phalgun (February-March), and Sawan-Bhadun (July-August). Some of the temples here are exceedingly fine, and would be an ornament to even London or Paris. Sah Beharilal's temple, with its beautiful twisted marble pillars, its grand portico, and its splendid jets, would be a credit to any place in the world. Embedded in the ground floor of this temple are the founder and his wife's, his brother and his wife's figures for people to tread upon; such was his idea of humility. The temple has a green, a golden, and a red room, where on occasions of *fêtes*, especially in the rainy season, the presiding idol swings in state. On these occasions the furniture, lamps, chandeliers, dresses of the idol and its attendants, are of the colour of the room where he sits. If he is in the green room, everything is green; if in the golden room, everything is of a bright golden colour. The founder's son takes a genuine pleasure in these decorations, and with eyes glistening with pleasure he described to me each of these rooms. It was an open-air swinging day when I visited the temple, and what could be more charming than their imitation of a sylvan scene produced by means of fountains, waterfalls, a tiny well-kept garden, &c. ? There are also other fine temples in Brindaban, the principal ones being Lala Balen's temple, remarkable for its chaste decorations; the well-known Sett's temple, a veritable palace with its several inclosures, and representing about a million of capital, and much lavish decoration; the Govindeva's, lately restored by Mr. Growse, once collector of Mathura, one of the oldest temples here; the Brahmcharis, the Radharamans, &c., each presenting its own peculiar features. In Mathura, Dwarkadhish's temple, built by the Setts, is as prominent as their temple in Bindraban. Here also in the swinging festival the Thakurji swings in state, once in a yellow, then in a green, then in a red, and then in a blue dress, which in its turn means everything of the same colour. Another great feature of this sacred place is its Banjatra, a tour round the scene of Krishna's adventures. The journey takes about a month, is performed on foot, and includes several romantic places of great beauty.

KRISHNA-WORSHIP.

The most remarkable feature of Krishna-worship is, however, the blind homage paid to the *Goshains* of the *Vallabh* sect. As the sect is still very flourishing in India, especially in the Guzerat, I shall give some of its leading doctrines. The cult is of a recent origin, and its principal doctrine is that of faith or Bhakti, of sacrificing everything for the *Guru*. Their mantras for the common people are "*Sri Krishna Sarakam Mam*" (My shelter is Krishna), or *Kling Krisnaya*; "*Gopi Jan ballabhaya Swaha*" (Swaha to Krishna, the beloved of the Gopis). For the richer and more well-to-do the mantra is longer. Translated into English it is "Sri Krishna is my refuge from sorrows and troubles caused by separation of hundreds of years and from an unlimited time; for the removal of these I offer to the Lord Krishna my body, its organs, their functions, wife, house, son, wealth, and all that I have. I am thy slave, Krishna." There is nothing objectionable in the mantras themselves, which inculcate implicit faith in Krishna as the Supreme Being; but it is their application to the Gurus that has given rise to an amount of scandal which casts a slur upon Hinduism. The Goshains of this sect represent themselves to be so many embodiments of Krishna, and expect and receive from their followers not only a dedication of their wealth and money, but of their persons, especially of the female, and the handsomer portion of them also. This abuse of religion has brought the cult into disrepute. The principal book read by people of this sect is the *Bhagwat Purana*, better known as the *Sri Mad Bhagwat*. It contains about 18,000 *slokas*, and though popularly ascribed to Vyasa, was written by Bopdeva, the contemporary of Jaidev, the author of *Gita Govind*. Its doctrine is that of faith in Krishna, which it exalts over knowledge or Gyana. It is not only popular with the people of the Vallabh sect, but is largely read elsewhere throughout India also. No Brahmin thinks his education in Sanskrit complete till he knows the *Bhagwat* well. It gives him his means of livelihood. He reads it to his audience in seven days, or in as many months, according to their means and inclinations, and now draws tears from their eyes, now makes them burn with indignation, now radiant with joy, as suits the occasion, by giving his description all possible local colouring. Some of its verses are remarkable not only for their sweet tone, but deep religious earnestness also. For instance, in one place it says, "I take refuge in or approach him who is pure, who is the subject of medita-

tion, who is One, who is beyond the three *gunas*, who is within all, who is happiness itself, who can only be known by a purified intellect, who is without name or form and individuality. He is the Maker of all this universe, but is unaffected by its sorrows and miseries. Though living within the hearts of all, he is unaffected by births and deaths of creatures; he is the seer of all, but has no eyes; he is unaffected by the *gunas*; he is above all and the witness of all" (5, 19, 4, *et seq.*). Its cosmogony is like that of other Puranas. Vasudeva is the supreme creator, the world is Maya or illusion. From the navel of Vishnu was produced the lotus, from the lotus Brahma, from Brahma all creatures. Its description of the various seas and continents is very poetical, and shows that the author has drawn more upon imagination than facts. Jambudwip (India), which is a lakh yojanas wide, is surrounded by a sea of salt water. Then comes Plakshadwip, twice as much in breadth, surrounded by a sea of sugar-cane juice of equal dimensions. Then comes Syalmalidwip with its ocean of wine, the Kush with its ocean of *ghee*, the Krounch with its ocean of milk, the Sakla with its ocean of curds, and the Pushkardwip with its ocean of sweet water. Each of these is twice as large as its predecessor, thus showing how unlimited in area our earth must be according to Bopdeva! The Vaishnava sect is, however, losing ground even among its followers, and it is a question if the Goshains of the Vallabh sect will be able to delude people as they have done hitherto.

The Krishna of the ordinary Hindu of to-day is, however, not the Krishna of the Bhagwat, but of the vernacular rendering of its tenth book called the Premasagar. The songs of Surdas, the blind bard of Agra, who flourished in the time of Akbar, are also very popular. For sweetness of description and depth of piety, Surda's songs stand pre-eminent. He composed one and a quarter laks of songs in praise of Krishna, whom he deified with a deep and intense love, and tradition says that Krishna requited it by himself acting as his amanuensis. His songs are sung everywhere, and in some of them he has reached the highest flights of poetic imagination. I translate one of them, though at the expense of all beauty of the original.

"This is the time to sing the hymn of praise to Govind. Says Mahadeva to Parvati: Meditate upon Om; this is the road to Moksha (salvation). Why celebrate the Ashwa Medha sacrifice, or perform Sradha at Gya, or go to Kasi or Kedar? The abode of Rama and Krishna is not so far from you as to require your emaciating your

body or burying yourself in the snows of the Himalaya; neither by bathing at Praga nor by having itself sawn by the saw in Kashi can the moon save itself from being eaten by Rahu and Ketu. O Surdas! what except devotion to the Lord can ward off death's messengers?" (*Sursagara*, p. 779).

RAMA-WORSHIP.

The other sacred places mentioned above have been described by abler pens, and it is not necessary to repeat what has been said about them. They do not, however, exercise much influence upon the lives of the common people, except Ayodhia, whose hero, Rama, is the people's god. The Rama of to-day is, however, not the Rama of his contemporary writer, Valmiki, but the Rama of Tulsidas. Tulsidas flourished about 1600 A.D., and his influence is more felt to-day than it was in his own lifetime. With fervent devotion and love scarcely found in any other book of the Hindus, he has deified Rama in a way that attracts the hearts of both the learned and unlearned of India. His Ramayana is more largely read in the Upper Provinces than any other sacred book of the Hindus. Probably the Bible has not more readers among the masses of Europe than has the Ramayana of Tulsidas among those of Upper India. In many districts of the North-Western Provinces there is not a house or cottage where the book is not read. To the villager after his day's work in the fields, to the labourer after his toil is over, even to the policeman and the soldier in the ranks, the Ramayana is his Veda, his book of religion, poetry, morality, philosophy, &c. With tears in his eyes, he reads the sorrows and sufferings of the hero and heroine. His cheeks burn with indignation at the iniquity of Rama, and he is full of joy when he reads of his fall. And the book has not a temporary, but a permanent interest. Its morality is of the purest Hinduism, its piety deeper than even that of the Bhagwat. Its tone is certainly more lofty and purer than that of any modern work on Krishna-worship. Its couplets are more largely quoted than those of Shakespeare in England. In one place he says, "A minister, a physician, and a teacher, who through fear speak only things pleasant, soon destroy a kingdom, a life, and virtue" (*Sundar Kanda*, p. 352). "Desire, anger, pride, avarice are, my lord," says a counsellor to Ravana, the king of Lanka, "the road to hell. Leaving all these, serve the feet of Raghubir, so say all the sacred books" (*Sundar Kanda*, p. 352). Those worshippers of Rama under his attributes, who serve him with intense devotion, and firmly adhere to him, putting faith

in him alone, are, says he, "my own self, they who serve the twice-born" (*Sundar Kanda*, p. 357). "Such is Rama, the Lord, the friend of the poor, who is a friend without any expectation in return. O Tulsidas, serve him, leaving all hypocrisy and deceit" (*Lanka Kanda*, p. 409). The poem is sung, and has been set to music, and it is as charming to the ear as it is to the hearts of its hearers. Every year the Ramlila festival, held in many places of Northern India, commemorates Rama's adventures, and the scene is repeated and performed, not after Valmiki, but after Tulsidas. In Benares the Maharaja celebrates it with great pomp. In Delhi, more than twenty-five thousand people accompany the procession as it passes through the principal bazaars at night. Their enthusiasm is remarkable, and the author of all this outburst of religious feeling is Tulsidas. At Ayodhia I was shown his footprints, which pilgrims worship. To the populace he is known as Gushain Tulsidas, or simply as Gusainji; and however the Pandit learned in Sanskrit may affect to despise his influence, Tulsidas is *par excellence* the people's poet and philosopher.

The introduction of railways has, however, destroyed the charm which once attached to sacred places in India, and though the visitors are many more than before, the places themselves are not looked upon with the same veneration as in days when the journeys were difficult, when people died of disease, and when, as in the case of Jagannath, Badri, Kedar, or Dwarka, few returned to tell their adventures. The exactions and the low morality of their priests have also contributed to shake public faith in them, and though thousands assemble every year at each of the places I have mentioned, few carrying influence are found there with them.

FASTS AND FEASTS.

The next trait of our religious life is our fasts and festivals. In European countries I did not notice even a tenth of that enthusiasm which we find among our people on festive occasions. Our festivals are all remarkable for the religious feeling which they call forth. Taking them in the order of the Hindu calendar, the first great festival is Ramnaumi, the anniversary of Rama's birth, which is kept with great pomp at Ayodhia, which thousands of people go to visit for the occasion. I did not, however, find any old temples in this ancient place, and the few new temples worth notice are not superior to any I have seen elsewhere. Then comes Gauri Tij, celebrated on the third of the light half of Baisakh, in

honour of Parvati and greatly observed by women. The Jeith Dassehra, in celebration of the Ganges coming to the plains when brought by Bhagirath, one of the kings of the solar race, and the Nirjala ekadsi, which is observed by keeping a fast where not even water is taken for twenty-four hours, follow. On these festivals presents of articles of luxury in the hot season are given to Brahmins. This *ekadsi* is, however, a regular fortnightly day of fast for Hindus, and in some places custom forces young girls who have the misfortune of being widows to fast on the day. Among the generality of people every *ekadsi* is, however, not observed, though the Nirjala *ekadsi* is, and on that day even they only fast for half the day. The Puranas have an *ekadsi Mahatama* extolling the merit of keeping every *ekadsi* during the year and making gifts to Brahmins, but the public seldom follows the advice of the Brahmins in this matter. Then comes the Vyas Purnima on the last day of Asarh. This is a day for Hindu pupils worshipping their masters and making them presents. It marks the close of the sessions of Hindu colleges, and the holiday lasts for a month, and opens on the last day of Sanwan, which is known as the Rakshabandhan. On this day the rishis are worshipped, and *diksha* is tied round the hand. This was the day on which Vishnu cheated Bali by asking him for as much land as would be covered by his three steps, and then sending him down to the lower regions. In the month of Srawan, Siva is a great object of worship, especially on Mondays, which are observed as fasts. In Bhadra comes the Janmashtami, the great festival known as the anniversary of Krishna's birth. On this day people of all classes fast up to midnight, to observe the time when Krishna was born, and thousands visit Mathra and Gakal, the birthplace of Krishna, and the place where he was carried that very night by his father for fear of his uncle, who wanted to kill him. Ganesh Chaturthi, the next festival in Bhadun, is celebrated in honour of Ganesha, the god of learning, and boys reading in indigenous schools observe it as a gala day. On the *Anant Chaturdasi*, Vishnu is worshipped and a fast observed. The next fifteen days are the *pitri paksha*, when Brahmins are feasted in honour of departed ancestors. Nava Durga, the nine days for worshipping Durga follow, and as the Durga puja is known to everybody, it is not necessary to describe it. The great festival of the Rajputs is the Dassehra, which is observed in honour of Rama's victory over Ravanna, the king of Lanka. On this day native states look in their best. A splendid procession of troops, elephants, and horses takes place in the evening. The prince and all the

male members of his family, as well as all his state officials, accompany it on elephants. The procession, after passing through the town, assembles on an open Maidan, where the prince himself kills a buffalo with one blow from a sword. The troops then fire a *feu de joie*. A durbar is held in the evening, at which *nazars* are given to the prince, and grants or other important state concessions made. Every native prince, great or small, is bound to observe the Dassehra. The *divali*, the "great feast of the lamps," as Europeans call it, is celebrated in the month of Katick. On this occasion native houses undergo a thorough whitewashing and cleansing, because the Hindu believes that Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, in whose honour the festival is celebrated, will not be propitious to him if he receives her in a dirty house. On this day the streets, bazaars, and private houses are all lighted according to means, and people enjoy themselves in the most hearty manner possible. To some the *divali* means ruin by gambling, which actively goes on at this time of the year. The next festival is the Ganesh Chaturthi in Pons, also celebrated in honour of Ganesh. Sivaratri, the great festival in honour of Siva, comes in Phagun, and is observed as a great religious fast. Some people keep up the whole night, and worship Siva at intervals of about three hours. In Benares the festival is celebrated in the most splendid manner of any in India. The last festival is the Holi—the "All Fools' Day" of the Hindus. On this festival the Hindu puts aside many of his ideas of decorum, and indulges himself in a manner inconsistent with his otherwise quiet habits. In native states the occasion is celebrated with great *éclat*, and public amusements are held at state expense. The prince patronises largely musicians, singers, &c., who come to him from distant places.

This brief account of Hindu festivals will show that they are a part and parcel of his religion, and are thus naturally wanting in many of those objectionable features which form such a characteristic of public amusements in Western countries.

THE HINDU'S DAILY LIFE.—THE VISHNU SAHSRA NÁMA.

The above is, however, more the Hindu's religious life on special occasions than his daily religious life, and a short account of the latter will also not be out of place here. The ordinary Hindu, supposing him to be religiously inclined, rises early in the morning, sings a hymn of praise to Vishnu or Siva, often one of Surdas's songs, goes to bathe in the river of his town, or to the nearest well,

and there, after having had his bath, repeats his Guru's mantra, which is something like the ones I have quoted above, or reads the Vishnu Sahsra Nama, a poem containing the thousand names of Vishnu. This poem is a dialogue between Yudhisthira, one of the five Pandawas of the Mahabharata, and Bhishma, the grandsire of the Kurus. It occurs in the Anusána Parva of the Mahabharata, and is, unlike the Ramayana of Tulsidas, not confined to the northern parts of India, but counts its readers in all parts of the country, both among the priests and the laity, among men as well as among women able to read Sanskrit. Yudhisthara asks Bhishma to tell him "which is the one god who ought to be worshipped in this world, who is the only one to be approached here, the last refuge of all, and by whose worship and by singing whose praises man attains supreme bliss? Which *dhrama* is superior to all dhramas, and by meditating upon whom is one released from the bondage of this world?" Bhishma replies, "By singing the thousand names of the Lord of this world, the God of gods, the Supreme Man; by worshipping him, the Eternal, with uninterrupted devotion; by meditating upon him, and by bowing before him, the Creator and Destroyer of the world, who is without beginning or end, the Lord of all; by worshipping him alone is man released from all troubles. He is the creator of Brahma, the Knower of all dhramas; he increases the merit and glory of all creatures. He is the Master of all, the Great Being, the First Great Cause of this universe. This is to my mind the dhrama of all the dhramas. Therefore let man worship him, the Lotus-eyed, with faith and devotion. He is the Light of all lights, the Great Ruler of all, the Great Brahma, the Supreme Refuge, the Purest of the pure, the Great Purifier of all, the Bliss of bliss, the God of gods, the Eternal Father of all. From him all creatures proceed at the beginning of the Yuga, and in him they return at the end of the Yuga. Of him, the Lord of the world, hear from me the thousand names for the good of this world." Bhishma then goes on to describe God under his various manifestations, taking his texts largely from the Vedas, and concludes: "To the worshippers of Vasudeva there is never any sorrow, nor has birth, death, old age, or disease any fear for them. Anger, envy, avarice, or evil passions do not trouble those who have their faith in the Lord. The heavens with their stars, the sun and the moon, the four quarters, the earth and the seas, are all supported by the might of the great Vasudeva. The gods, the *Asuras*, the *Gandharvas*, the *Yakshas*, the *Rakshasas*, all this world, with its animate and inanimate creatures, is ruled by the Lord Krishna. The senses, the mind, the intellect, strength,

prowess, glory, fortitude, are all the gifts of Vasudeva. Even he is the *Kshetragya* (the soul) of this body. The rishis, the *pitris*, the *devas*, the five great elements, the *dhatu*s, all movable and immovable creatures, are supported by the might of Narayana. He, the Supreme Lord, is one, though he appears under many forms. He pervades the three worlds; he is the Atma of all; he gives all the fruit of their actions, and is eternal" (Vishnu Sahsra Nama, Slokas, 2 and 3 to 11, and 131 to 140). Probably no religious book in the world has hymns of praise to the Deity sublimer than the Vishnu Sahsra Nama, nor describes his attributes with such depth of feeling. The poem has been commented upon by Sankaracharya, and is the most read of any Sanskrit book in India.

THE READING OF PURANAS.

After Vishnu Sahsra Nama comes the Mahimana, an easy-flowing poem in praise of Siva, and the Ganga Lahri, a poem in praise of the Ganges. The author of the former was Pushpdant, and of the latter Jagannath Tirsuli. Jagannath married the daughter of a Muhammedan king of Delhi, who selected him for his great learning. Tradition says that Jagannath lived a fast life, and soon squandered away all that the king had given him. The princes about the court, hearing of his misfortunes, offered to give him money, but he declined, reading extempore a verse which is largely quoted in India, "Either the king of Delhi or the King of the world can only fulfil desires. What other kings give is barely sufficient for my salt and vegetables." He wrote a book called *Bhamini Vilas*, the opening verse of which is very beautiful. Translated into English, it is: "Go to the *patalas* (the nether regions), or to the city of the immortals, or mount the highest peak of Sumeru, or cross the sea, and see the end of the world, but desire is not satisfied. Afflicted with sorrows, troubles, and diseases, if you want to seek your good, then taste the elixir of the name of Srikrishna. What is the use of taking other trouble for nothing?"

After these comes a story which gives bread to every Brahmin, even him who can barely read a Sanskrit sloka. It is the story of Satya Narayana, the true god, a very popular story for all classes of Hindus, of high and low caste, rich and poor. It purports to be a dialogue between Vishnu and the Rishi Narada, where Vishnu explains to him the method of his worship and how he loves his devotees. The poem describes in details the various things necessary for the celebration of the festival, and as the ceremony appeals to the

eye as well as to the imagination, it is very largely observed both in towns and villages. The poem is, however, more a book of latter-day stories written to bring a livelihood to Brahmins, and did not impress me much when I read it.

The Hindu is, moreover, very fond of hearing Puranas read to him by the Brahmins, and many a Pandit has this as the only means of subsistence. A good reader of the Bhagwat will get from 200 to 2000 rupees in about five or six months. A reader of Valmiki Ramayana will get as much, and a reader of the Mahabharata much more. All these are popular with the people in the order I have described, but the Ramayana of Valmiki and the Mahabharata give precedence to the Devi Bhagwat Purana of the Saktas and Harivansa, a portion of the Mahabharata. In the Durgapuja the Durgapatha is largely read, and some Hindus read it daily.

Returning from his bath, our Hindu householder will visit any temples that fall in his way, worshipping Vishnu, Siva, Kali, Bhairava, or whatever god presides there, without much distinction. On all occasions he will be as charitable as his means allow him to be. His *dharamsalas*, his works of public utility, his free gifts of food throughout India, all bear witness to his charity. At Hardwar, for instance, Rai Surajmal Bahadur of Calcutta has built a dharamsala costing about 50,000 rupees, for pilgrims to lodge. What can be a better charity than his iron bridge at Lachmanjhula on the way to Badrinath. The old rope-bridge was a very dangerous one. The river there is very deep, and the force of the current great. As I walked over the bridge, I could not help feeling grateful to its founder, and this is the feeling of thousands who pass over it. At Rishikesh, native bankers and rajas feed about 5000 mendicants every day. In Benares thousands of Brahmin students are maintained by Hindu bankers. The number of religious men who live upon charity alone is great in every sacred town of the Hindus, and I have never known even one suffering from want of food. At the last Kumbha fair in Hardwar, the number of religious mendicants of all sects must have exceeded 20,000. They were encamped for many miles, and they told me how the laity looked after their daily wants. In no country of Europe, with all its progress, is there so deep a spirit of religion or so much charity as in India.

FETISH-WORSHIP.

To come now to the worship of fetishes, the small-pox, local gods, numerous worshipped in every village of India, Muhammadan saints,

trees, stones, animals, and other things, all that can be said of it is that it is more common in the lower than in the higher classes of Hindus. In the latter their worshippers are gradually decreasing with the progress of knowledge. Fetish-worship is an abuse of the Hindu religion, rightly understood. It is not sanctioned by the Vedas, whose picture of the life of a Hindu householder may well furnish a model for any civilised nation.

REAL HINDUISM OF THE VEDAS.

Says the Taittiriya Upanishad :—

“ 1. After having taught the Veda, the teacher instructs the pupil: Say what is true! Do thy duty! Do not neglect the study of the Veda! After having brought to thy teacher his proper reward, do not cut off the line of children! Do not swerve from the truth! Do not swerve from duty! Do not neglect what is useful! Do not neglect greatness! Do not neglect the learning and teaching of the Veda!

“ 2. Do not neglect the (sacrificial) works due to the gods and the fathers! Let thy mother be to thee like unto a god! Let thy father be to thee like unto a god! Let thy teacher be to thee like unto a god! Let thy guest be to thee like unto a god! Whatever actions are blameless, those should be regarded, not others. Whatever good works have been performed by us, those should be observed by thee.

“ 3. Not others. And there are some Brahmanas better than we. They should be honoured by thee by giving them a seat. Whatever is given should be given with faith, not without faith, with joy, with modesty, with fear, with kindness. If there should be any doubt in thy mind with regard to any sacred act or with regard to conduct,—

“ 4. In that case conduct thyself as Brahmanas in thy neighbourhood possessing good judgment conduct themselves therein, whether they be appointed or not, as long as they are not too severe, but devoted to duty. And with regard to things that have been spoken against, as Brahmanas who possess good judgment conduct themselves therein, whether they be appointed or not, as long as they are not too severe, but devoted to duty.

“ Thus conduct thyself. This is the rule. This is the teaching. This is the true purport (Upanishad) of the Veda. This is the command. Thus should you observe. Thus should this be observed ” (Taittiriya Upanishad, I. xi. 1 to 4.)

FUTURE OF HINDUISM.

It would be to the misfortune of Hindus were modern dogmas and superstitions to continue to take precedence of teachings like the above, and it is some satisfaction to find greater attention being directed towards the truer and more genuine side of Hinduism. All reform movements in India, whether now or in days gone by, have been directed towards this object, and if they did not, or have not succeeded to the desired extent, it is because of the great inertia of ages which characterises Hindu society. Signs of progress are, however, now visible, and the day ought not to be distant when Hindus would be able to take their proper place among the civilised nations of the world. Before this can be done, much of their present religion will have to be purified, all that is unsuited to a progressive society, and all that bars their advance in the scale of nations rejected. Hinduism is a vast ocean, and after rejecting all impurities, much that will stand the test of science and progressive thought will always remain. It never lost its vitality, even amidst the most repressive influences; all that is now necessary is to make it move with the times.

ESOTERIC HINDUISM, THE RELIGION OF THE UPANISHADS.

I shall now say something upon esoteric or real Hinduism, the religion of the few and the wise of India. What am I? what is God? what is this world? where shall I go after death? These and other similar questions have always occupied the minds of the sages of India with an earnestness seldom met with elsewhere. Here religion and philosophy are not treated as two different, but one thing. The highest philosophy is here the highest religion, and the end of both is liberation from bondage of existence, to cut off the round of births and rebirths, to remove the fetters which lead to man's coming into this world of sorrow and miseries, and to unite him with the Supreme Soul, the Para Brahma. It is, therefore, not surprising if the teachings of this philosophy have largely influenced, and still influence, all religious reform movements in India, movements which have always been a protest against the superstition and dogmatism of its priestly class. Buddhism is nothing more than the religion of the Hindu Upanishads brought home to the people in a popular form. Chaitanya of Bengal, Nanak, Kabir, Dadu, and other people's reformers went to that source for their religious teachings. The

Brahmo Somaj could not but draw largely from it, and the founder of the Arya Somaj, while denouncing many of the doctrines of later-day philosophers, has not failed to follow the same course. Even to-day there are in India thousands who profess to live according to the true religion of the Hindus, the Vedanta, the end of the Veda, and successfully live up to it. In Europe also Hindu religious philosophy is slowly but surely making its way felt, and an inquiry into some of its leading doctrines cannot fail to be interesting.

Of the six schools of Hindu philosophy the Sankhya, the Yoga, the Nyaya, the two Vedantas, and the Vaisasaka, though each forms a point of attack for followers of the other, yet, with the exception of the Vedanta and the Yoga, none has now more than a mere scholastic interest. I have, even after diligent inquiries from Pandits and religious men of all sorts, never been able to find one to whom they furnish a rule of life. The Naiyayik or the reader of Sankhya is generally a Vaishnavite or a Vedantist in religion. The Nyaya or the Sankhya appeals more to his intellect than to his heart. On the other hand, every Sanyasi, every person who belongs to one of the many modern offshoots of Sikhism, is a follower of Vedanta philosophy in some form or other. At the last great Kumbh fair in Hardwar I made inquiries as to the probable number of religious men worth notice who had assembled there. Their number exceeded ten thousand, and most of them were Saivites, Vaishnavites, or Vedantis. There were a very few Saktas, those who openly professed themselves to be so; many readers of Nyaya and Sankhya, but no followers; many Yogis, whose Yoga either took the form of working miracles or who followed the teachings of the Vedanta. I made particular inquiries as to whether there were any *Charvakas*, the materialists, in this great assemblage, and even undertook a troublesome journey when I was told that there were some encamped at a distant place, but could not find any. There were hundreds of people whose besmeared bodies, or matted hair, or ochre-coloured dresses were all that they knew of their sects. Many of them lived only to eat and pass a most idle, aimless existence. Others had made more or less progress in subduing their passions, but I did not find any who lived up to the teachings of any other school of Hindu philosophy than the Yoga or the Vedanta. The successes were, as was expected, few and far between, but the teachings of the Upanishads seemed alone to furnish any rule of life to modern hermits and sages of India. I shall therefore give the doctrines of the philosophic side of Hinduism more with reference

to these than any other system of Hindu philosophy, and even in these I shall confine myself more to its ancient and recognised sources than to the more modern ones, which are not important for practical purposes.

The Vedānta has three mainstays—the Upanishads, the Bhagwat Gita, and the Sararik Sutras of Vyasa. The Upanishads are the basis of all Hindu religious philosophy, while the Bhagwat Gita seeks to embody the whole of their doctrines in a small compass, free from all their unexplainable teachings, and the Sutras of Vyasa to reduce their teachings to a systematic whole. All three have been commented upon by followers of the Adwaita, the Dwaita, and the Vashistha Adwaita sects of Hindus, each trying to support the views of his own sect by appealing to both reason as well as revelation, the Yukti and the Surti, but now and then failing to convince a modern non-sectarian reader. Therefore what I shall hereafter state as the answers given by Hindu religious philosophy to the important questions stated above, shall be more from original sources than their commentators, more from interpretations put upon them by living teachers than by scholastic commentators.

The first question, What am I? relates to the position of man in

THE JEVÁTURA.

The doctrine of the Upanishads is that the soul of man (Atma) is immortal; that it is neither created nor dies; that it never was, and never shall not be; that it is unborn, eternal, without decay, ancient; and that it is not destroyed with the destruction of the body. As the Katha Upanishad says:—

“If the slayer thinks I slay, or the slain that he has been slain, then both do not know the nature of the soul. It neither slays nor is it slain. Subtler than the subtle, greater than the great, it is seated in the cavity of the heart. He who is free from desire and grief, whose senses are under control, can only know it. Sitting, it goes far; sleeping, it goes everywhere. The wise, knowing it to be unbodily among embodied creatures, as permanent among the fleeting as the great, the all-pervading, cast off grief. Its nature cannot be known by mere knowledge, nor by mere comprehension of the meanings of the Sastra, nor by knowing many books. He who earnestly seeks to know it can only know it. To him it reveals its nature. He who has not left wicked ways is not of a subdued mind, whose intellect is not concentrated, whose senses are not under control, cannot know the Atma, not even by a knowledge

of the Sastra" (Kath. Upanishad, ii. 18-25). This is the great doctrine of the philosophy of the Upanishads. What they teach is not to look upon this body, its faculties or organs, its names or forms, as the soul or the Atma, but that the latter is something above these, the permanent and the eternal among the changing states of this body. The same idea runs throughout the teachings of the Bhagwat Gita, and in similar works Krishna tells Arjuna to perform the duties of his order, knowing that it is not the Atma, the soul, but the body that is destroyed. Having laid down this doctrine, the Upanishads explain in great detail the process of separating oneself from this body with which he has identified himself, and the aspirant after true knowledge is told how he should carry on this process of separation like one who takes out a broomstick out of its shell or a grain out of the husk, till he comes to look upon all creatures as manifestations of one Supreme Soul, or till he sees unity in diversity. Many are the parables employed to impress this teaching upon the mind of the learner. In one place the gods and the Asuras, hearing that the Atma (soul) was free from sin, was not subject to decay, grief, death, hunger, or thirst, and that it was truthful in all its wishes and resolves, resolved to seek it, to inquire after it, to know it, and to attain it. Then Indra, the lord of the gods, and Virochana, the lord of the demons, went forth, presents in hand, to Prajapati to know the Atma. The teacher made both to undergo the discipline of students for thirty-two years, and then told them that the *purush* within the eye, whom Yogis perceive with contented and undisturbed minds, was the deathless and the fearless Atma. The pupils, however, mistook him to mean the reflection of things on the retina of the eye. He then made both to stand by and look into a pan of water, and while the lord of demons mistook the shadow he saw there to be the Atma, and left satisfied, the lord of the gods thought that the reflection of a body subject to death, decrepitude, and decay could not be the Atma. He again repairs to Prajapati, who, after making him pass another period of studentship, advances him a step further by telling him that that which enjoys in a dream the feeling of being satisfied by the attainment of desire is the Atma. But Indra, knowing that that which sees dreams, though it is not affected by the decay or decrepitude of the body, yet because it feels as if it were being beaten, driven away, or put to grief and sorrow, it could not be the Atma. He therefore again goes to his teacher, who, after another period of studentship, tells him that that in which, retiring, the sleeper is completely at rest and knows no dream-

ing, is the Atma; but Indra, again thinking that the loss of all consciousness of the world could not be the Atma, goes back to his teacher, who, after making him keep a fourth term of five years, at last tells him the nature of the Atma. He tells him that the body only is mortal and subject to death; that it is the resting-place of the immortal Atma; that the latter, when thus associated with the body, tastes pleasure and pain, and that in reality, as the unembodied, it does not taste either.

The moral of the story is that the wise, after realising that his soul is neither the body nor its faculties, and that it is distinct from and independent of it, moves in the world without being attached to its objects. He feels that his Atma, being independent of the body, is subject neither to death nor decay, which are functions of the body; nor to grief or sorrow, which appertain to the mind; nor to hunger and thirst, which appertain to the vital airs, the *prana*, and that the Atma is truth, intelligence, and happiness. A person who knows it to be such commits no sin, gives up all evil desires and passions, all longing after objects of senses, and is happy and contented. For him there is no sorrow, no delusion. Death and disease have no terrors for him; pain and suffering do not shake him. Like the waters of rivers penetrating the great ocean without disturbing it, the objects of the world do not disturb him. What is night to others is day to him. Like a blade of grass, he is not carried away by every outburst of passion. In short, as he conquered his own self, he has conquered all.

“As in the embrace of a beloved wife one is unconscious of aught from within or without, so embraced by the all-knowing Atma does not man know what is outside nor what is inside. This is his nature, when all desires are satisfied, when no desire nor grief is felt, and when the only desire is for the Atma” (Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad, chap. iv. Brah. 3, verse 21). “If a man understands the Self, saying, ‘I am he,’ what could he wish or desire that he should pine after the body? When a person beholds his own self as God, as the ruler of the past and the present, he does not wish to conceal himself from anybody” (*Ibid.*, Brah. 4, verse 15). “This great unborn soul is the same which abides as the intelligent (soul) in all living creatures; the same which abides as ether in the heart, in whom it sleeps; it is the subduer of all, the ruler of all, the sovereign lord of all; it does not become greater by good works, nor less by evil work. It is the ruler of all, the sovereign lord of all beings, the preserver of all beings, the bridge, the upholder of the worlds, so that they fall not to ruin. In

accordance with the word of the Vedas, the Brahmans desire to comprehend him by sacrifice, gift, ascetic work, and subduing their desires. One who knows him thus becomes a Muni" (Brahad Aranyaka Upanishad, chap. iv. Brah. 4, verse 21).

HOW THE ATMA IS KNOWN.

The Upanishad has already told us how he is known. There is also another method of arriving at the same result. It is reasoning from cause and effect. We know everything we see changes. Things believed to have a real existence change, and are but the effects of other things. They are both causes and effects as producing and being produced. Earth, for instance, is the cause of some and the effect of other things. It is dissolved into water; water in its turn into heat, heat into air, and air into *akasa* (ether), which is known by its quality, sound. Akasa itself is not permanent, but is dissolvable into indifferentiated matter (the *avaykta* of the Upanishad). This *avaykta* is also not unchangeable and permanent, but changes into differentiated matter. But beyond these changeable things is the *purush*, who does not change, who is permanent. He is the final goal. To know this *purush* as residing in the heart of every creature as the unchangeable Supreme Divine essence is *gyana*. This Atma is knowledge unlimited by objects, and when the Upanishad calls it the ear of the ear, the mind of the mind, the speech of the speech, it means that because of it the ear hears, the eye sees, the tongue speaks, the mind thinks. To realise that the Atma is independent of all senses, all objects of knowledge, unaltered by the modifications of the mind, permanent among fleeting ideas and objects of knowledge is *gyana*. "Beyond or higher than the senses are their objects; higher than these objects is the mind; higher than the mind is the *budhi* (intellect); higher than the individual intellect is universal intellect; beyond that is indifferent matter or the *avaykta*, and higher than the *avaykta* is *purush*, than whom none is higher; he is the last limit, the goal" (Katha Upanishad, iii. 10 and 11). "Let the wise subdue his speech by mind, the mind by the intellect; resolve the intellect into the great soul, and the great soul into the blissful soul" (Katha iii. 13). Thus the "I" or the "thou" of Hindu religious philosophy is not the "I" or the "thou" as limited by the body, its organs or functions, nor even by the mind or its functions, but as unlimited by any limitations, as the great, the permanent, the blissful, the intelligent Atma, the great substratum of all existence, the source of all

intelligence and all bliss. The answer given by the Upanishads to the question "What art thou?" is therefore "Thou art he," the most philosophic answer that has ever been given to this question; and when it says, "Know thyself," it means know thyself to be *sat chit anand*, the true, the intelligent, and the happy.

WHAT IS GOD AND WHAT IS THE WORLD?

From what has been stated above, it follows that the only possible idea of God which such a philosophy can inculcate is the highest monotheistic idea, an idea of absolute unity. It lays down the doctrine that before this world assumed its present name and form, it was in a state of being, *sat*, invisible, all pervading one only, without defect, without members, knowledge itself, alone without a second, not *asat*, for how can that which is proceed from that which is not? He (the Brahma) willed, and he created the world. Says the Mundaka Upanishad:—

"1. This is the truth. As from a blazing fire sparks, being like unto fire, fly forth a thousand-fold, thus are various beings brought forth from the Imperishable, my friend, and return thither also.

"2. That heavenly Person is without body, he is both without and within, not produced, without breath and without mind, pure, higher than the high Imperishable (the *Avyakta*).

"3. From him (when entering on creation) is born breath, mind, and all organs of sense, ether, air, light, water, and the earth, the support of all.

"4. Fire (the sky) is his head, his eyes the sun and the moon, the quarters his ears, his speech the Vedas disclosed, the wind his breath, his heart the universe; from his feet came the earth; he is indeed the inner Self of all things.

"5. From him comes Agni (fire), the sun being the fuel; from the moon (Soma) comes rain (Parganya); from the earth herbs; and man gives seed unto the woman. Thus many beings are begotten from the Person (*purusha*).

"6. From him come the Rik, the Sâman, the Yagush, the Dikshâ (initiatory rites), all sacrifices and offerings of animals, and fees bestowed on priests, the year too, the sacrificer, and the worlds, in which the moon shines brightly and the sun.

"7. From him the many Devas too are begotten, the Sâdhyas (genii), men, cattle, birds, the up and down breathings, rice and corn (for sacrifices), penance, faith, truth, abstinence, and law.

"8. The seven senses (*prâna*) also spring from him, the seven

lights (acts of sensation), the seven kinds of fuel (objects by which the senses are lighted), the seven sacrifices (results of sensation), these seven worlds (the places of the senses, the worlds determined by the senses) in which the senses move, which rest in the cave (of the heart), and are placed there seven and seven.

“ 9. Hence come the seas and all the mountains, from him flow the rivers of every kind ; hence come all herbs and the juice through which the inner Self subsists with the elements.

“ 10. The person is all this, sacrifices, penance, Brahman, the highest immortal ; he who knows this hidden in the cave (of the heart), he, O friend, scatters the knot of ignorance here on earth ” (Mundaka Upanishad, ii. 1-10).

The attributes of the Deity are thus described :—

“ That one God, having his eyes, his face, his arms, and his feet in every place, when producing heaven and earth, forges them together with his arms and his wings.

“ He, the creator and supporter of the gods, Rudra, the great seer, the lord of all, he who formerly gave birth to Hiranyagarbha, may he endow us with good thoughts.

“ This whole universe is filled by this person (purusha), to whom there is nothing superior, from whom there is nothing different, than whom there is nothing smaller or larger, who stands alone, fixed like a tree in the sky.

“ That Bhagawat exists in the faces, the heads, the necks of all ; he dwells in the cave (of the heart) of all beings ; he is all-pervading ; therefore he is the omnipresent Siva.

“ That person (purusha) is the great lord ; he is the mover of existence ; he possesses that purest power of reaching everything ; he is light ; he is undecaying.

“ The person (purusha) with a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet, having compassed the earth on every side, extends beyond it by ten fingers' breadth.

“ That person alone (purusha) is all this, what has been and what will be ; he is also the lord of immortality ; he is whatever grows by food.

“ His hands and feet are everywhere, his eyes and head are everywhere, his ears are everywhere ; he stands encompassing all in the world.

“ Separate from all the senses, yet reflecting the qualities of all the senses, he is the lord and ruler of all ; he is the great refuge of all.

“ Grasping without hands, hasting without feet, he sees without

eyes, he hears without ears. He knows what can be known, but no one knows him; they call him the first, the great person (*purusha*)" (Swet. Aswalana Upanishad, chap. iii. 3, 4, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19).

These few passages will show that the religion of the Vedas is that the world does not exist apart from its Creator, but in him and of him.

When the Upanishad says, "*Sarvam hi etad Brahm*," or "*Sarvam Khalu edam Brahm*," "All this is Brahm," it means that the world is pervaded by one divine essence, which is *Sat Chit* and Anand, *i.e.*, which is, is intelligence, and is happy. It also means that the world is not without a First Cause, that such First Cause is an intelligent cause, and that all happiness proceeds from that first source of happiness. The atomic, the idealistic, and the materialistic theories of creation find no place here, nor do the Upanishads inculcate Brahma to be any but the highest and the only operative cause of the world. Nor are the different forms of existence, ether, air, fire, water, earth, co-eternal with Brahma, but spring from him in the order above given as the first effects of a fresh cause. In short, the philosophy of the Upanishads teaches that the world exists of and because of Brahma, that it is a manifestation of Brahma as sprung from him and as animated by him.

THE MAYA DOCTRINE.

The later Vedantic philosophers of India, including Sankaracharya, have, however, pressed these teachings to mean that the world is "*Maya*," a baseless illusion to be destroyed by knowledge. This is, however, not the true philosophy of the Upanishads. In none of them, except the Swetaswatara Upanishad, does the word *Maya*, which supports the illusion theory, occur, and even in the Swetaswatara the word *Maya* is used synonymously with *Prakriti*, undifferentiated matter. "Know the *Maya* to be *Prikriti*, and the lord of *Maya* to be Maheshwara; this whole world is pervaded by power which are his parts" (Swet. Upanish., 4-10). To say that the objects of the world are as unreal and have as intangible an existence as those of dreams, the great doctrine preached by Sankaracharya and his followers, or that the world does not really exist, is therefore wrong. The Upanishads do not support a *parinama vada*. The process of manifestation of the universe is according to them a real, and not an illusory process. When they say that all name and form are merely nominal, that earth in jars, pots, &c., or gold in every golden ornament, is only true, they mean, not that pots or ornaments do not exist, but that

they do not exist apart from the earth or gold. The same is with Brahma. The world does not exist in its present form, but it does not exist apart from Brahma. It is not an erroneous appearance, as that of a rope being mistaken for a snake, but it has no individual or separate existence. This is perhaps the great error into which later Vedantis have fallen, and which has been the cause of their teachings not guiding popular religion. In fact, the second Sutra of Vyasa, which is that Brahma is that from whom the origin, subsistence, and dissolution of this world proceed, does not at all support the illusion theory. The Sutra proves that the world owes its existence and subsistence to God; that it dissolves into him; that while the real nature of Brahma is *Satyam*, *Gyanam*, and *Autam*, the true, the intelligent, and the limitless, the creation, &c., of the world are only such of his attributes as reside within him at certain times and not at others. It also proves that the world, differentiated by names and forms, containing many agents and enjoyers, the abode of the fruit of actions, these fruits having definite times, places, and causes, and the nature of whose arrangement cannot be conceived by the mind, cannot proceed from any but a lord possessing the above qualities. From blind matter or atoms or *asat* or non-being, unreality or spontaneously it cannot proceed. This being so, it is wrong to say that the world which proceeds from an intelligent cause does not possess a tangible existence. The mystery of creation will always remain a mystery. As Krishna says in the Bhagwat Gita: "Its form cannot be here known, nor its end, nor beginning, nor support. Therefore, cutting with the hard weapon of non-attachment this *Aswatha* (fleeting world), whose roots are firmly fixed, should one seek for that goal whence there is no return" (Bhagwat Gita, chap. xv. 3 and 4). The true Vedantin would say, "Let the world exist; I do not deny or quarrel with its existence. All that I aim at and strive after is how to cut myself off from its pleasures and sorrows." The illusion theory misapplied has been the cause of much social evil to India. It has encouraged neglect for worldly duties, a result which its enunciators never foresaw.

IS THE IDEAL OF THE HINDU RELIGION A PRACTICAL IDEAL?

It may, however, be asked whether, as Hindu religious philosophy requires for a mortal to become immortal, it is possible for all desires of the heart to be destroyed; whether, so long as the human body lasts, human passions, desires, and weaknesses will last; whether the fetters of the heart which bind one to this world can be com-

pletely cut asunder; and whether this impracticable ideal would lead to the conclusion that no one can acquire *moksha*? Says Krishna in the Gita, "When one casts off all the desires of his heart, and is pleased within his self from his own self, then he is said to be of a steady mind. He whose mind is not agitated by misfortune, who has no craving for pleasure, who is free from attachment, fear, and anger, is the Muni of the steady mind. He who has no affection for anything in the world, who feeleth no exultation on obtaining pleasurable objects, nor pain on seeing painful ones, his intellect is said to be steady. He who draws away his senses from all objects of sense, as the tortoise draws away his limbs in his body, his intellect is said to be steady" (chap. ii. 55-58). The same are described to be the qualifications of a true lover of God. "He who hath no hatred for any creature, who is friendly and compassionate also, who is free from egotism, who hath no vanity, who is alike in pleasure and pain, who is forgiving, contented, always devoted, of a subdued mind, firm of purpose, with heart and understanding fixed on me, even he is dear to me. He through whom the world is not troubled, (and) who is not troubled by the world, who is free from joy, wrath, fear, and anxieties, even he is dear to me. That devotee of mine who is free from attachment, pure, diligent, unconnected (with worldly objects), and free from distress (of mind), and who renounceth every action (for fruit), even he is dear to me. He who hath no joy, no aversion, who neither grieveth nor desireth, who renounceth both good and evil, (and) who is full of faith in me, even he is dear to me. He who is alike to friend and foe, as also in honour and dishonour, who is alike in cold and heat, (and) pleasure and pain, who is free from attachment, to whom censure and praise are equal, who is taciturn, who is contented with anything that cometh (to him), who is homeless, of a steady mind, and full of faith, even that man is dear to me" (chap. xii. 13-19).

Again in chap. xiv. in similar language are mentioned the qualifications of one who has transcended the three qualities of *Satwa* (Goodness), *Rajas* (Passion), and *Tamas* (Darkness), of which all creatures partake. Says Krishna: "He who hath no aversion for light, activity, and even delusion, O son of Pandu! when they are present, nor desireth them when they are absent; who, seated as one unconcerned, is not shaken by those qualities; who sitteth and moveth not, thinking that it is the qualities (and not he) that are engaged (in their respective functions); to whom pain and pleasure are alike, who is self-contained, and to whom a sod of earth, a stone, and gold are all alike; to whom the agreeable and the disagreeable

are the same, who hath disconcernment, to whom censure and praise are the same, to whom honour and dishonour are the same, who regardeth friend and foe alike, who hath renounced all exertion, is said to have transcended the qualities. He also who worshippeth me with exclusive devotion, he, transcending these qualities, becometh fit for admission into the nature of Brahma. For I am the stay of Brahma, of immortality, of indestructibility, of eternal piety, and of unbroken felicity!" (chap. xiv. 22-27).

Now it is asked whether this is not too impractical a morality, too impossible an ideal to be attained. The answer is, that though difficult, it is not an impossible ideal. Moksha is not achieved by everybody. When Christ said, "Strait is the gate and narrow is the path which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it," or when Yama in the Katha Upanishad says that to tread the path of Moksha is as difficult as to tread upon the sharp edge of a razor, he meant that it was not everybody who could tread it. On the contrary, it is the wise who has diverted himself from all evil ways, who is of a placid mind, that can tread it. The very first essential for venturing upon this difficult journey is such as would require a great worldly sacrifice. The aspirant for Moksha obtains perfection by worshipping him from whom the origin of all beings proceeds, and who pervades this world through the performance of his duty. Such disinterested performance of duty for duty's sake, without regard to consequences, leaving the latter to God, leads to the performance of all action for his sake. This, in its turn, leads to devotion to God, which, when it becomes uninterrupted, leads to constant communion with him, till the devotee's heart is fixed upon him, till he sees nothing else but him, and till, like the flame of a lamp in a windless spot, nothing in the world shakes him. The first commandment of Christianity also requires no less. It is impossible to love God with all one's heart, one's soul, one's mind, and one's strength, or to love his neighbour as himself, unless he has learnt to do his duty for the sake of duty, to leave its consequences to God, to perform what he does for the sake of the Lord, and to fix his mind upon him alone. The teachings of Christianity are thus not different in this respect from that of Hinduism, only the latter carries the aspirant a step further in destroying all sense of egoism in making the individual soul absorbed finally into the Supreme Soul.

The followers of this religion in India are many, but the successful few are mostly hidden from the world, and it is not an easy thing to find them out. I shall give one or two instances of persons I

have known. Foremost among these is my venerable and learned preceptor, Swami Bhaskaranand Saraswati, called by the people the Yatūndra, or the prince of those ascetics whose minds are under control. He is now more than sixty years of age, and was born in a Kany Koolej Brahman family in the Cawnpore district about 1830. At the age of seventeen he retired from the world, and has since been a Sanyasi. He has travelled over almost the whole of India, seen every place of note, and has been in the company of the most learned scholars of the country. From Benares all the way up to Gangatri he once performed on foot a journey of more than a thousand miles, walking all the time on the banks of the Ganges. After having acquired a very full and complete knowledge of Vedānta philosophy and seen the whole of the country, the Swami gave up his *dand* (staff), the sign of his being a Sanyasi, and with it all articles of dress. He has since been living in the *bagh* of the Raja of Amethi in Benares, seeing only those who are earnest students of the Vedānta philosophy, passing almost the whole of his time in contemplation or in reading the Shāstras, setting a practical example of the truths of the highest and best side of Hindu religion, and very nearly approaching the standards laid down by Krishna for a devotee of steady mind—a *Haribhakta* and a *Guna tita*. So highly is he respected for his sanctity, that already temples have been built and his statue inaugurated there. The late Maharaja of Benares put up his statue in his house and daily worshipped it. The Rani of Barhar has also built a temple in Benares in his honour. So have the Rajas of Amethi and Nagodgdh, the latter of whom has named a bazaar after him. The Rajas of Samaranta and Chandapur, as well as Chowdhry Madhoparshad of Allahabad, are also building, or have already built, similar temples in honour of the Swami; and yet he does not at all care for these honours.

People ascribe to him miraculous powers, and say that he has saved many from misfortune, though he repudiates the idea. When he used to receive visitors, people, not only of his own religion, but Muhammadans from Cabul and Turkey, Englishmen, Americans, all went to see him, and were very much impressed with his catholic views. Even now I have seen people from the royal family of Nepal and from Assam visiting him. In October last year, when I was stopping with him, I saw the very curious spectacle of two educated Assamese, and the wife of one of them, coming all the way from Assam to Kasi simply to touch the Swami's feet. I asked them if they were students of Vedānta philosophy, or if they had come to receive instruction from the Swami, but, with tears in

their eyes, they assured me that they had no other object but to touch his feet, honestly believing that they will be saved by doing so! I have known the Swami for some years, and nothing can be more charming than his simplicity of manner, nothing worthy of greater respect than his extremely pious life, his perfect mastery over his desires and passions, and his complete control over his self. In no other man in India are true renunciation and deep learning so happily combined. In the coldest days of December I have seen him sitting and sleeping happy and contented, without a bit of cloth to cover him, and when he was asked to take a few clothes to warm himself, he replied that the wise do not take what they have once forsaken. Always bright with happiness and contentment, I have never known him to be dejected in spirit. To him every human being is his own self, the pleasure and pain of all his own. According to him, the reading of the Upanishads and the Gita and other Sastras, and meditation, are the great stepping-stones to progress in the path of Moksha. He believes that our desires and passions are the great cords which tie us down to this world. Unlike Sankaracharya and others, who hold that a Brahman and a Sanyasi are only entitled to Moksha, he believes that every one can work out his own Moksha, and that the Sastra is as much for the Brahman as for the Sudra, as much for man as for woman, as much for the householder as for the Sanyasi, and he cites the examples of Vidura the fowler in the Mahabharata, and of Gargi and others in the Upanishads having acquired Moksha. He thinks that for none is it necessary to give up his work in the world in order to be saved, and in support of his views he cites the examples of Rama, Krishna, Yagyavalkya, Vashishtha, and other householders, who acquired it. True faith and true knowledge are, according to him, one and the same, and he holds that one could not be acquired without the other. In fact, to know him is to revere him. All that his many worshippers say is well deserved, and I have unanimously heard people of his own sect calling him their *Surya* (sun).

I have also met several other good men, but found that those who had conquered their passions and desires, and were otherwise good ascetics, were wanting in learning, and the ability to communicate their thoughts to others in an intelligent manner, while others who were learned were not true devotees. My travels over a very large portion of India, as well as my visits to places of pilgrimage, have also left upon me the impression that learning is now more extensive outside the established order of Sanyasis than in it, and that, like the Brahmins, the latter are now becoming more addicted

to dogma and superstition than the investigation of truth; in fact, among *Nirmalas* and *Udasis* of the Sikh sect I have found more learned and good men than among *Sanyasis*. Therefore, although the ideal set up by the best and truest exponents of Hindu religion is a very difficult and high ideal, yet it is an ideal which has been and is being more successfully striven after in India than elsewhere.

WHAT IS MOKSHA ?

But what, after all, is this Moksha, this union of the individual with the supreme soul, which we read of so much in the Hindu Shastras, and which so many in India are striving after? Is it a blank nothingness, or pure inertia, or total annihilation, or is it only a destruction of that idea of separateness which binds us to this world? The Upanishads give a most clear and unequivocal answer to this question when they say that Moksha is not a thing to be achieved, but is already achieved, and that all that is required is a destruction of the fetters that bind us to this world. This is illustrated by the familiar instance of ten men crossing a stream. When they reach the opposite shore, one of them counts the number, and finds only nine, because he omits to count himself. The result is that they take the tenth to be lost, and go about crying, when a passer-by tells them that all ten are there. In the same way, as long as man does not know his own nature, he is unhappy. When he knows that he is one with the Absolute, or is the Absolute himself, then he is happy. As the Upanishad says, "When all the fetters of the heart are broken, then the mortal becomes immortal." These fetters are those of attachment, ignorance, and desire. Death is nothing more than attachment, produced from the ignorance of man as to the material world and the soul. It is attachment to the senses and their objects by which death is characterised. No other chain binds man to this world. Destroy this attachment, and you have your true nature. In dreamless sleep, when both the mind and the senses are at rest, man every day attains to his true nature; but the seed of ignorance being still in him, he returns to this world of misery and sorrow as soon as he awakes. Destroy this seed of ignorance by learning to separate yourself from this body, and all else is easy. Happiness according to the Hindu shastras resides not in the objects believed to cause happiness, nor in the pursuit after those objects. If it lay in the objects, then the same object would always give the same amount of pleasure. It does not also lie in the pursuit after objects, for even pursuit does not make some

happy. It lies in the mind being at rest for the time being. When one has acquired the object of his search, his mind is at rest for the time, for the disturbance caused by desire for that object has ceased. The mind is, however, swifter than wind, and is soon ready for another race, and in this way man runs for object after object, spending his life in vain pursuits, and getting happiness from none. Mistaking the phantoms of this world for substance, the non-eternal for the eternal, he wanders forth till, by exceptional good fortune, he learns what is real happiness, and by pursuing it attains it. When he comes to learn that all happiness and misery are of his own mind, that it is his own mind alone which is the cause of bondage, when, by dissecting the nature of things, he comes to learn that happiness does not lie outside his own self, and by realising that, in spite of all change of objects and experiences, his sense of individuality remains the same, and dissociates this individuality from those things with which it has identified itself, then he is happy. When, as Sankaracharya says, he overcomes disjunctive knowledge by knowing it to be false, then he is happy. There is here no duality or diversity; he who sees diversity wanders forth from death to death (Katha Upanishad, 4-11).

No particular station of life is required for the attainment of this ideal. In former times, royal princes like Rama, Krishna, Janaka, Ajatsatru acquired it, and the first two are worshipped as Avatars, because they had reached the final goal. The great teacher of Buddhism was nothing more than *agwanmukta*. So was the great teacher of Christianity. It is called in the Gita the *raj Vidya* or the *raj yaga*; and even Sudras and women are not according to Krishna debarred from it (chap. ix. 32). In the Vana Parva of the Mahabharata we read of a fowler who sold meat having instructed a Brahmin in this learning. It is, however, now maintained that only Brahmins and Sanyasis are qualified for this knowledge. But the claim is supported on the very weak ground of Sudras not being entitled to read the Veda, a ground which is at once cut off by saying that it is the ceremonial and not the philosophical portion which recognises caste distinctions. The Atma is one and the same to all. The prohibition is also not observed in practice, for, as I have already said, there are now-a-days more learned men out of the Sanyasis than among them. In the latter, superstition and dogma reign supreme. At Hardwar, instead of hearing any religious and philosophic discussion in a large camp of Sanyasis, I saw the curious spectacle of the disciples of the Mahant coming and bowing to him in something like military fashion, now bending on the ground, now

rising, now lowering, now raising their staffs, and all the while repeating "*Om Namoh.*" In addition to this, in the Upanishads we read of Saunaka, a great householder, having acquired this knowledge from the Rishi Angiras, and the argument that persons who acquired such knowledge must have practised Sanyasa in a former birth is too absurd to be believed.

Every one being therefore qualified for the Brahm Vidya, as the Hindus call it, he should do so by performing first his allotted duties in this world. Then he should approach a teacher who is not only learned, but who has carried into practice what he has read. Books alone will not suffice, as, in spite of their being cheap and easily accessible now-a-days, there are many things which require a living teacher to explain by the light of experience. Without that, the student will only be puzzled by what he reads in books, being so contrary to many of his every-day experiences. He should then digest and realise the truth of what he reads. This realisation will lead to the process of analysing things, till he knows how fleeting and transient they are, and that his *Atma* is alone permanent. When this belief becomes a part of his being, he will take his true place in nature by realising its unity. Seeing, hearing, smelling, eating, walking, doing anything else, he will see nothing else but his own *Atma*. In short, when he sees nothing but his *Atma* in his own *Atma*, then he is happy, his troubles are over. His happiness cannot be grasped by the senses nor the mind. With his separation from all objects of the world, he becomes one with *Atma* (*Gita*, chap. vi. 19-21). This is immortality, to this end all philosophy, all the teachings of Hindu Sastras are directed.

DOES ESOTERIC HINDUISM LEAD TO FATALISM?

As regards the question whether esoteric Hinduism, like its exoteric side, is a religion of fatalism, or leaves the individual full liberty of action, I think the latter to be the case. The law of Karma of the Hindu Sastra is a law of causation, of making one what and where he is, of something inherent in his own nature, and not due to any extraneous Deity; and the idea is that, though much depends upon man's inherited capabilities derived from his actions in a past birth, yet there is also in him that by which he could divert the stream of his past *Karma*. Otherwise there would be no *Moksha*, a contingency which the Sastras dread. There are three kinds of Karma, the *Sanchita*, or the *latent* actions of previous births which have not fructified; the *Prarabdha*, which have resulted in

giving this body, and the *Agami*, which are now performed, and will yield result hereafter. The Sastra teaches that while the first two are and can be destroyed by true knowledge (Gyana), the second must have its course, and that when the Senti says, "All his Karma is destroyed when he has seen the highest goal," it only refers to man's *Sanchita* and *Agami*, and not his *Prarabdha* Karma. This theory of one's Karma in a past birth regulating his life in this, is also held to be a sufficient explanation for the inequality of conditions seen in this world, as well as of the Lord of the world being a merciful and just, and not an unmerciful and unjust Creator. When Krishna says in the Gita, "The Lord sits in the heart of all creatures, and makes them revolve like puppets on a wheel," he means that the Lord makes his creatures act according to their Karma. Otherwise there would be no freedom of action. There is no explanation how this chain of causation came into existence, and it must be accepted in the same way as the desire of Brahma to be many and his being many. The explanation of the world being the same as in a former Kalpa is scarcely satisfactory.

The doctrine of Karma also explains the theory of births and rebirths, of transmigration. When the soul departs from this body, it takes with it in their subtler form the organs of perception, hearing, sight, taste, smell, and mind. With these it goes from one body to another. As the Upanishad says, "When it departs, life departs with it; when life departs, all the organs depart with it. It is endowed with knowledge, endowed with knowledge it departs. Knowledge and work, and knowledge of its former life, pervade it wholly. It becomes as are its works. He whose works are good, becomes good; he whose works are evil, becomes evil. As his desire, so his resolve; as his resolve, so his work; as his work, so his reward" (Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad, iv. Brah. 4, 2 and 5). "He who is attached to worldly objects attains by means of work the object to which he is attached. Having arrived at the last effect of the work he performs, he comes from this world to this world again and again. Thus he who has desires wanders in this world. But the organs of him who does not desire, who has no desires, who is beyond desire, whose desires are satisfied, whose desire is in the Atma itself, do not depart from this body. Being even Brahma, he obtains Brahma. When all desires dwelling in the heart are gone, then the mortal becomes immortal, then he enjoys here Brahma. As a snake abandons his slough on an ant-hill, so does this soul this body. Then this incorporeal, immortal life is even Brahma, even light" (*Ibid.* 6 and 7).

This is a rough outline of esoteric Hinduism, the religion of the few and the wise of India, a religion which has been the solace of thousands in this life and the means of their salvation after death. It stands not only on the firm rock of truth, but of experience also.

To the European, its ideal may appear to be dreamy and unpractical. But it may as well be asked in return whether the life, incessant excitement, and hurry, which is the normal condition of Western countries, is the only life worth living? whether his worship of work and money, the only way to a better life hereafter? If it be not, as it is not, then it is worth while to pause and see if the Hindu's ideal is not more conducive to eternal happiness than that of modern Western nations. Exoteric Hinduism with its fetish worship, its gross superstitions, its dogmas, its sects, whose doings often cast a slur upon religion, is bound to reform with the progress of education and improvements of the ideas of the Hindu people, but true and real Hinduism will stand the test of both progressive science and progressive civilisation. This is the deep conviction of all Indian thinkers, and the day is not far distant when the East will be repaying the debt it owes to the West for its progress in modern civilisation, by making it follow its teachings in the matter of progress towards a better life hereafter. When such a day comes, it will be the brightest day in the history of India. England's work in India has been grand, but India's work in Europe ought to be grander. I conclude with a prayer from the Brihad Arnayaka Upanishad, "Lead us from the unreal to the real, lead us from darkness to light, lead us from death to immortality."

V.

THE SPIRITUAL WORLD OF THE BURMESE.

BY

TAW SEIN KO.

IN the history of civilisation of every country, an investigation into the prehistoric condition of its people is highly interesting. Such an inquiry is, however, beset with much difficulty. The principal subjects which present themselves for treatment are language, antiquities, mythology, and custom; and a mass of evidence, direct or indirect, is required to establish a generalisation. It is generally admitted that such generalisations are not always based on absolute truth, at least so far as identity or similarity of mythology and custom is concerned, because such identity or similarity may, as often as not, be ascribed to ethnic affinity, historic connection, or to the common mechanism of the human mind; and the difficulty of the subject is further enhanced by the fusion of historical realities and mythological fictions, and by the absence of reliable data. But where the ethnology of a nation has been established beyond doubt, the inquirer no longer gropes his way in the dark, but treads on firm ground. In the case of the Burmese people, their affinity to the Mongoloid race has been proved, and the history of the prehistoric Burman is but the history of the numerous tribes whose habitat extends from Siberia to the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. Or, to come nearer home, the condition of the prehistoric Burman is reflected in that of his congeners, the Chins, Karens, and Kachins of the present day. Centuries of culture and the adoption of Buddhism have transformed the Burman into what he is to-day, while the surrounding tribes still remain in their primitive condition.

However, among the Burmese people, deep under the fabric of Buddhism lies the substratum of indigenous beliefs of prehistoric times, which have been collectively and conveniently termed Nat-worship. The origin of the word "Nat" is somewhat involved in

obscurity. Sir Arthur Phayre is disposed to derive it from the Sanskrit word "nâth," meaning a lord, master, superior, the corresponding Pâli form being "nâtha." Probably the word is indigenous, and the phonetic resemblance, though striking, is purely accidental, because its corresponding forms are found in the languages of North Asia, and because Marco Polo mentions NATIGAY as being one of the gods of the Tartars of the thirteenth century A.D. He says: "This is the fashion of their religion. [They say there is a Most High God of heaven, whom they worship daily with thurible and incense, but they pray to Him only for health of mind and body. But] they have [also] a certain [other] god of theirs called NATIGAY, and they say he is the god of the earth, who watches over their children, cattle, and crops. They show him great worship and honour, and every man hath a figure of him in his house, made of felt and cloth; and they also make in the same manner images of his wife and children. The wife they put on the left hand, and the children in front. And when they eat, they take the fat of the meat and grease the god's mouth withal, as well as the mouths of his wife and children. Then they take of the broth and sprinkle it before the door of the house; and that done, they deem that their god and his family have had their share of the dinner" (Yule's edition, vol. i. p. 248).

After the introduction of Buddhism the term "Nat," without losing its original and indigenous signification, was used as a synonym for "deva," and was applied to the beings who, in Buddhist mythology, inhabit the six regions situated between the world of men and the abode of the Brahmas.

The first speculative philosophy in which the primitive man indulged appears to have been the investigation of the cause of his being. "Whence came I into this world, and through whose instrumentality?" was one of the questions he would have asked himself. The worship of the phallus in Greece, of the linga in India, and of ancestors in China and the adjacent countries, is doubtless the outcome of such speculation regarding the First Cause; and to primitive minds these forms of worship afford a satisfactory solution of the inquiry into the Great Unknown. Besides, objectivity and subjectivity are psychological conditions which the mind of a person uneducated, or in a barbarous or semi-civilised state is incapable of differentiating. To him the phenomena of life and death are wondrous miracles, and in his imagination there exists beyond the grave a world of spirits endowed with material appetites and all other attributes of sentient beings.

According to the indigenous belief of the Burmese, man is regarded as being constituted of two component parts, viz., his material body, and his *leikpya* or butterfly-spirit, which the Karens call "lâ," and the Chins "klo." Tylor in his "Primitive Culture" (vol. i. p. 387) says: "The conception of a personal soul or spirit among the lower races may be defined as follows. It is a thin, unsubstantial human image; in its nature, a sort of vapour, film, or shadow; the cause of life and thought in the individual it animates; independently possessing the personal consciousness and volition of its corporeal owner, past or present; capable of leaving the body far behind, to flash swiftly from place to place; mostly impalpable and invisible, yet also manifesting physical power, and especially appearing to men, waking or asleep, as a phantasm separate from the body of which it bears the likeness; able to enter into, possess, and act in the bodies of other men, of animals, and even of things." The Burmese also believe that this soul or spirit is capable of leaving its living tenement, either in sleep or illness, and stories have been related of its experiences. It is said that the spirit of an old Burmese lady, who was seriously ill, visited hell, and the account she gave, on her recovery, of her journey thither, tallied with what she had been taught in childhood and youth.

On death, the souls go to Hades, which is below the earth. There they are adjudged by their Rhadamanthos, the Nga Thein of the Chins, but whose indigenous name the Burmans have forgotten. This awful judge sits under a tree, and his dog watches by him. The tree is called the "Tree of Forgetfulness," because spirits passing under it forget their experiences on earth. Stories, however, have been related of persons who, because of their exemption, through their extraordinary merit, from passing under the tree, could relate about their past life; and an instance is related where property was restored to such a re-incarnated child.

The virtuous go to a happy abode, and the wicked are doomed to suffer in hell.

The world of the dead is separated from the world of the living by a stream of water, over which souls are ferried across. It is for the payment of ferry-toll on this stream that some silver coin is always placed in the mouth of a dead Burman, as in that of a dead German peasant, and provisions are likewise provided for the refec-tion of the spirit of the deceased on his lonesome journey.

Among the Burmese people most of these beliefs and practices are, however, passing away before the light of education and Western civilisation. Already the Burmans have forgotten about Hlî, the

supreme goddess of the Chins, who laid 101 eggs, from which mankind sprang. But traces of such a belief in their oönitic origin still exist, as evidenced by their division of the nations of the earth into 101 races, and by the existence of many mythical legends whose heroes were born of eggs.

It will be seen from what has been stated above that the theory of the existence of the soul after death is diametrically opposed to the tenets of Buddhism. According to that religion, there is no soul or Atma. When a person dies, his *karma* or deed-result survives him, and serves as a nucleus of his next existence. But according to the indigenous faith of the Burmese people, the *leikpya* or butterfly-spirit survives after death, and either lives on as a disembodied spirit in happiness or misery, or is again re-incarnated to continue its course of existence in flesh.

Before proceeding further, it would be conducive to a comprehensive understanding of the subject to give a short outline of the system of faith which is common to the Chins, Karens, Kachins, and other wild tribes of Burma, and traces of which are still found among the Burmans. The conception of a Supreme Being and of heaven and hell is extremely vague among these peoples, and their adoration and worship are given to spirits, who are believed to exercise interference in human affairs. These spirits may be broadly divided into five classes:—(1) personal spirits, who watch over the interests of individual persons; (2) family or house spirits, who preside over the destinies of families; (3) communal spirits, who are the tutelary gods of clans or tribes, and the extent of whose territorial jurisdiction is clearly defined; (4) the *genii* or dryads, who inhabit trees and rocks, hills and mountains, rivers and streams, lakes and seas; and (5) spirits who are doomed to continue their existence in a disembodied state. The personal spirits are evidently the souls which animate human beings, and which are supposed to haunt their abode when in the flesh for seven days and nights; the family spirits are the manes of ancestors, whose worship is common to the Mongols, Chinese, Hindus, and the ancient Romans; the communal spirits are the souls of departed heroes, the worship of whom forms the basis of Shamanism; the *genii* are spirits who haunt objects of nature, and especially those with which are associated ideas of sublimity and power; and the fifth and last class of spirits are those whose malignant influence has to be mitigated by propitiatory sacrifice, and who have been termed "disease spirits." Of these five classes of spirits, the second, third, and the fifth are the most feared, venerated, and worshipped.

In the houses of some Burmese families, cocoa-nuts with a fillet of white muslin or red cloth tied round them are suspended by a cane support from a special post called the "uyudaing." The Burmans have forgotten the origin of "uyu," but the word, or its synonym "khun," is still used in the Chin language to signify the guardian spirit of a family. Further, on the seventh day after the birth of a child, offerings consisting of cocoa-nuts, tobacco, betel-leaves, betel-nuts, rice, and letpet or pickled tea are made to the family spirit, and a white cotton string is tied round its wrists to signify to all evil spirits that it has been initiated into the family, and that it has been placed under the guardianship of the family Nat. The offerings made to the family spirit as well as those made to all other Nats, are always eaten by their devotees.

At marriages, the family Nat is not forgotten; he is always propitiated. This latter practice is, however, falling into desuetude among the Burmans through the influence of Buddhism.

As the worship of saints has succeeded the worship of manes in Christendom, so has the worship of Buddha and his disciples superseded the ruder faith of ancestor-worship. However, traces of this last form of worship still exist among the Burmans of the present day. In such of the households in Burma as are tenacious of the observance of the faith and practices of their forefathers, the charred bones of parents and grandparents are carefully preserved in cases of glass, and daily offerings of rice and other eatables are placed before them, in the same manner as before the images of Buddha. At the time of the British occupation of Mandalay in 1885, a number of gold images representing the kings and chief queens of the Alompra dynasty were found in the palace, together with a book of odes chanted whenever they were worshipped. This form of worship finds an exact counterpart in the Mongol worship as good deities of the manes of Genghis Khan and his family.

The worship of communal spirits still obtains among the Burmese. After harvest-time of each year, *i.e.*, say about March or April, festivals in honour of Nats as well as of pagodas are held. The Nat festivals are exceedingly popular, and are largely attended by the people. Those at Pagan, Amarapura, Mandalay, and Lower Chindwin in Upper Burma are ancient and recognised institutions, which used to be supported by the royal bounty of Burmese kings. In Lower Burma, however, which is inhabited chiefly by people of the Talaing race, Nat festivals have in a large measure been replaced by pagoda festivals, because of the long subjection of the country

to Burmese rule, and because of the successful measures adopted by the Burmans for obliterating the nationality of the Talaings, and for making them merge into that of their conquerors.

That the communal spirits are the souls of departed heroes may safely be inferred from the traditional accounts relating to their origin, and from the odes chanted at the festivals held in their honour. The following extract from Marco Polo (Yule's edition, vol. ii. p. 64) will be of interest in this connection :—

“I will tell you of a wicked thing they [the people of Carajan or Yunnan] used to do before the Great Kaan conquered them. If it chanced that a man of fine person or noble birth, or some other quality that recommended him, came to lodge with those people, then they would murder him by poison or otherwise. And this they did, not for the sake of plunder, but because they believed that in this way the goodly favour and wisdom and repute of the murdered man would cleave to the house where he was slain. And in this manner many were murdered before the country was conquered by the Great Kaan. But since his conquest, some thirty-five years ago, these crimes and this evil practice have prevailed no more; and this through dread of the Great Kaan, who will not permit such things.”

With reference to the above extract, it may be interesting to note that the spirits of people who died violent deaths are believed to live for ever in a disembodied condition, exercising a powerful influence in human affairs, and that the Burmese kings of old used to have human beings buried alive at the four corners of the walls of their capital city at the time of its foundation, in order that the spirits of the deceased might keep watch and ward over the population, and by their occult influence foil the attempts of invaders to force an entry into the city. A remnant of this barbarous custom is found at Mandalay in the hideous stone statue holding a club which stands at each of the four corners of the city walls. The persistency of this belief was manifested as late as 1885 A.D.; when, during the third Anglo-Burmese war, Brahman astrologers were employed by command of Thibaw and his Chief Queen to chant incantations so as to establish a cordon of spiritual guards round the palace stockade, who would protect the royal inmates and drive off the invincible British soldiery.

As at the court of the Incas of ancient Peru, each month had its appropriate festival or festivals, so at the court of the kings of Burma no month passed by without its attendant festivals, court functions, and ceremonies. In these festivals three elements of

belief are distinctly traceable, viz., Buddhistic, Brahmanic, and indigenous. Those held in June may be taken as an illustration. Examinations in Buddhistic literature were held under the supervision of the State, and the successful candidates were inducted into holy orders. This was followed by a ceremony which was common to ancient India and China. The king himself ploughed with a golden plough, to notify to the people that agriculture was a noble avocation essential to the maintenance of the community. At this ceremony the Brahman astrologers attached to the Burmese Court invoked the blessings of the gods of the Hindu pantheon, while the Burmese mediums or *Natkadaws* made propitiatory offerings to the Nats of the indigenous pantheon commonly known as the "thirty-seven rulers."

It would be interesting to give a short account of this latter pantheon, showing the apotheosis of these Nats. It consists of "thirty-four Nats," but the number "thirty-seven" has attained a popular fixity, because the book of odes chanted when offerings are made to them consists of thirty-seven odes, a number of the Nats having more than one ode devoted to them. The odes are, strictly speaking, short autobiographical sketches in metre, recited by mediums when they are possessed, and are somewhat moral in their tendency, inasmuch as they impress on the audience the sin of treason, rebellion, and assassination. In the case of Nats who were members of the royal family, they give a succinct account of their genealogy. The pantheon is headed by the Mahâgîri Nat, Maung Tin Dè; his wife, Shwe Na Be; his sister, Thônban Hla or Shwe Myet Hnâ; and his niece, Shin Nè Mi. Maung Tin Dè was the son of a blacksmith, Maung Tin Daw, of Tagaung, an ancient capital to the north of Mandalay. The young man was noted for his great bravery and physical strength, and the King of Tagaung feared that he might become a potential centre of disaffection; he therefore ordered that Maung Tin Dè should be captured and killed. His would-be victim, however, eluded capture for a long while, and remained in hiding. The King then resorted to a stratagem which is still common in Oriental countries. He conferred honour on Maung Tin Dè's sister by assigning her a place in his seraglio. After the lapse of some time, the queen was cajoled to negotiate the surrender of her brother on condition that high office should be conferred on him. Relying on the royal offer of pardon, Maung Tin Dè surrendered himself. But the King did not keep his word. He himself superintended the burning of his dupe under a Sagabin tree. Loud were the plaintive cries uttered by Maung Tin Dè; and his sister hear-

ing them, rushed to his rescue, and met with her death. The cruel King attempted to save the life of his queen, but succeeded only in pulling her head off by the hair. After their death, the spirits of these two, brother and sister, became powerful Nats, and inhabited the Sagabin tree. Such was their evil influence, that every human being or animal that approached the tree died mysteriously. The matter was, in due course, reported to the King, and he directed that the haunted tree should be cut down by the root and sent adrift down the river Irrawaddy. The order was carried out, and the tree was stranded at Pagan, where Thinlîgyaung was reigning as king. This happened in the fourth century A.D. The Nats apprised the King in a dream of their sorrowful plight, and asked him to provide them with a home. In compliance with this request, the stranded tree, of which only the trunk now remained, was taken to the Popa hill, which is of volcanic origin, and is the highest elevation in Burma, and was divided into two parts, each being about $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet long. Human features were delineated on these pieces of wood with gold leaf, and these rude images were respectfully deposited in appropriate temples. Thenceforward the worship of these Nats became a popular institution, recognised and sanctioned by royalty. Subsequently, at the request of the Nats, made through their Shamans, King Thinlîgyaung had golden heads made to represent them, conferred the rank and insignia of a prince of the blood on Maung Tin Dè, and those of a princess on his sister, and made to them annual offerings regularly. It is evident that since this worship was inaugurated animal sacrifices and offerings of alcoholic spirits were made to these Nats, for Burmese history records that in December 1555 A.D., the Hanthawadi Sinbyuyin, the Branginoco of the early European writers, reached Pagan in the course of his progress through his newly conquered dominions, and witnessed the festival held in honour of the Mahâgîri Nat and his sister. Noticing that intoxicants and sacrifices of white buffaloes, white oxen, and white goats were being made to the Nats, he commanded that such practice should henceforth cease, because it was opposed to the humanitarian doctrines of Buddhism, and because it would entail suffering in hell on those who practised it. In 1785 A.D., Bodawpaya, the great-great-grandfather of the last King of Burma, had new golden heads of the Nats made, and these were replaced in 1812 A.D. by the same King with larger and more finished heads of the same metal, weighing, in the aggregate, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. These last heads are still in existence, and are being worshipped by the people.

The apotheosis of the next Nats in the pantheon, viz., the brothers Shwep'yinyinaung, follows on similar lines. About the beginning of the eleventh century A.D., Anawratazaw, King of Pagan, had in his service a Kala adventurer from the Talaing kingdom of Thatôn. This man married a Baluma, or ogress, of Popa, and two sons were born to him, who were respectively named Shwep'yingyi and Shwep'yinnge. When these two brothers were grown up, they took service under the King; and when the latter led an expedition to China to secure a holy tooth of Gotama Buddha which was enshrined there, they accompanied him. The Chinese Emperor appears to have treated the Burmese King with some contempt, and to have refused to hold any communication with him. Thereupon the two brothers, who led a charmed life, and who could make themselves invisible, entered the Emperor's palace at night, drew three lines with lime on his body, and retired, after writing on the walls enjoining him to meet the Burmese King. In consequence of this mysterious writing, the two rulers met in a friendly way and entered into a compact of amity and friendship. In the meantime, however, the holy tooth had disappeared miraculously, and Anawratazaw returned home suffering from the pangs of disappointment. On the return journey Shwep'yingyi and Shwep'yinnge incurred royal displeasure, and were executed at Wayindôk, a few miles to the north of Mandalay. At the same place the King had built a pagoda called Sudaungbye, and after its consecration resumed his journey by boat. On the way down the river Irrawaddy the royal boat appeared to be held by the rudder, and its progress was stopped. The King consulted his ministers about the mystery, and they informed him that the two brothers, Shwep'yingyi and Shwep'yinnge, who were executed by royal command, had become Nats, and that they resented that their valuable services should have been requited with death. It was only when King Anawratazaw had directed a Nat temple to be built near his pagoda at Wayindôk, and ordered the people in the neighbourhood to make regular offerings to the Nats, that he was enabled to resume his journey and arrive at his capital in safety.

Of the remaining Nats in the pantheon, fourteen were royalties, twelve officials of State, either civil or military, most of whom had died violent deaths, one was a female white elephant, and the last a dealer in pickled tea, who traded with the Shan and Palaung States to the north-east of Burma. All these may be termed "oracle spirits," because they are frequently consulted on private as well as public matters.

Sometimes Nats were called into being, not by the king, but by the people themselves. At Thatôn, the ancient centre of Talaing civilisation in Lower Burma, there is a temple dedicated to a Nat called P'o-p'o, *grandfather*. Tradition, which is in this case *prima facie* palpably false, says that when this Nat was a human being, he was charged by Sona and Uttara, the Buddhist missionaries who visited Râmaññadesa in the third century B.C., to safeguard Thatôn against the attacks of Balus or fierce monsters. The image of P'o-p'o represents an old man of about sixty years, sitting cross-legged, with a white fillet on the head, and a moustache and pointed beard. The forehead is broad, and the face bears an intelligent expression. The upper portion of the body is nude, and the lower is dressed in a cheik paso or loin-cloth of the zigzag pattern, so much prized by the people of Burma. The right hand rests on the right knee, and the left is in the act of counting the beads of a rosary. The height of the figure is about five feet. In the apartment on the left of P'o-po is an image representing a benign-looking *wun* or governor in full official dress. Facing the second image, in a separate apartment, is the representation of a wild, fierce-looking *bo* or military officer in uniform. The fourth apartment, on the left of the *bo*, is dedicated to a female Nat, who is presumably the wife of P'o-p'o, but there is no image representing her. These images are most probably representations of a Burmese governor and his family, whose acts of justice, benevolence, and sympathy were long remembered by the people, and in whose honour these were erected as a mark of esteem, admiration, and reverence. The images are in a good state of preservation, as they are in the custody of a medium who gains a comfortable livelihood. An annual festival, which is largely attended, is held in their honour. It is a strange coincidence that, as in India and Ceylon, these shrines are held in veneration by various nationalities professing different creeds.

As a rule, images of Nats are uncouth objects, generally made of wood, with some sort of human countenance. Those of the "thirty-seven rulers" are being carefully preserved within the precincts of the Shwezigôn pagoda at Pagan.

Shamanism is perhaps the same all the world over, and possession by spirits one of the symptoms of hysterics or epilepsy. The following extract from Williams' "Fiji and the Fijians" (vol. i. p. 224) is, with slight modifications, applicable to the Shamanism as practised by the *Natkadaws* or mediums of Burma:—

"Unbroken silence follows; the priest becomes absorbed in

thought, and all eyes watch him with unblinking steadiness. In a few minutes he trembles, slight distortions are seen in his face and twitching movements in his limbs. These increase to a violent muscular action, which spreads until the whole frame is strongly convulsed, and the man shivers as with a strong ague fit. In some instances this is accompanied with murmurs and sobs, the veins are greatly enlarged, and the circulation of the blood quickened. The priest is now possessed by his god, and all his words and actions are considered as no longer his own, but those of the deity who has entered into him. Shrill cries of 'Koi au, koi au!'—'It is I, it is I!' fill the air, and the god is supposed thus to notify his approach. While giving the answer, the priest's eyes stand out and roll as in a frenzy; his voice is unnatural, his face pale, his lips livid, his breathing depressed, and his entire appearance like that of a furious madman; the sweat runs from every pore, and tears start from his strained eyes; after which the symptoms gradually disappear. The priest looks round with a vacant stare, and as the god says 'I depart,' announces his actual departure by violently flinging himself down on the mat, or by suddenly striking the ground with his club. The convulsive movements do not entirely disappear for some time."

The fourth class of spirits, the genii or dryads inhabiting objects of nature, are believed to be present everywhere. This is the reason why their presence is invoked in the administration of oaths or when contracting a solemn compact of friendship.

There remains to be dealt with the fifth class of spirits, who are doomed to continue their existence in a disembodied state, and whose interference in human affairs is supposed to be of a malignant nature. It may be premised that sudden fright or fall is believed to be a condition favourable to their baneful influence. The majority of the masses of the Burmese people, in common with the neighbouring wild tribes, say that most of the ills that flesh is heir to may be ascribed to the occult influence of disease-spirits or witches, and they would resort to exorcism as a method of cure rather than to diet or drugs. Witches are supposed to be capable of sending forth on an evil errand their souls or astral bodies, leaving their natural material bodies in a state of sleep, coma, or ecstasy. A certain kind of witches generally send off their detached heads in the shape of rolling balls of fire. The existence of witchcraft is recognised in the Burmese law-books, and instructions are given in them as to finding out witches, and as to the manner of punishing them.

The last division of Burmese spirits comprises various kinds of beings. *Tasé* is the generic term applied to all disembodied spirits

which existed as human beings. The Hminzâ are spirits of children, who assume the appearance of cats and dogs. The Thayè and Thabet are spirits of those who died violent deaths, or of women who died in childbirth, or of those who lived wicked and sinful lives. These spirits are always inimical to mankind, and are represented in folk-lore stories as having hideous bodies, as big as those of a giant, and with long, huge, slimy tongues, which they could make use of as the elephant would his trunk. They are blood-thirsty, and their special delight is to cause the death of human beings. Female spirits who are in charge of treasure buried in the earth are called Ôktazaung. All these spirits, with the exception of the last, are believed to roam about the haunts of men at sunset in search of their prey, and to be specially active in their peregrinations in times of an epidemic, as cholera or small-pox. They are, therefore, frightened off during epidemics by making a tremendous jarring noise by beating anything that might come in one's way, as the walls and doors of houses, tin kettles, metal trays, cymbals, &c. These evil spirits are sometimes said to enter the bodies of alligators or tigers, and to incite them to cause great destruction of human life.

VI.

THE POSITION OF KUMÂRILA IN DIGAMBARA JAINA LITERATURE.

BY

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IN my last paper¹ I have shown that the celebrated Jaina author Akalaṃkadeva lived in the time of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Kṛishṇarâja I. We know from inscriptions that Dautidurga was ruling in Śaka 675, and was succeeded by his uncle Kṛishṇarâja;² and we learn from Jinasena that Kṛishṇarâja's son Vallabha held the sceptre in Śaka 705.³ These facts lead to the conclusion that Kṛishṇarâja reigned in the third quarter of the eighth century. I have also proved⁴ that Kumârila quotes five verses from the Vâkyapadîya of Bharṭṛihari, who, according to I-tsing, died⁵ in 650 A.D., and that Akalaṃkadeva's pupil Prabhâchandra frequently mentions the author of the Tantravârtika.⁶ From these facts I have concluded that Kumârila belonged to the first half of the eighth century, and flourished immediately before Akalaṃkadeva.

In the present paper I propose to prove that in his Mîmâṃsâ-Slokavârtika Kumârila criticises Akalaṃkadeva, and was, like him, contemporary with the Râshṭrakûṭa king Kṛishṇarâja I.

Akalaṃkadeva is spoken of as the highest authority on Pramâṇa-śâstra, or logic, by Pampa⁷ in Śaka 863, and by Somadeva⁸ in Śaka 882. Though Prabhâchandra and Vidyânanda tell us that

¹ My paper on Bharṭṛihari and Kumârila, read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on the 28th June 1892.

² Mr. Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 32. Dr. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Deccan*, p. 48.

³ My paper in the *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xv. p. 141.

⁴ My paper on Bharṭṛihari and Kumârila.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. ix. p. 308.

⁶ My paper on Bharṭṛihari and Kumârila.

⁷ In his *Kanarese Âdipurāṇa*.

⁸ In his *Yaśastilakakāvya*. Akalaṃka is also mentioned in the Saundatti inscription, dated Śaka 902, as well versed in the six schools of philosophy, though Mr. Fleet

Kumârila has assailed ⁹ the omniscience of Arhan, as described by Samantabhadra in the Devâgamastotra, there is not the remotest allusion to Kumârila's criticism in Akalaṃkadeva's commentary called Ashtaśatī on the very work of Samantabhadra which has called forth Kumârila's eloquent attacks. How is Akalaṃkadeva's silence to be accounted for? Is the Ashtaśatī also criticised by the Mīmāṃsaka? These questions I now proceed to answer.

In the Devâgamastotra, Samantabhadra thus delivers himself of his views regarding the omniscience of Arhan:—

देवागमनभोयानचामरादिविभूतयः ।

मायाविष्वपि दृश्यन्ते नातस्त्वमसि नो महान् ॥ १ ॥

अध्यात्मं बहिरप्येष वियहादिमहोदयः

दिव्यः सत्यो दिवौकःस्वप्नस्ति रागादिमत्सु सः ॥ २ ॥

तीर्थकृत्समयानांच परस्परविरोधतः ।

सर्वेषामाप्नता नास्ति कश्चिदेव भवेद्गुरुः ॥ ३ ॥

दोषावरणयोर्हानिर्निःशेषास्त्यतिशयनात् ।

क्वचिद्यथा स्वहेतुभ्यो बहिरंतर्मलक्षयः ॥ ४ ॥

सूक्ष्मांतरितदूरार्थाः प्रत्यक्षाः कस्यचिद्यथा ।

अनुमेयत्वतो ऽग्न्यादिरिति सर्वज्ञसंस्थितिः ॥ ५ ॥

स त्वमेवासि निर्दोषो युक्तिशास्त्राविरोधिवाक् ।

अविरोधो यदिष्टं ते प्रसिद्धेन न बाध्यते ॥ ६ ॥

—Devâgamastotra.¹⁰

has translated his proper name. See my paper on Bhartṛihari and Kumârila. Dhanañjaya, whose date I have fixed in my paper on the Terdāl inscription, Ind. Ant., vol. xiv. p. 14, thus refers to Akalaṃka:—

प्रमाणमकलंकस्य पुज्यपादस्य लक्षणं ।

द्विसंधानकवेः काव्यं रत्नत्रयमपश्चिमं ॥

कवेर्धनंजयस्येयं सत्कवीनां शिरोमण्येः ।

प्रमाणं नाममालेति श्लोकानां च शतद्वयं ॥

⁹ The quotations are given farther on.

¹⁰ Devâgamastotra, Deccan College MS., No. 611 of 1875-76.

Translation.

"1. The attendance of the gods, moving in the air, chauries and other signs of glory, are found even in jugglers; it is not owing to these signs that thou art great in our eyes.

"2. Bodily and other excellence, both internal¹¹ and external,¹² which is real and heavenly, is found even in celestial beings endowed with love and other passions.

"3. There being mutual difference between the teachings of the founders¹³ of various schools, they are all untrustworthy; none of them can be a teacher of mankind.

"4. Owing to pre-eminence, defects and the obstructions¹⁴ of knowledge are entirely destroyed in some individual, in the same way as external and internal dross is removed by proper means.¹⁵

"5. Things that are minute, past,¹⁶ and distant, are directly perceived by somebody, because they are cognisable, as fire and other things. This is the way to prove the existence of an omniscient being.

"6. Free from defects, thou¹⁷ art such an omniscient being because thy speech is in conformity with reason and the Jaina scriptures; thy consistency lies in this, that thy tenets about salvation are not contradicted by evidence."

In the first three verses Samantabhadra enumerates certain qualities belonging to Arhan, which are also found in jugglers, celestial beings, and the founders of schools, such as Buddha and Kapila. These qualities cannot entitle Arhan to be considered an omniscient being. In the remaining three verses we are told that the removal of defects, and of all the obstructions of knowledge

¹¹ शश्वन्निःश्वे (स्वे) दत्त्वादिः Ashṭasahasrī or Āptamīmāṃsālakṛiti, Deccan College MS., No. 564 of 1875-76. This MS. contains the *ṭippaṇi* by Laghusamantabhadra also.

¹² गंधोदकवृष्ट्यादिः *Ibid.*

¹³ Other than Arhan जैनव्यतिरिक्तवादिन कपिलादयः Laghusamantabhadra, *ibid.*

¹⁴ For an explanation of the word आवरण see Pūjyapāda's Sarvārthasiddhi.

¹⁵ क्वचित्कनकपाषाणादौ किट्टकालिकादिबहिरंतर्मलक्षयो यथेति दृष्टान्तः Ashṭasahasrī स्वहेतुभ्यस्तापनताडनादिभ्यः Laghusamantabhadra.

¹⁶ स्वभावकालदेशविप्रकर्षिणः Ashṭasāṭi, Deccan College MS., No. 566 of 1875-76.

सूक्ष्माः स्वभावविप्रकर्षिणोऽर्थाः परमाणवादयः । अंतरिताः कालविप्रकर्षिणो रामादयः । दूरास्तु देशविप्रकर्षिणो हिमवदादयः Ashṭasahasrī.

¹⁷ Arhan or Jina.

and a capacity for perceiving things which are minute, past, and distant, prove the omniscience of Arhan.

These celebrated verses of Samantabhadra are explained by Akalanikadeva in the *Ashtāṣaṭī*. But in the *Ashtāṣaṣrī* or *Āptamīmāṃsāśālikāra*, which is a later and more exhaustive commentary on the *Devāgamastotra*, we are introduced by Vidyānanda to a *Mīmāṃsaka* who starts objections against Samantabhadra's views.

न कश्चिद्भवभृदतीन्द्रियप्रत्यक्षभागुपलब्धो यतो भगवां-
स्तथा संभाष्यत इत्यपि न शंका श्रेयसी तस्य भवभृतां
प्रभुत्वात् न हि भवभृत्सामान्ये दृष्टो धर्मः सकलभवभृत्प्रभौ
संभाष्यितुं शक्यस्तस्य संसारिजनप्रकृतिमभ्यतीतत्वात् । ननु च
मुनिर्णीतासंभवद्वाधकप्रमाणत्वात् तथाविधो भवभृतां प्रभुः
साध्यते तच्चासिद्धं मुनिश्चितासंभवत्साधकप्रमाणत्वस्य तद्वा-
धकस्य सद्भावात् न हि तत्साधकं प्रत्यक्षं संभवति नाप्यनु-
मानं तदेकदेशस्य लिंगस्यादर्शनात् । तदुक्तं

सर्वज्ञो दृश्यते तावन्नेदानीमस्मदादिभिः¹⁸ । दृष्टो न चैकदे-
शोऽस्ति लिंगं वा योऽनुमापयेदिति ॥ आगमोऽपि न तावन्नित्यः
सर्वज्ञस्य प्रतिपादकोऽस्ति तस्य कार्ये एवार्थे प्रामाण्यात्
स्वरूपेऽपि प्रामाण्येऽतिप्रसंगात् स सर्ववित्स लोकविदित्यादेः
हिरण्यगर्भः सर्वज्ञ इत्यादेश्चागमस्य नित्यस्य कर्मार्थवादप्र-
धानत्वात् तात्पर्यासंभवादन्यार्थप्रधानैर्वचनैरन्यस्य सर्वज्ञस्य
विधानासंभवात् पूर्वं कुतश्चिदप्रसिद्धस्य तैरनुवादायोगात्
अनादेरागमस्यादिमत्सर्वज्ञप्रतिपादनविरोधाच्च नाप्यनित्य-
स्तत्प्रणीत एवागमस्तस्य प्रकाशको युक्तः परस्पराश्रयप्रसंगात्

¹⁸ This line occurs in Kumārila's *Mīmāṃsāśloka-vārtika*, Pandita, vol. iii. p. 86. This verse is ascribed to Kumārila by Śāyaṇa-Mādhava, *Sarvadarśana Saṁgraha*, Bibl. Ind., p. 28.

नरांतरप्रणीतस्तु न प्रमाणभूतः सिद्धो यतः सर्वज्ञप्रतिपत्तिः
 स्यात् असर्वज्ञप्रणीताच्च वचनान्मूलवर्जितात्¹⁹ सर्वज्ञप्रति-
 पत्तौ स्ववचनात् किं न तत्प्रतिपत्तिरविशेषात् । तदुक्तं न
 चागमविधिः²⁰ कश्चिन्नित्यः²¹ सर्वज्ञबोधकः । न च मन्त्रार्थ-
 वादानां²² तात्पर्यमवकल्प्यते ॥ न चान्यार्थप्रधानैस्तैस्तदस्तित्वं
 विधीयते । न चानुवदितुं शक्यः पूर्वमन्यैरबोधितः ॥ अना-
 देरागमस्यार्थो न च सर्वज्ञ आदिमान् । कृत्रिमेण त्वसत्येन स
 कथं प्रतिपाद्यते ॥ अथ तद्वचनेनैव सर्वज्ञोऽन्यैः प्रतीयते ।
 प्रकल्पेत कथं सिद्धिरन्योन्याश्रययोस्तयोः ॥ सर्वज्ञोक्ततया
 वाक्यं सत्यं तेन तदस्तिता । कथं तदुभयं सिध्येत्सिद्धमूलांतरा-
 दृते ॥ असर्वज्ञप्रणीतास्तु वचनान्मूलवर्जितात् । सर्वज्ञमवग-
 च्छंतः स्ववाक्यात्किं²³ न जानत इति । नोपमानमपि सर्वज्ञस्य
 साधकं तत्सदृशस्य जगति कस्यचिदप्यभावात् तथोक्तं सर्व-
 ज्ञसदृशं कं²⁴ चिद्यदि पश्येम संप्रति । उपमानेन सर्वज्ञं जा-

¹⁹ These are Kumārila's words reproduced from his verses that follow next. Vidyānanda is giving here in his own words a summary of Kumārila's views.

²⁰ These verses, together with the one already quoted, are also found in the Prameyakamalamārtanḍa, Deccan College MS., No. 638 of 1875-76, p. 117.

They are attributed to Tautātita alias Kumārila by Sāyaṇamādhava in the Sarva-
 darśana Saṁgraha, Bibl. Ind., p. 28.

²¹ This is the reading in the Prameyakamalamārtanḍa. The Sarvadarśana Saṁ-
 graha reads नित्यसर्वज्ञबोधकः which is not correct, as नित्य qualifies आगम in
 Vidyānanda's summary.

²² This reading is found in the Prameyakamalamārtanḍa. The Sarvadarśana
 Saṁgraha reads तन्त्रार्थ which is wrong.

²³ This is the reading in the Prameyakamalamārtanḍa, and is sanctioned by Vidyā-
 nanda as he explains it स्ववाक्यात्किं न तत्प्रतिपत्तिः in his summary of Kumārila's
 views given above. The reading in the Sarvadarśana Saṁgraha तद्वाक्योक्तं is posi-
 tively wrong.

²⁴ This is the reading in the Prameyakamalamārtanḍa, but the Sarvadarśana
 Saṁgraha reads किञ्चित्.

नीयाम ततो वयं इति । नार्थापत्तिरपि सर्वज्ञस्य साधिका
तदुत्थापकस्यार्थस्यान्यथानुपपद्यमानस्याभावात् धर्माद्युपदे-
शस्य बहुजनपरिगृहीतस्यान्यथाभावात् तथाचोक्तं

उपदेशो हि बुद्धादेर्धर्माधर्मादिगोचरः²⁵ । अन्यथा नोपप-
द्येत सर्वज्ञो²⁶ यदि नाभवत् ॥ बुद्धादयो ह्यवेदज्ञास्तेषां वेदा-
दसंभवः²⁷ । उपदेशः कृतोऽतस्तैर्यामोहादेव केवलात् ॥ ये तु
मन्वादयः सिद्धाः प्राधान्येन त्रयीविदां । त्रयीविदाश्चितयं-
थास्ते वेदप्रभवोक्तयः इति । न च प्रमाणांतरं सदुपलम्भकं
सर्वज्ञस्य साधकमस्ति.

—Ashtasahasrī.

Translation.

“It may be said that an ordinary person is never found endowed with supernatural perception, so that we can predicate the same thing of the Lord. But such an objection should not be raised, for Jina is the lord of ordinary persons. A quality which is found in the generality of mankind cannot be attributed to one who is their lord, for he transcends their nature. But it is urged by a certain Mīmāṃsaka that an omniscient being cannot be proved to exist beyond dispute. There is positive evidence to disprove such a notion. Perception cannot prove it; nor is inference of any avail, as no part of him is seen which might serve as a sign. Therefore it is said (by Kumārila):²⁸

“In the first place, no omniscient being is now seen by us or others. Nor is any part of him seen, by which as a sign the existence of such a being can be inferred. The eternal scripture (Veda) does not describe an omniscient being; it treats primarily of action.²⁹ If it treated of the nature of things it would involve too much. The idea of an omniscient being is not conveyed by such Vedic

²⁵ This is the reading in the Prameyakamalamārtāṇḍa. The Sarvadarśana Saṃgraha reads बुद्धस्य.

²⁶ Laghusamantabhadra notices another reading सार्वज्ञ्यं which is also found in the Prameyakamalamārtāṇḍa and the Sarvadarśana Saṃgraha.

²⁷ The Sarvadarśana Saṃgraha indicates the remaining verses by इत्यादि.

²⁸ See notes 18 and 20.

²⁹ Sacrifices.

sentences as 'He knows all,' 'He knows the world,' 'Hiraṇyagarbha is omniscient,' as they primarily refer to action.

"Vedic passages referring to different topics cannot declare the existence of an omniscient being. Nor is such an idea alluded to in repetitions of Vedic³⁰ passages, as it had never been mentioned before. It is not consistent for the eternal scripture to treat of an omniscient being who had a beginning. A spurious scripture composed by some person cannot be evidence of his omniscience, when they³¹ depend on reciprocal support. A scripture composed by one person cannot be an authority for the omniscience of another person. If the existence of an omniscient being can be established from the unfounded words of a person who is not omniscient, why should it not be established from one's own words?

"It is therefore said (by Kumârila) no Vedic injunction declares the existence of an omniscient being, nor can such a notion be the subject of explanatory passages in the Vedas.

"His existence is not established by Vedic sentences which refer to quite a different matter. Nor is he ever alluded to in repetitions, as he was never before mentioned. An omniscient being who had a beginning can never be the subject of the eternal scripture; how can he be established by a scripture made by man and spurious?

"Again, an omniscient being is accepted by others³² on his own word; how can either be established when they thus both depend on reciprocal support?

"The saying was true because it was uttered by one omniscient; and the existence of the omniscient one is proved by that saying; how can either point be established without some previously established foundation?

"But as to those who believe in the existence of an omniscient being on the baseless word of one who is not omniscient, why should they not know it from their own words?³³

"Nor can the proof called comparison, prove the existence of an omniscient being, as there is nobody like him in the world.

"Therefore it is said (by Kumârila):

"If we now could see anybody like an omniscient being we might then recognise him by comparison.

"The proof called presumption also fails to prove the point, as

³⁰ The Vedic terms in this passage are explained by Laghusamantabhadra, who refers to the Bhāvanāviveka as his authority.

³¹ His scripture and his omniscience.

³² The Jains.

³³ The reading in the Sarvadarśana Saṅgraha being wrong, Professor Cowell's translation of this verse is equally so.

there is no circumstance which raises such a presumption, and which cannot otherwise be accounted for. The teaching of virtue, &c., which is accepted by many people, can be otherwise explained. Therefore it is said (by Kumârila):

“Though Buddha and others were not omniscient, still can we not account for their teaching, which embraces virtue and vice, otherwise? ³⁴

“Buddha and others did not know the Vedas, to which their rise is not due; therefore their teaching is founded entirely on delusion.

“On the other hand, Manu and others, who were the chief of those who knew the Vedas, have their works accepted by the followers of the Vedas because their sayings are based on the Vedas.

“Thus there is no other proof by which the omniscience of Arhan can be established.”

In order to understand this passage correctly, we must remember that it is usual with Indian authors to set forth in their own language the views of an opponent, and then by way of confirmation to quote his precise words. This practice is followed ³⁵ by Vidyânanda in the passage just quoted. It is therefore evident that Kumârila has attacked Samantabhadra. Vidyânanda thus winds up his reply to the Mîmâṃsaka:—

एतेन यदुक्तं भट्टेन

नरः कोप्यस्ति सर्वज्ञः स तु सर्वज्ञ इत्यपि ॥

साधनं यत्प्रयुज्येत प्रतिज्ञामात्रमेव तत् ॥ १ ॥

यः सिसाधिषितो ह्यर्थः सोऽनया नाभिधीयते ॥

यस्तूच्यते न तत्सिद्धौ किञ्चिदस्ति प्रयोजनं ॥ २ ॥

यदा यागमसत्यत्वसिद्धौ सर्वज्ञतोच्यते ॥

न सा सर्वज्ञसामान्यसिद्धिमात्रेण लभ्यते ॥ ३ ॥

यावद्बुद्धो हि सर्वज्ञो न तावद्वचनं मृषा ॥

³⁴ I.e., by the fact that the teaching is accepted by many people. Laghusamantabhadra says that there is a kâku (or question) in this verse. This is confirmed by Vidyânanda's summary given immediately before the verse. Professor Cowell's translation of it is therefore inaccurate.

³⁵ See notes 19 and 23.

यत्र क्वचन सर्वज्ञे सिद्धे तत्सत्यता कुतः ॥ ४ ॥

अन्यस्मिन्न हि सर्वज्ञे वचसोऽन्यस्य सत्यता ।

समानाधिकरण्ये हि तयोरांगांगिता भवेदिति तन्निरस्तं

—Ashtasahasrī.

Translation.

“We have thus refuted what is urged by Kumārila in the following five verses—

“The statement³⁶ that a man is omniscient, and that an omniscient being is a man, is a gratuitous assertion.

“For the conclusion sought to be established that Arhan alone is omniscient is not conveyed by this assertion. Nor is there evidence in support of what³⁷ is really conveyed by it.

“The omniscience of Arhan, which is spoken of in proving the authority of the Jaina scriptures, cannot be inferred from the evidence of the existence of any indefinite omniscient being.³⁸

“So long as Buddha is omniscient, his doctrines cannot be false; if some indefinite person is omniscient, is that evidence as to the truth of the Jaina scriptures?

“For the fact that one person is omniscient will not prove the truth of the words of another; for to be related to each other as cause and effect, omniscience and words must belong to one and the same person.”

In the Prameyakamalamārtanḍa³⁹ also the Mīmāṃsaka figures prominently. He says that there is not a particle of evidence in support of Jina's omniscience. The reasons adduced to prove this

³⁶ Made in the Devāgamastotra. Kumārila's words साधनं यत्प्रयुज्येत are thus explained by Laghusamantabhadra स त्वमेवासीत्यादिसाधनपरेण ग्रंथेन साधनं यत्प्रयुज्येत. स त्वमेवासि are the opening words of the sixth verse of Samantabhadra, which has been already quoted and translated above. Kumārila uses the word नरः “a man,” advisedly, since a woman is unfit to enter Nirvāṇa, and cannot be omniscient according to the Digambara Jainas. Cf.

भुङ्क्ते न केवलं (ली) न स्त्रीं (स्त्री) मोक्षमेति दिगम्बरः ।

Sarvadarśana Saṁgraha.

³⁷ Namely, that some undetermined man is omniscient.

प्रतिज्ञायां अनिर्धारितः पुरुषः सर्वज्ञः

Laghusamantabhadra.

³⁸ Such as Buddha. Kumārila says that the reasons given by Samantabhadra apply not only to Arhan, but also to Buddha, and are therefore absurd.

³⁹ The Prameyakamalamārtanḍa. In this work Prabhāchandra borrows the Pārapaksha of the Mīmāṃsaka word for word from the Ashtasahasrī, and quotes most of

point may be urged with equal force in favour of Buddha; and what is advanced by Samantabhadra in the fifth verse is a mere assertion :—

यतो हेतोः प्रतिनियतोऽर्हन् सर्वज्ञः साध्यते ततो बुद्धोऽपि
साध्यतां विशेषाभावान्न चात्र सर्वज्ञत्वसाधने हेतुरस्ति यद-
प्युच्यते “सूक्ष्मांतरितदूरार्थाः कस्य चित्रत्यक्षा प्रमेयत्वात्पा-
वकादिवत्”⁴⁰ तदप्युक्तिमात्रं

The chief point on which the Mīmāṃsaka lays stress is, that a man is never able to know virtue, vice, &c., except through Vedic injunctions, though he may know everything else in the world :—

धर्मज्ञत्वनिषेधस्तु⁴¹ केवलोऽचोपयुज्यते
सर्वमन्यद्विज्ञानंस्तु पुरुषः केन वार्यते ॥

In the Āptaparīkshā Vidyānanda has reproduced the substance of the Devāgamastotra, as we learn from his own lips :—

श्रीमत्तत्त्वार्थशास्त्राद्भुतसलिलनिधेरिद्धरत्नोद्भवस्य प्रोत्था-
नारंभकाले सकलमलभिदे शास्त्रकारैः कृतं यत् । स्तोत्रं ती-
र्थोपमानं प्रथितपृथुपथं स्वामिमीमांसितं⁴² तद्विद्यानंदैः
स्वशक्त्या कथमपि कथितं सत्यवाक्यार्थसिद्धौ ॥ १२२ ॥

—Āptaparīkshā.

the verses from the Mīmāṃsāśloka-vārtika cited by Vidyānanda. The following additional verses of Kumārila are found in the Prameyakamalamārtanda—

सर्वज्ञोऽयमिति ह्येतत्तत्कालेपि बुभुत्सुभिः ।
तज्ज्ञानज्ञेयविज्ञानरहितैर्मन्यते कथं ॥
कल्पनीयाश्च सर्वज्ञा भवेयुर्बहवस्तव ।
य एव स्यादसर्वज्ञः स सर्वज्ञं न बुध्यते ॥
सर्वज्ञो नावबुद्धश्च येनैव स्यात् तं प्रति ।
तद्वाक्यानां प्रमाणत्वं मूलाज्ञानेऽन्यवाक्यवत् ॥

—Mīmāṃsāśloka-vārtika, Pandit, vol. iii, p. 87.

⁴⁰ This is the fifth verse of Samantabhadra turned into prose. Prameyakamala-mārtanda.

⁴¹ Laghusamantabhadra attributes this verse to Kumārila, who holds—

जीवोपि निरस्तरागादि भावकमोषद्वयः - - । कथं विप्रकृष्टमर्थमशेषं प्रत्यक्षीकृतं प्रभुः
मुक्तात्मा भवन्नपि न चोदनाप्रामाण्यप्रतिबंधविधायो धर्मादौ तस्या एव प्रामाण्यप्रसिद्धेः

—Ashtasahasri.

⁴² Svāmi is Samantabhadrasvāmi. Śāstrakāra is Umāsvāti. The stotra is the opening verse of his Tatvārtha, which is cited farther on.

The Tatvârthasûtra of Umâsvâti opens with a verse extolling Arhan as omniscient :—

मोक्षमार्गस्य नेतारं भेत्तारं कर्मभूतां ।
ज्ञातारं विश्वतत्त्वानां वन्दे तद्गुणलब्धये ॥

This introductory verse has been expanded by Samantabhadra into the Âptamîmânsâ or Devâgamastotra; and Vidyânanda presents a brief summary of the views advocated in the last-mentioned work in his Âptaparîkshâ. Here again the author of the Ashta-sahasrî attempts a vindication of Samantabhadra's position against the attacks of Kumârila :—

ततोऽन्तरिततत्त्वानि प्रत्यक्षाण्यर्हतोऽजसा ।
प्रमेयत्वाद्वथास्माद्वकप्रत्यक्षार्थाः सुनिश्चिताः ॥ ८७ ॥
हेतोर्न व्यभिचारोच दूरार्थैर्मदरादिभिः ।
सूक्ष्मैर्वा परमाणाद्यैस्तेषां पक्षीकृतत्वतः ॥ ८८ ॥
तत्त्वान्यन्तरितानीह देशकालस्वभावतः ।
धर्मादीनीह साध्यन्ते प्रत्यक्षाणि जिनेशिनः ॥ ८९ ॥
न चास्माद्वकसमक्षणामेवमर्हत्समक्षता ।
न सिध्येदिति मन्तव्यमविवादाद्वयोरपि ॥ ९० ॥
न चासिद्धं प्रमेयत्वं कार्त्तर्यतो भागतोपि वा ।
सर्वथाप्यप्रमेयस्य पदार्थस्याव्यवस्थितेः ॥ ९१ ॥
“यदि षड्भिः प्रमाणैः स्यात्सर्वज्ञः केन वार्यते” ।
इति ब्रुवन्नशेषार्थप्रमेयत्वमिहेच्छति ॥ ९२ ॥
चोदनातश्च निःशेषपदार्थज्ञानसंभवे ।
सिद्धमन्तरितार्थानां प्रमेयत्वं समक्षवत् ॥ ९३ ॥
यन्नाहृतः समक्षं तन्न प्रमेयं बहिर्गतः ।
मिथ्यैकांतो यथेत्येवं व्यतिरेकोऽपि निश्चितः ॥ ९४ ॥

सुनिश्चितान्वयाद्धेतोः प्रसिद्धव्यतिरेकतः ।

ज्ञातार्हन् विश्वतत्त्वानामेवं सिध्येदबाधितः ॥ ९५ ॥

—Āptaparīkshā.

Translation.

“Therefore things which are minute and remote in space or time are directly perceived by Arhan, since they are cognisable, just as the objects of our perception that are well ascertained. The reason assigned here is not fallacious in respect of remote things such as Mount Mandara, or minute things such as atoms, because they are made the subject⁴³ of the minor premise by Samantabhadra in his fifth verse. Here things⁴⁴ minute or remote in space or time, including virtue, vice, &c., are proved to be directly perceived by the Lord Jina. It ought not to be supposed that Jina’s perception cannot be proved like our own perception, as there is no dispute about them both. Cognisability is not disproved wholly or partially, as things which are not cognisable are out of place. Kumārila, who says,⁴⁵ ‘If an omniscient being can be proved to exist by the six kinds of proof, who can prevent it?’ does admit that all things are cognisable.⁴⁶ If all things can be known through Vedic injunctions,

⁴³ The fifth verse of Samantabhadra is defended here. Vidyānanda brings forward this very argument in the *Asṭasahasrī* :—

सूक्ष्माद्यर्थाः कस्यचित्प्रत्यक्षाः प्रमेयत्वात् सत्त्वाद्वस्तुत्वात्स्फटिकादिवत् अनुमेयेनात्यंत-
परोक्षेण चार्थेन व्यभिचार इति चेत् न तस्य पक्षीकरणात्.

Laghusamantabhadra explains these words thus :—

मीमांसक आह “हे स्याद्वादिन् प्रमेयत्यादिहेतोः अनुमेयेनात्यंतपरोक्षेणार्थेन कृत्वा
व्यभिचारो दृश्यते” इति चेन्न तस्यानुमेयस्यात्यंतपरोक्षार्थस्य पक्षीकरणात् सूक्ष्माद्यर्था इति
पक्षः कृतस्तत्रैवांतर्भावात् अतो हेतुर्व्यभिचारी न.

His explanation of Samantabhadra’s fifth verse runs thus :—

सूक्ष्मांतरितद्वार्याः पक्षः कस्य चित्प्रत्यक्षा भवन्तीति साध्यो धर्मः अनुमेयत्वात् ये
चानुमेयास्ते कस्य चित्प्रत्यक्षा भवन्ति यथाग्न्यादि अनुमेयाश्चेते तस्मात्प्रत्यक्षा इति
कारिकानुमानं.

⁴⁴ This line reproduces Akalaṃka’s explanation of Samantabhadra’s phrase
सूक्ष्मांतरितद्वार्याः

⁴⁵ This is a quotation from Kumārila’s *Mīmāṃsāśloka-vārtika*, Pandit, vol. iii, p. 85.

⁴⁶ In the *Asṭasahasrī* Vidyānanda employs अनुमेय and प्रमेय as synonymous terms, and says that अनुमेय means श्रुतज्ञानाधिगम्य. He argues that even according to Kumārila all things are श्रुताधिगम्य or knowable through चोदना ; in other words, all things are अनुमेय. If so, it follows that Samantabhadra is right when he

then minute and distant things are proved to be cognisable in the same way as things directly perceived. Whatever is not perceived by Arhan is not cognisable; as, for instance, false heretical doctrines. This negative judgment is well determined. In this way, by well-established positive and negative judgments, Arhan is proved to be omniscient beyond dispute."

In this passage Vidyānanda quotes a line from the *Mīmāṃsāśloka-vārtika*, and tells us that its author, Kumārila, has assailed the fifth verse of Samantabhadra. The passage in the *Āptaparīkshā* is thus explained in the commentary :—

सोऽयं मीमांसकः प्रमाणबलात्सर्वस्यार्थस्य व्यवस्थामभ्यु-
पयन् षड्भिः प्रमाणैः समस्तार्थज्ञानं चानिवारयन् चोदना
हि भूतं भवतं भविष्यतं सूक्ष्मं विप्रकृष्टमित्येवंजातीयकमर्थ-
मवगमयितुमलमिति स्वयं प्रतिपद्यमानः सूक्ष्मांतरितदू-
रार्थानां प्रमेयत्वमस्मत्प्रत्यक्षार्थानामिव कथमपह्नुवीत यतः
साकल्येन प्रमेयत्वं पक्षव्यापकमसिद्धं ब्रूयात् । ननु च प्रमा-
तयात्मनि करणे च ज्ञाने च फले च प्रमितिक्रियालक्षणे
प्रमेयत्वस्याभावात् कर्मतापन्नेष्वेवार्थेषु प्रमेयेषु भावाद्भा-
गासिद्धं साधनं पक्षाव्यापकत्वादिति चेन्नैतदेवं प्रमातुरात्मनः
सर्वथाप्यप्रमेयत्वे प्रत्यक्षत इवानुमानादपि प्रमीयमाणत्वा-
भावप्रसंगात् । प्रत्यक्षेण हि कर्मतयात्मा न प्रतीयत इति
प्राभाकरदर्शनं न पुनः सर्वेणापि प्रमाणेन तद्व्यवस्थापन-
विरोधात् । करणज्ञानं च प्रत्यक्षतः कर्मत्वेनाप्रमीयमाणमपि
घटाद्यर्थपरिच्छित्यन्यथानुपपत्त्यानुमीयमानं न सर्वथाप्य-
प्रमेयं "ज्ञाते त्वनुमानादवगच्छते बुद्धिमिति" भाष्यकारश-

says that the minute, past, and distant are प्रत्यक्ष to Jina, because they are अनुमेय. The gist of the argument is that if Kumārila virtually admits the premises, he must be understood to accept the conclusion deduced from them. This argument is repeated in the *Jainśloka-vārtika*.

वरवचनविरोधात् । फलज्ञानं च प्रमितिलक्षणं स्वसंवेदन-
प्रत्यक्षमिच्छतः कार्यानुमेयं च कथमप्रमेयं सिद्धयेत् । एतेन
करणज्ञानस्य च फलज्ञानस्य च परोक्षत्वमिच्छतोपि भट्ट-
स्यानुमेयत्वं सिद्धं बोद्धव्यं घटाद्यर्थप्राकट्येनानुमीयमानस्य
सर्वस्य ज्ञानस्य कथंचित्प्रमेयत्वसिद्धिः ततो नांतरितत्वेषु
धर्मिषु प्रमेयत्वं साधनमसिद्धं वादिन इव प्रतिवादिनोऽपि
कथंचित्प्रमेयत्वप्रसिद्धेः ।

—Āptaparīkshālakṛiti.

Translation.

“That very Mīmāṃsaka, while admitting that a knowledge of all things can be obtained by means of arguments, cannot deny that all things are cognisable by the six kinds of proof. While he accepts the view of Śābarasvāmī⁴⁷ that a Vedic injunction is able to make known the past, the present, the future, the minute and the distant, how can he escape from the conclusion that things which are minute, past, future, and distant are as cognisable as those that we actually perceive, so that he can declare entirely unproved the cognisability inherent in the subject of the minor premise ?

“It may be urged as an objection that cognisability is not found in the soul, the knowing subject in **करणज्ञान**⁴⁸ and in **फलज्ञान**, which is characterised by the action of cognition, and as cognisability is found only in those things which are the objects of cognition, and are thus cognisable, we have here a fallacy in which the reason is partly improved, because it is not found in the subject of the minor premise.

“This objection is met thus : The statement of the Mīmāṃsaka is not correct. If the soul, which is the knowing subject, were entirely non-cognisable, it would follow that the soul is not cognisable even by inference, just as it is held by the Mīmāṃsaka to be

⁴⁷ Mīmāṃsābhāṣya, Tarkapāda.

⁴⁸ **करणज्ञान**, or knowledge obtained through the senses, is not considered **प्रत्यक्ष**, because it is liable to be affected by the defects of the senses. Direct perception is **प्रत्यक्ष** ; but the result of such perception, which corresponds to **फलज्ञान**, is not considered **प्रत्यक्ष** by the Mīmāṃsaka.

non-cognisable by perception. Prabhākara maintains that the soul cannot be known as the object of cognition by perception; but he does not say that it is non-cognisable by every other proof, as that would be inconsistent with Prabhākara's position.

करणज्ञान, though it is not the object of cognition by perception, is none the less inferential knowledge, as otherwise we could not obtain definite knowledge of pots and other things, and it is therefore not altogether non-cognisable, as it would militate against the views of Śābarasvāmi, who says,⁴⁹ 'When a thing is known, then by inference one can know an idea.'

"As regards **फलज्ञान**, it is characterised by the action of cognition. How can one who holds that knowledge that manifests itself is perception declare of a thing inferred by action that it is not cognisable? Thus all knowledge inferred from the manifestation of pots and other things is thus shown to be cognisable in some way or other.

"By this reasoning **फलज्ञान** and **करणज्ञान** have been proved to be cognisable even according to Bhaṭṭa, who holds that they are imperceptible to the senses.

"Therefore, in the case of distant things, the reason cognisability is not unproved; as in the opinion of the Jaina, so also in that of the Mīmāṃsaka, distant things have been somehow proved to be cognisable."

It is hardly necessary to point out that the passages which I have quoted above leave no room for doubt that Samantabhadra is attacked by Kumārila. The line of argument adopted by Vidyānanda and Prabhāchandra in defending Samantabhadra is, that since all things are knowable through Chodanā, there must be some being who knows all things, that is, who is omniscient, and that this omniscient being is no other than Arhan himself.

An interesting question that naturally suggests itself at this stage of our inquiry is whether Akalaṅkadeva, who is the earlier commentator on the Devāgamastotra, and yet has not a word to say about Kumārila, comes in for a share of criticism at the hands of the illustrious Mīmāṃsaka.

In some of the verses which have been quoted above, Kumārila says that when the Jainas try to prove the omniscience of Arhan from the Āgama or Jaina scripture, and maintain that the Āgama is authoritative because it embodies the utterances of the omniscient

⁴⁹ Mīmāṃsābhāṣya, Tarkapāda.

being Arhan, they argue in a circle. In the six verses of the Devâgamastotra there is no express mention of the Âgama being the sole proof of the omniscience of Arhan. The idea is first introduced by Akalaṃkadeva in his explanation of them:—

आज्ञाप्रधाना हि त्रिदशागमादिकं परमेष्ठिनः परमात्मा-
चिह्नं प्रतिपद्येरन् नास्मदादयस्तादृशो मायाविष्वपि भावा-
दित्यागमाश्रयः

—Ashtaśatī.⁵⁰

And the Parīkshâ mukha, which is entirely based, as I have already proved,⁵¹ on Akalaṃka's works, defines the Âgama—

आप्तवाक्यादिनिबन्धनमर्थज्ञानमागमः

Aphorism 94.

as “the knowledge of things derived from the utterances of the omniscient being Arhan.” From these passages it is evident that, in the view of Akalaṃkadeva, Arhan is omniscient, according to the Âgama, and the Âgama is authoritative because it embodies the utterances of the omniscient being Arhan. Kumârila very properly remarks that here the Jainas are reasoning in a circle:—

अथ तद्वचनेनैव सर्वज्ञोऽन्यैः प्रतीयते ।

प्रकल्पेत् कथं सिद्धिरन्योन्याश्रययोस्तयोः ॥

सर्वज्ञोक्ततया वाक्यं सत्यं तेन तदस्तिता ।

कथं तदुभयं सिध्येत्सिद्धमूलांतराद्वते ॥⁵²

It is therefore clear that Akalaṃkadeva's explanation has formed the subject of Kumârila's criticism. This point hardly admits of a doubt when we learn that some other portions of the Ashtaśatī have been attacked by the Mīmāṃsaka. Akalaṃkadeva says:—

न खलु ज्ञस्वभावस्य कश्चिदगोचरोस्ति यन्न क्रमेत तत्स्व-
भावांतरप्रतिषेधात् चेतनस्य सतः संबन्ध्यंतरं मोहोदयकारणकं

⁵⁰ Deccan College MS., No. 566 of 1875-76.

⁵¹ My paper on Bhartṛihari and Kumârila.

⁵² These verses have been quoted and translated above.

मदिरादिवत् तदभावे साकल्येन विरतव्यामोहः सर्वं पश्यति
 प्रत्यासत्तिविप्रकर्षयोरकिञ्चित्करत्वात् अत एवाक्षानपेक्षांज-
 नादिसंस्कृतचक्षुषो यथालोकानपेक्षा
 ततश्चैतन्यकरणपाटवयोः साधकतमत्वं सहकारिकारणांतरं न
 वै नियतमपेक्षणीयं नक्तंचरादेः संस्कृतचक्षुषो वानपेक्षिता-
 लोकसन्निधेः रूपोपलभात्

—Ashtaśatī.⁵³

Translation.

“There is nothing, indeed, which cannot be understood by the soul, whose very nature is knowing. If it fails to know anything, it is due to a different nature in the shape of ignorance.⁵⁴ The soul which does exist is stupefied by something else resembling wine. In the absence of the latter the soul is entirely free from stupor, and can perceive everything, proximity and remoteness having no effect at all. Therefore, the senses are not needed by Arhan just as a person who has applied magic ointment to his eyes does not need light. . . . Therefore, any other cause which increases the acuteness of consciousness or the senses is really not necessary, as animals⁵⁵ moving at night, or a person with magic ointment applied to his eyes, can see forms without light or proximity.”

In these passages Akalan̄kadeva says that the soul has a natural capacity for grasping everything. This capacity is neutralised in ordinary persons by ignorance and other causes. When these causes are done away the soul becomes Arhan, who does not need the senses to enable him to perceive everything. These opinions of Akalan̄kadeva are thus criticised by the Mīmāṃsāka in the Ashtaśahasrī :—

विवादापन्नं प्रत्यक्षादिप्रमाणमिन्द्रियादिसामग्रीविशे-
 षानपेक्षं न भवति प्रत्यक्षादिप्रमाणत्वात् प्रसिद्धप्रत्यक्षादि-
 प्रमाणवत् न गृध्रवराहपिपीलिकादिप्रत्यक्षेण सन्निहितदे-

⁵³ Deccan College MS., No. 566 of 1857-76.

⁵⁴ This is explained in a passage in the Ashtaśahasrī, quoted farther on.

⁵⁵ Such as cats, owls, and rats. See note 58.

शविशेषानपेक्षिणा नक्तंचरप्रत्यक्षेण वालोकानपेक्षिणा-
ऽनेकांतः कात्यायनाद्यनुमानातिशयेन जैमिन्याद्यागमाद्य-
तिशयेन वा तस्यापीन्द्रियादिप्रणिधानसामग्रीविशेषमंतरे-
णासंभवात् स्वार्थातिलंघनाभावादतीन्द्रियाननुमेयाद्यर्थावि-
षयत्वाच्च । तथाचोक्तं

यत्राप्यतिशयो⁵⁶ दृष्टः स स्वार्थानतिलंघनात् ।
दूरसूक्ष्मादिदृष्टौ स्यान्न रूपे श्रोत्रवृत्तिता ॥
येपि सातिशया दृष्टाः प्रज्ञामेधादिभिर्नराः ।
स्तोकस्तोकांतरत्वेन न त्वतीन्द्रियदर्शनात् ॥
प्राज्ञोपि हि नरः सूक्ष्मानर्थान् द्रष्टुं क्षमोऽपि सन् ।
स्वजातीरनतिक्रामन्नतिशेते परान्नरान् ॥
एकशास्त्रविचारेषु दृश्यतेऽतिशयो महान् ।
नतु शास्त्रांतरज्ञानं तन्मात्रेणैव लभ्यते ॥
ज्ञात्वा व्याकरणं दूरं बुद्धिः शब्दापशब्दयोः ।
प्रकृष्यते न नक्षत्रतिथियहणनिर्णये ॥
ज्योतिर्विच्च प्रकृष्टोपि चंद्रार्कग्रहणादिषु ।
न भवत्यादिशब्दानां साधुत्वं ज्ञातुमर्हति ॥
तथा वेदेतिहासादिज्ञानातिशयवानपि ।
न स्वर्गदेवतापूर्वप्रत्यक्षीकरणे क्षमः ॥
दशहस्तांतरव्योम्नि यो नामोत्प्लुत्य गच्छति ।

न योजनमसौ गंतुं शक्तोऽभ्यासशतैरपीति ॥ न दृष्टप्रत्यक्षा-

⁵⁶ The first verse occurs in Kumārila's *Mīmāṃsāślokavārtika*, Pandit, vol. iii. p. 85. The remaining verses, which form part of the same passage as the first, are ascribed to Kumārila in the commentary on the *Āptaparīkṣā*. The first verse, which actually occurs in Kumārila's works, is wrongly attributed by Śāyaṇamādhava to G uru or Prabhākara in his *Mīmāṃsādarśana*.

दिविजातीयातीन्द्रियप्रत्यक्षादिसंभावना यतः संभाव्यव्यभि-
चारिता साधनस्य स्यात् । पुरुषविशेषस्य तत्संभावनायां
संभाव्यव्यभिचारित्वमेवेति चेत् न तस्यासिद्धत्वात्साधका-
भावात्सर्वपुरुषाणां त्रिविप्रकृत्यर्थसाक्षात्कारित्वानुपपत्तेरिति
तदेतत्सर्वमपरीक्षिताभिधानं मीमांसकस्य ।

—Ashtasahasrī.

Translation.

“Perception and other proofs, which form the subject of debate, are not possible, from their very nature, without the help of the senses, any more than the well-known perception and other proofs. This proposition does not prove too much as applying to the perception of vultures,⁵⁷ boars, and ants, which does not need proximity; or to that of the animals⁵⁸ moving at night, which does not require light. Neither the inferential knowledge of Vararuchi,⁵⁹ nor the Vedic lore of Jaimini, militates against this view, as even in these cases perception is impossible without the exercise of the ordinary senses, each sense being exercised within its proper scope, which excludes objects which are imperceptible to the senses, or which cannot be inferred. Therefore it is said [by Kumârila]:⁶⁰

“Whenever we find the power of a sense intensified, it is done without its going beyond its proper objects; thus it may appear in the power of seeing the distant or the minute, but never in the ear’s becoming cognisant of form.

“Those persons who are found to excel in intelligence and memory do so in degree, but never in observing things which are imperceptible to the senses.

“A person, though intelligent and able to see minute things, excels other persons without transgressing his species.

⁵⁷ गृध्राणां चक्षुःप्रत्यक्षं वराहाणां श्रोत्रप्रत्यक्षं पिपीलिकानां घ्राणप्रत्यक्षं तेन.
Laghusamantabhadra.

⁵⁸ Such as cats, owls, and rats. बिडालघ्नकमूषकाः *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Vararuchi is another name of Kātyāyana. *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ See note 56.

⁶¹ दूरसूक्ष्मादिदृष्टौ क्रियमाणायां चक्षुःसकाशादेवातिशयः स्याच्च तु स्वार्थातिलंघनेन
श्रोत्रवृत्तितः इति भावः

Laghusamantabhadra.

“Great excellence is seen in the study of one science, but by that alone a knowledge of another science is not gained.

“A sound knowledge of grammar enables one to distinguish between correct and incorrect words, but not to ascertain the proper constellation and lunar day, or to predict an eclipse.

“An astronomer, though well versed in predicting solar and lunar eclipses, cannot ascertain the correctness of Bhavati and other words.

“Similarly, a person, though well read in the Vedas and epics, is not able to see in person heaven, the gods, and Apûrva.

“A person who can leap ten feet into the air is never able to rise to the height of a yojana, even after a hundred trials.

“There is therefore no possibility of superhuman perception different in kind from ordinary perception, from which an exception to the rule can be admitted. If it is contended that such an exception occurs in the case of some particular individual like Arhan, we Mîmâṃsakas reply that it is not proved, as there is no evidence in support of it, because no one is able to perceive the minute, the past, and the distant.

“All these are the thoughtless assertions of the Mîmâṃsaka.”

From this passage it can be easily concluded that the Mîmâṃsaka, who is no other than Kumârila himself, has attacked the view of Akalaṅkadeva that Arhan can perceive things without the help of the senses. Vidyânanda thus defends Akalaṅkadeva:—

ततः सिद्धो भवभूतां प्रभुः सर्वज्ञ एव “न खलु ज्ञस्वभावस्य कश्चिदगोचरोस्ति यन्न क्रमेत तत्स्वभावातरप्रतिषेधात्”⁶² । कुतः पुनस्तस्याज्ञत्वलक्षणस्वभावांतरप्रतिषेधः सिद्धो यतोऽसौ ज्ञस्वभाव एव स्यात् सर्वश्चार्थस्तस्य विषयः स्यात्ततस्तं क्रमेतैवेति चेत् चोदनावद्भूताद्यशेषार्थज्ञानान्यथानुपपत्तेः⁶³ सेयं चोदना हि भूतं भवंतं भविष्यंतं विप्रकृष्टमित्येवंजातीयकमर्थमवगमयितुमलं पुरुषविशेषानिति स्वयं प्रतीयन् सकलार्थज्ञानस्वभावतामात्मनो न प्रत्येतीति कथं

⁶² These are Akalaṅkadeva's words. See the second passage from the *Ashtasati*.

⁶³ Laghusamantabhadra notices another reading चोदनावल्लत, which is also found in the *Prameyakamalamârtaṇḍa* and the *Sarvadarśana Saṅgraha*. The reading in the *Ashtasahasrî* may be really चोदना व(व)[ल]त्

स्वस्थः तच्च न ज्ञानमात्मनो भिन्नमेव मीमांसकस्य कथं-
 चिदभेदोपगमादन्यथा मतांतरप्रसंगात् । ततो नाज्ञस्वभावः
 पुरुषः क्वचिदपि विषये सर्वविषये चोदनाज्ञानोत्पत्तेर्विकल्प-
 ज्ञानोत्पत्तेर्वा सर्वत्र तदनुपत्तौ विधिप्रतिषेधविचाराघट-
 नात्कथमेवं कस्यचित् क्वचिदज्ञानं स्यादिति चेदुच्यते “चेत-
 नस्य सतः संबंध्यंतरं मोहोदयकारणकं मदिरादिवत्” तत्कुतः
 सिद्धं विवादाध्यासितो जीवस्य मोहोदयः संबंध्यंतरकारणको
 मोहोदयत्वान्मदिरादिकारणकमोहोदयवदित्यनुमानात् । यत्सं-
 बंध्यंतरं तदात्मनो ज्ञानावरणादिकर्मेति “तदभावे साकल्येन
 विरतव्यामोहः सर्वं पश्यति प्रत्यासत्तिविप्रकर्षयोरकिंचित्क-
 रत्वात्” । कथं पुनर्ज्ञानावरणादिसंबंध्यंतरस्याभावेन साक-
 ल्येन विरतव्यामोहः स्याद्यतः सर्वमतीतानागतवर्तमानानं-
 तार्थव्यंजनपर्यायात्मकं जीवादितत्त्वं साक्षात् कुर्वीतेति चे-
 दिमे ब्रूमहे यद्यस्मिन्सत्येव भवति तत्तदभावे न भवत्येव
 यथाऽग्नेरभावे न भवत्येव धूमः संबंध्यंतरे सत्येव भवति चा-
 त्मनो व्यामोहस्तस्मात्तदभावे स न भवतीति निश्चीयते ।
 देशकालतः प्रत्यासन्नमेव पश्येद्विरतव्यामोहोपि सर्वात्मना
 न पुनर्विप्रकृष्टमित्ययुक्तं प्रत्यासत्तेर्ज्ञानाकारणत्वाद्विप्रकर्षस्य
 चाज्ञानानिबन्धनत्वात् तद्भावेऽपि ज्ञानाज्ञानयोरेभावात् न-
 यनतारकांजनवच्चंद्रार्कादिवच्च योग्यतासद्भावेतराभ्यां ज्ञाना-
 ज्ञानयोः क्वचिद्भावे योग्यतैव ज्ञानकारणं संनिकर्षविप्रकर्ष-
 योरकिंचित्करत्वात् । सा पुनर्योग्यता देशतः कार्त्तर्यतो वा
 व्यामोहविगमस्तत्प्रतिबंधिकर्मक्षयोपशमलक्षण इति साक-

ल्येन विरतव्यामोहः सर्वं पश्यत्येव । तदुक्तं

ज्ञो ज्ञेये कथमज्ञः स्यादसति प्रतिबंधने ।

दाह्येऽग्निर्दाहको न स्यादसति पतिबंधने ॥

“अत एवाक्षानपेक्षांजनादिसंस्कृतचक्षुषो यथालोकान-
पेक्षा” अत एव कुत एव साकल्येन विरतव्यामोहत्वादेव
सर्वदर्शनादेव वा । यो हि देशतो विरतव्यामोहः किञ्चिदेवा-
स्फुटं पश्यति वा तस्यैवाक्षापेक्षा लक्ष्यते न तद्विलक्षणस्य
प्रक्षीणसकलव्यामोहस्य सर्वदर्शिनः सर्वज्ञत्वविरोधात् ।

—Ashtasahasrī.

Translation.

“Therefore Arhan, the lord of men, is proved to be omniscient.

“There is nothing, indeed, which cannot be comprehended by the soul whose very nature is knowing. If it fails to know anything, it is due to the hindrance caused by a different nature.” But how is the hindrance caused by a different nature in the shape of ignorance proved, from which we can infer that the soul has a natural capacity for knowing all things, that all things are its proper objects, and that the soul is able to know them all with this natural capacity? We reply that as a knowledge of all things could not be produced by a Vedic precept if the soul had no such natural capacity, and as the Mīmāṃsaka,⁶⁴ while admitting that “a Vedic precept is able to make particular persons acquainted with the past, the present, the future, and the distant,” yet rejects the view [of Akalamkādeva] that “the soul has a natural capacity for knowing all things;” how can he be consistent? That knowledge is not different from the soul in the opinion of the Mīmāṃsaka, their identity being established in some way or other, otherwise a different tenet would have to be accepted by the Mīmāṃsaka. Therefore it follows that a man is not devoid of the natural capacity for knowing everything, since a Vedic precept produces a knowledge of all things. But it may be objected that this view does not hold good in every case, because uncertain knowledge is produced, and consequently the

⁶⁴ The Mīmāṃsaka, who is no other than Kumārila himself, attacks Akalamkādeva's views. Cf. the passage in the Āptaparīkṣāhāmikrīti quoted above.

discussion of injunctions and prohibitions becomes impossible. How, then, is ignorance found in some individuals in respect of some subjects? Our reply is that 'the soul which does exist is stupefied by one of those things related to it which resemble wine.' How is this proved? This is proved from the inference that the stupefaction of the soul, which is the subject of dispute, is produced by one of those things related to it, like the stupefaction produced by wine. One of the things related to the soul means one of the hindrances to knowledge. 'In the absence of it the soul is entirely free from stupor, and can perceive everything, proximity and remoteness having no effect at all.' But how in the absence of one of the things related to the soul—the hindrances to knowledge—can a man be so entirely free from stupor that he can perceive everything past, future, present, and endless, including life and other substances consisting of the Arthaparyâya and the Vyañjanaparyâya? ^{64a}

"We who are present here reply, that if one thing is found wherever another thing is present, and is not found wherever the other is absent, as, for example, smoke is never found wherever there is no fire; in the same way the stupefaction of the soul takes place only in consequence of the hindrances to knowledge. Therefore it follows that in the absence of such hindrances the soul is not stupefied. It is wrong to say that the soul though entirely free from stupor can perceive only what is near in time or place, but never what is remote; for proximity does not produce knowledge nor does distance prevent it, as even when these are found knowledge and ignorance are absent. Like the pupil in the eye and magic ointment, or like the sun and the moon, it is fitness or the absence of it which produces knowledge or ignorance respectively. Fitness alone is the cause of knowledge, whereas proximity or remoteness has no effect whatever. That fitness again is partial or total freedom from stupor, viz., the abolition of actions obstructing knowledge. Thus it follows that the soul that is entirely free from stupor does perceive everything. Therefore it is said:

"How can the soul, which is knowing, be ignorant of knowable things? How can fire fail to burn fuel when there is nothing ⁶⁵ to check its effect?

"Therefore Arhan does not need the senses, just as a person with magic ointment applied to his eyes requires no light, for this reason

^{64a} For an explanation of these terms see the Nyāyadīpikā of Abhinava-Dharma-bhūṣaṇa, pupil of Vardhamānabhaṭṭāraka, Deccan College MS., No. 624 of 1875-76, p. 38. This work was composed about Śaka 1307. South Ind. Inscript., vol. i. p. 156.

⁶⁵ Such as gems and charms. Laghusamantabhadra.

—for what reason?—because Arhan is entirely free from stupor, or because he perceives everything. A person who is partly free from stupor or sees anything indistinctly, such a person only is seen to require the senses. But Arhan, who differs from such a person, and who is entirely free from stupor and who can perceive everything, does not need the senses, as it would contradict his omniscience.”

In this passage Vidyānanda defends Akalāṅkadeva's opinion that Arhan does not need the senses, from the attacks of the Mīmāṃsaka, who is no other than Kumārila himself. This subject is also touched upon in the Jaina Śloka-vārtika, where Vidyānanda begins by parodying two of Kumārila's verses which have been quoted above: ⁶⁶—

ततः सातिशया दृष्टाः प्रज्ञामेधादिभिर्नराः ।
भूताद्यशेषविज्ञानभाजश्चेच्चोदनाबलात् ॥
किन्न क्षीणावृत्तिः सूक्ष्मानर्थान् द्रष्टुं क्षम — —
मदज्ञानानतिक्रामन्नतिशेते परान्नरान् ॥

यदि परैरभ्यधायि

दशहस्तांतरव्योम्नि यो नामोत्प्लुत्य गच्छति ।
न योजनमसौ गंतुं शक्तोऽभ्यासशतैरपि ⁶⁷ ॥

इत्यादि तदपि न युक्तमित्याह

लंघनादिकदृष्टांतः स्वभावान्न विलंघने ।
नाविर्भावे स्वभावस्य प्रतिषेधो कुतश्चन ॥
स्वाभाविकी गतिर्न स्यात् प्रक्षीणाशेषकर्मणः ।
क्षणादूर्ध्वजगच्चूडामणौ व्योम्नि महीयसि ॥
वीर्यांतरायविच्छेदविशेषवशतो ऽपरा ।
बहुधा केन वार्येत नियत[क्र]मलंघनात् ॥

⁶⁶ Cf. Kumārila's verses quoted in the third passage from the Ashtasahasri.

⁶⁷ This verse has also been quoted and translated above.

ततो यदुपहसनमकारि भट्टेन “यैरुक्तं केवलं ज्ञानमिन्द्रिया-
द्यनपेक्षिणः सूक्ष्मातीतादिविषयं सूक्तं जीवस्य तैरदः” इति
तदपि परिहृतमित्याह

ततः समंततः चक्षुरिन्द्रियाद्यनपेक्षिणः ।

निःशेषद्रव्यपर्यायविषयं केवलं स्थितं ॥

—Ślokavârtikâlamkāra.⁶⁸

Translation.

“If, therefore, men who are seen endowed with exceptional intelligence and memory are able to know the past, the minute, &c., by the power of a Vedic precept, why should not Arhan, who is able to see minute things through the abolition of the obstructions of knowledge, surpass other men of dull intellect ?

“Though others have said that ‘a man who jumps ten feet into the air is never able to rise to the height of a yojana even after a hundred trials,’ still this notion is shown to be absurd in the following verses.

“The instance of transgressing, &c., given to show that a man can never outdo his nature, offers no obstacle to the display of nature. Cannot the career of Arhan, who has destroyed⁶⁹ all actions, be natural ? Who can prevent his upward course into the spacious heavens forming the crest-jewel of the world, which happens in a moment, and which results from the entire destruction of the hindrance to power—from transgressing the ordinary rule ?

“For these reasons the view of Kumârila, who has laughed at the Jainas, saying,⁷⁰ ‘Those who attribute to a being who does not need the senses supreme knowledge, embracing the minute, the past, &c., have said very well,’ is refuted in the following verse.

“Therefore it is established beyond dispute that Arhan, who

⁶⁸ Deccan College MS. Both the text and the commentary in this work are believed to have been composed by Vidyânanda himself. The text is frequently quoted in the *Ashtasahasrî*. See my paper on Bhartîhari and Kumârila.

⁶⁹ Tatvârtha of Umâsvâti, Chapter X., aphorisms 2 and 5. Mr. Fleet has mistaken the Jaina idea of कर्मक्षय for the Brahminical notion of यद्विषु. His volume on Gupta Inscriptions, p. 260.

⁷⁰ This verse of Kumârila will be discussed farther on.

does not need the eye and other organs of sense, is possessed of supreme knowledge, which embraces all substances and their forms."

I shall now give below a brief analysis of the contents of the several passages that we have so far examined.

I. The passage from the Devâgamastotra, in which it is said that Arhan, who can perceive the minute, the past, &c., is omniscient.

II. The first passage from the Ashtasahasrî, in which a Mîmâṃsaka quotes Kumârila's verses attacking the omniscience of Arhan.

III. The second passage from the Ashtasahasrî, in which Kumârila directly attacks the omniscience of Arhan.

IV. The passage from the Âptaparîkshâ, in which it is said that Kumârila attacks the fifth verse of Samantabhadra.

V. The passage from the commentary on the Âptaparîkshâ, in which Kumârila is represented as virtually admitting the premises of Samantabhadra, and thus accepting his conclusion that Arhan is omniscient.

VI. The first passage from the Ashtâsatî, in which Akalaṃkadeva says that the omniscience of Arhan is established from the Âgama or Jaina scripture.

VII. The second passage from the Ashtâsatî, in which Akalaṃkadeva says that Arhan does not need the senses.

VIII. The third passage from the Ashtasahasrî, in which the Mîmâṃsaka attacks this view of Akalaṃkadeva.

IX. The fourth passage from the Ashtasahasrî, in which this view of Akalaṃkadeva is defended by Vidyânanda.

X. The passage from the Jaina Ślokavârtika, which repeats Kumârila's verses quoted in the third passage from the Ashtasahasrî, and in which Akalaṃkadeva's view is attacked by Kumârila, and defended by Vidyânanda.

The works which I have quoted are the Devâgamastotra or Âptamîmâṃsâ of Samantabhadra, Akalaṃkadeva's commentary called Ashtâsatî, and Vidyânanda's later and more exhaustive commentary called Ashtasahasrî, on the Devâgamastotra. I have also cited Vidyânanda's Âptaparîkshâ and Jaina Ślokavârtika.

The subject discussed in these passages is the omniscience of Arhan. Samantabhadra says that the being who can perceive the minute, the past, and the distant is Arhan, who is therefore omniscient. Akalaṃkadeva, while explaining Samantabhadra's views, remarks that Arhan does not need the senses. These are precisely the views which, Vidyânanda tells us, are laughed at by Kumârila.

rila in his last verse quoted in the extract from the Jaina Ślokavârtika :

ततो यदुपहसनमकारि भट्टेन
यैरुक्तं केवलं ज्ञानमिन्द्रियाद्यनपेक्षिणः ।
सूक्ष्मातीतादिविषयं सूक्तं जीवस्य तैरदः इति

Samantabhadra says

सूक्ष्मांतरितदूरार्थाः प्रत्यक्षाः कस्य चिद्यथा ।

Akalankadeva explains अंतरित to mean कालविप्रकर्षि = अतीतादि past, &c. ; Kumârila has reproduced in his expression सूक्ष्मातीतादिविषयं not only Samantabhadra's phrase, but Akalan̄kadeva's explanation of it also. Again, Kumârila's expression इन्द्रियाद्यनपेक्षिणः and the expression चक्षुरिन्द्रियाद्यनपेक्षिणः which Vidyânanda uses in refuting this very verse of Kumârila, are intended to explain Akalan̄kadeva's phrase अज्ञानपेक्षा. It is therefore obvious that Kumârila, in reproducing the views of Samantabhadra and Akalan̄kadeva, has used as nearly as possible the very words of those authors.

This celebrated verse of Kumârila runs thus in his Mîmâṃsâślokavârtika :

एवं यैः केवलं ज्ञानमिन्द्रियाद्यनपेक्षिणः ।
सूक्ष्मातीतादिविषयं जीवस्य परिकल्पितम् ॥
नर्ते तदागमात्सिध्येन्न च तेनागमो विना ।
दृष्टान्तोऽपि न तस्यान्यो नृषु कश्चित्प्रवर्तते ॥

—Pandit, vol. iii. p. 88.

I have already translated the first verse. It may, however, be noted that the reading given by Vidyânanda is obviously more correct than that found in the Pandit. In the second verse from the Mîmâṃsâślokavârtika just quoted Kumârila says that the omniscience of Arhan cannot be established without the Âgama or Jaina scripture, and the authority of the Âgama cannot be estab-

lished without the existence of an omniscient being like Arhan, and that there is no instance of such a being among men. I have already discussed Kumârila's view that Akalaṃkadeva is arguing in a circle.

I have fixed the date of Akalaṃkadeva in my paper on Bhartrihari and Kumârila. I shall give here a brief⁷¹ summary of my arguments. Jinasena, the preceptor of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Amoghavarsha I., mentions Akalaṃkadeva in his Âdipurâṇa, written about Śaka 760. This work speaks of Prabhâchandra as the author of the Chandrodaya. The commentator on the Âdipurâṇa tells us that the Chandrodaya referred to by Jinasena is the Nyâyakumuda Chandrodaya of Prabhâchandra. In his introduction to this work Prabhâchandra says that he was the pupil of Akalaṃkadeva, and that he also wrote the Prameyakamalamârtaṇḍa. In the last-mentioned work Prabhâchandra quotes Bâṇa's Kâdambarî and Bhartrihari's Vâkyapadîya. The conclusion that we can deduce from these facts is that Akalaṃkadeva and his pupil Prabhâchandra lived after Bâṇa and Bhartrihari, and before Jinasena. Bâṇa was contemporary with Pulakeśi II., and Jinasena was contemporary with Amoghavarsha I. These facts confirm the view of Brahmanemidatta that Akalaṃkadeva lived in the time of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Kṛishṇarâja I., who reigned in the third quarter of the eighth century. Prabhâchandra's Kamalamârtaṇḍa mentions⁷² Vidyânanda, who quotes Akalaṃkadeva. It is therefore plain that Prabhâchandra and Vidyânanda flourished towards the close of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century. We have seen that Akalaṃkadeva is attacked in the Mîmâṃsâśloka-vârtika, and is defended by his pupil Prabhâchandra and Vidyânanda. It is plain that Akalaṃkadeva did not live long enough to defend his position. The task of vindicating his views consequently devolved on his illustrious pupil. These facts necessarily lead to the conclusion that Kumârila was contemporary with Akalaṃkadeva, and lived in the time of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Kṛishṇarâja I.

I may state here that Akalaṃkadeva and his pupil Prabhâchandra quote⁷³ Dharmakîrti. This is the eminent Buddhist author, who, as I have proved elsewhere,⁷⁴ is criticised by Kumârila, Śaṃkarâ-

⁷¹ For an exhaustive discussion of the subject I would refer Sanskrit scholars to my paper itself.

⁷² In a verse of Mâṇikyanandi, on whose work Prabhâchandra has written his commentary.

⁷³ Ashtaśati, D. C. MS., p. 4; Ashtasahasri, D. C. MS., p. 68.

⁷⁴ My paper on Dharmakîrti and Śaṃkarâchârya, and that on Bhartrihari and Kumârila.

chârya, and Sureśvara. But I-tsing's reference to Dharmakîrti is interpreted variously. The French translator makes Dharmakîrti contemporary with I-tsing, whereas Professor Wassiliev holds that Dharmakîrti lived "nearest in time" to the Chinese traveller who mentions him.⁷⁵ Again, Akalanîkadeva's pupil, Prabhâchandra, quotes the Vâkyapadîya. This work is also frequently quoted and criticised by Kumârila.⁷⁶ I-tsing says that Bhartrihari, the author of the Vâhyapadîya, died in 650 A.D.⁷⁷ These facts alone are sufficient to confirm the date which I have assigned to Kumârila. And since Sureśvara⁷⁸ quotes the Mîmâṃsâśloka-vârtika, we may conclude that his famous teacher Śaṅkarâchârya lived after Kumârila.

⁷⁵ Ind. Ant., vol. xix. p. 319.

⁷⁶ My paper on Bhartrihari and Kumârila.

⁷⁷ Ind. Ant., vol. ix. p. 308.

⁷⁸ See my paper on Bhartrihari and Kumârila, in which I have proved conclusively that Śaṅkarâchârya criticises Kumârila in his Taittiriya-bhâshya. See also Râmatîrtha's Śâtrakaśâstra Saṅgraha, chap. i. sect. 1.

VII.

THE FLORENTINE JAINA MANUSCRIPTS.

BY

PROFESSOR COUNT F. L. PULLÈ.

PREFATORY REMARKS BY PROFESSOR LEUMANN.

AN illustrious member of this Section, Count de Gubernatis, has asked me to read a short communication by a friend of ours who regrets very much his inability to attend the Congress in person. I speak of Professor Count Pullè of Pisa, whom we all till very lately expected to meet here, but who unfortunately is prevented from leaving Italy at present. Professor Pullè has been working for some while in cataloguing the *Jaina Section* of that splendid collection of Indian manuscripts which, through the indefatigable care of the Count de Gubernatis, is now preserved in the *Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze*. You all know that a masterly catalogue of the *Brahmanical* part of that collection has lately been brought out by Professor Aufrecht. It was printed with the help of the Royal Academy of Berlin, unrepresented, we regret to say, at our meeting. The corresponding publication, giving full information about the 350 Jaina manuscripts of Florence, is now being printed, at the expense of the Italian Government, by Professor Pullè, and we are sure that his forthcoming work will give us a great deal of most trustworthy and valuable information. Meanwhile, something like a short abstract of this Jaina catalogue has been handed over to us. This enumerates the sixty-five canonical scriptures of those 350 works. I see from the list that the canon is very well represented indeed, some few texts only being wanting. I particularly call attention to the fact that the very last, and a very rare one of the forty-five canonical scriptures, named *Piṇḍaniryukti*, is in this Florentine collection. A second copy has, I may add, happily also been procured by Professor Bendall when travelling to Nepal; and to complete the enumera-

tion, the third and last European copy of the work has reached the Strassburg University Library.

Allow me only to select one more title which will perhaps prove of considerable interest—it is No. 42 of Professor Pullè's list, professing to be a *Niṣīthacūrṇi*. If this entry is right—I myself do not venture yet to believe that it is right, but it may prove to be—we should have to congratulate the Florentine library on possessing that precious work.¹ My personal doubts as to the authenticity of the statement arise from the fact that in modern India the so-called *Cūrṇi* commentaries, which are very old and scarce, are not well distinguished from those other commentaries named *Avacūris*, which are very modern and very common. I myself have once been deceived when I was promised an *Āvaśyaka-cūrṇi*, which turned out to be an *Āvaśyaka-avacūri*. Anyhow, even if the hope which clings to that name in the present list should prove to be a vain one, it is a matter of very great satisfaction to learn not only of the most remarkable extent of the Florentine Jain collection, but also of its catalogue being promised by so able a scholar as Count Pullè. It would then, I trust, not be out of place if the section should vote its thanks to, and its sympathy with both, the industrious scholar who has sent the present communication, and that eminent countryman of his who has brought these treasures from the East, and who is happily present.

AMONG the Florentine Indian manuscripts purchased by Professor Angelo De Gubernatis at Bombay and Surat during his travels in 1885–86 for the *Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale*, about 350 belong to the literature of the Jains—a small, but very valuable collection. Canonical literature is well and fully represented in texts, commentaries, and exegetical works; besides, more than seventy manuscripts, both Prākṛit and Sanskrit, belong to the interesting branch of the *Caritas* and *Kathās*; the rest treat of various literary, philosophical, and religious matters.

The catalogue of the Brahmanical section of the Florentine MSS. collection has been competently worked out by Professor Theodor Aufrecht of the University of Bonn (it is printed and sold by G. Kreysing, Leipzig, 1892).

Now I beg to inform the Congress that the catalogue of Jaina manuscripts will be shortly edited under the direction of the *Biblio-*

¹ With the help of some further information (received since the above was read before the Section), I can state now that the work is indeed the *Niṣītha-cūrṇi*.

teca Nazionale Centrale in Florence, by order of the Italian Government, which has promised a considerable grant in order to promote Sanskrit philology in our country.

As a specimen of the promised catalogue, a short list follows here, which enumerates the titles of the Siddhânta (or *canonical*) manuscripts :—

CANONICAL LITERATURE.

(Siddhânta.)

The Aṃgas.

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| 1. <i>Ācārāṃga-sūtra</i> , text. | 13. <i>Ġnâtâdharmakathâ</i> - vṛtti (fragment). |
| 2. „ <i>cûrṇi</i> by Māṇikyaman-
dira muni. The name <i>cûrṇi</i> re-
mains to be verified. | 14. <i>Upâsakadaçāṃga-sūtra</i> , text. |
| 3. <i>Sūtrakṛtāṃga-sūtra</i> , text. | 15. <i>Aṃtakṛtadaçâs-sūtra</i> , with a short
commentary (ṭikâ).
(<i>Anuttaraupapâtika-sūtra</i> , not re-
presented.) |
| 4. „ the same. | 16. <i>Praçnavyâkaraṇâni-sūtra</i> (with No.
19), text. |
| 5. <i>Sthânâṃga-vṛtti</i> by Abhayadeva. | 17. <i>Praçnavyâkaraṇâni</i> , the same with
ṭikâ. |
| 6. <i>Samavâyāṃga-sūtra</i> , text. | 18. <i>Vipâkaçruta-sūtra</i> , text. |
| 7. „ ṭikâ (i.e. vṛtti) by
Abhayadeva. | 19. „ the same [with No.
16]. |
| 8. <i>Samavâyāṃga-sūtra</i> with ṭabâ. | 20. <i>Vipâkaçruta-vṛtti</i> . |
| 9. <i>Bhagavatî-sūtra</i> , text. | |
| 10. „ vṛtti by Abhayadeva. | |
| 11. <i>Ġnâtâdharmakathâ-sūtra</i> , text. | |
| 12. „ the same. | |

The Upâṃgas.

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| 21. <i>Āupapâdika-sūtra</i> , text. | and 7th Upâṃgas of the Jainas,
are not represented.) |
| 22. „ saṭika, the same text
with commentary by Abhayadeva. | 26. <i>Nirayâvali</i> - ṭikâ, a commentary
on <i>Nirayâvali-sūtra</i> with <i>Puṣ-
pikâ</i> , <i>Kalpâvatamsaka</i> , <i>Puṣpâva-
tamsaka</i> , <i>Vaṃhidasâ</i> , being the
8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th
Upâṃgas of the Jainas. |
| 23. <i>Râjapraçṇîya-sūtra</i> , the text. | |
| 24. <i>Ġvâbhigama-sūtra</i> , text. | |
| 25. „ the same text.
(<i>Praṇâpanâ</i> , <i>Ġambûdvîpaprag-
napti</i> , <i>Ġandrapraṇnapti</i> , <i>Sârya-
pragnapti</i> , being the 4th, 5th, 6th, | 27. <i>Sâmâcârî</i> . |

The Prakîrṇakas.

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| 28. <i>Ġatuḥçaraṇa-sūtra</i> , the text with
a Bâlâbodha. | 33. <i>Āturapratyâkhyâna</i> - sâvaçûri, the
same text with explanation. |
| 29. <i>Ġatuḥçaraṇa-avaçûri</i> , a short ex-
planation on the above text,
attributed to Somasundara. | 34. <i>Āturapratyâkhyâna</i> - bhâṣya, a Bhâ-
ṣya on the above text. |
| 30. <i>Ġatuḥçaraṇa-saṭika</i> , the same Pra-
kîrṇaka with commentary. | 35. <i>Āturapratyâkhyâna</i> , another Bhâ-
ṣya on the above text.
(<i>Bhaktapariṣṇâ</i> , being the 3rd Pra-
kîrṇaka, not represented.) |
| 31. <i>Ġatuḥçaraṇa</i> , the same. | 36. <i>Samstâra-sūtra</i> , the text. |
| 32. <i>Āturapratyâkhyâna</i> , text. | |

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| <p>37. <i>Samstāra-vidhi</i>, a commentary on the same sūtra.</p> <p>38. <i>Samstāra-vidhāna</i>.</p> <p>39. „ prakaraṇa.
(<i>Taṇḍulaveyāliya</i>, being the 5th Prakīrṇaka, not represented in the collection.)</p> <p>40. <i>Āmḍdvijaya-sūtra</i>, the text only. See No. 41.</p> | <p>(<i>Deveṇḍrastava</i>, <i>Gaṇiviggā</i>, <i>Mahā-pratyākhyāna</i>, being the 7th, 8th, and 9th Prakīrṇakas, are not represented in the collection.)</p> <p>41. <i>Virastava-sūtra</i>, no more than the beginning (22 vv.) in the manuscript of No. 40.</p> |
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The Īchedasūtras.

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| <p>42. <i>Niṣītha-ĉūrṇi</i>, a very excellent commentary on the sūtra, by Āmḍdrasūtri, with posterior adjections.</p> <p>43. <i>Niṣītha-avaĉūrṇi</i>, commentary on the <i>Niṣīthādhyayana</i>.
(<i>Mahāniṣītha</i>, <i>Vyavahāra</i>, being the 2nd and 3rd Īchedasūtras, are not represented.)</p> <p>44. <i>Daṣṭṣrutaskāṇḍha</i>, the <i>Kalpasūtra</i> text. See under No. 49.</p> | <p>45. <i>Kalpa-ṭabā</i>, commentary on the <i>Kalpasūtra</i>.</p> <p>46. <i>Brhat-kalpa-sūtra</i>, text.
(<i>Paṇḍakalpa-sūtra</i>, no copy.)</p> <p>47. <i>Oghaniryukti</i>, the text.</p> <p>48, 49, 50. <i>Paryuṣaṇākalpa</i>, preceded by the text of the <i>Kalpasūtra</i> and by the <i>Sthavirāvali</i>.</p> |
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The Nandī and Anuyogadvāra.

51. *Nandī-sūtra*, the text with commentary (ṭabā).
(*Anuyogadvāra*, not represented.)

The Mūlasūtras.

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|--|---|
| <p>52. <i>Uttarādhyayana-sūtra</i>, the text.</p> <p>53. „ avaĉūrṇi, commentary on them.</p> <p>54. <i>Āvaṣyaka-vṛtti</i>, commentary on the <i>Āvaṣyaka</i>.</p> <p>55. <i>Āvaṣyaka-vidhi</i>, another commentary on it.</p> <p>56. <i>Daṣavaikālika-sūtra</i>, text.</p> | <p>57. <i>Daṣavaikālika sa-ṭīka</i>, the same, with commentary.</p> <p>58. <i>Daṣavaikālika</i>, another commentary.</p> <p>59. <i>Daṣavaikālika-ĉūlikā</i>, an appendix to the sūtra.</p> <p>60. <i>Piṇḍaniryukti-sūtra</i>, text.</p> |
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| <p>61, 62. <i>Piṇḍaviĉuddhi</i>, two copies.</p> <p>63. <i>Piṇḍaviĉuddhi-ĉūri</i>, appendix to the above text.</p> | <p>64, 65. <i>Pākṣika-sūtra</i>, three copies.</p> |
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VIII.

JAINA SCULPTURES FROM MATHURÂ.

BY

HOFRATH PROF. DR. G. BÜHLER.

DR. BÜHLER of Vienna exhibited and explained four plates with specimens of Jaina sculptures from Mathurâ, belonging to the finds made by Dr. Führer in the Kankâli Tila between 1888 and 1890.¹

Plate i. shows an Âyâgapaṭa of the description very commonly put up by the ancient Jainas in their temples "for the worship of the Arhats." An Âyâgapaṭa, literally "a tablet of homage," is an ornamental oblong or square slab, bearing the representation of a Jina, or of some sacred symbol, such as the "wheel of the law," or a stûpa, surrounded by auspicious marks or figures and by worshipping deities or men. That on Plate i. contains in a central disc a mutilated representation of Pârśavanâtha, recognisable by remnants of snake-heads. Among three circular carved bands of unequal breadth which run around the disc, the first two are filled with sacred or auspicious symbols, Svastikas, several varieties of the Triśûla, fishes, and so forth. The third band is divided into four compartments by a seated Jina below, Stûpa above, and two Chaitya trees at the sides, and each compartment contains two pairs of half-recumbent male and female figures, probably worshipping Vidyâdharas.

Plate ii. gives representations of two different sculptures. Fig. A. is a mutilated relievo, showing, according to the subscript characters, "*divine Nemesa*," i.e. *Negamesi*, *Harinegamesi*, *Naigameshin* or *Naigamesha*, a subordinate deity, who, as the tradition of the Śvetâmbaras asserts, miraculously transferred the future prophet from the low Brâhmanî Devanandâ to the noble Kshatriyâ lady Triśalâ. On this sculpture Nemesa is represented, against the custom of the modern Jainas, but in accordance with the Brahmanical representation of the closely allied deity Naigameya, with a goat's head instead of with a

¹ The paper and plates are published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. ii.

deer's head. He is seated in state on his throne, attended by Chaurî-bearers, and at his knee stands a small ascetic, below whom the letters *Bhaga*, i.e. *Bhagavâ* the "divine," are visible, while the name is gone. The ascetic is, no doubt, the future Tîrthaṅkara Mahâvîra. His mother, Trisâlâ, is represented in a separate compartment on the extreme left of the slab, holding a motionless infant before her. This sculpture gives a clue to the meaning of four statues from Mathurâ, figured by Sir A. Cunningham on Plate iv. Arch. Surv. Rep., vol. xx., which represent two females with infants before them, and two males with goats' heads carrying very small infants. On the evidence of the characters, our slab must belong to the first century B.C., and it thus proves the early existence of a very peculiar doctrine of the Śvetâmbaras, which the Digambaras reject as a fabrication.

The other two figures on Plate ii. show the obverse and reverse of a doorstep, belonging to one of the two temples under the Kankali mound. The obverse represents the worship of a Stûpa by Centaurs or Kinnaras and Suparṇas or Harpies, and the reverse a Yâtrâ or procession of human worshippers to a sacred place. The Centaurs look much like those on the Greek monuments, but wear turbans, and in front a branch of a tree which conceals the connection of the human body with the rump of the horse. The Suparṇas look more like the Assyrian man-birds than like Greek Harpies, which latter are very similar to the Suparṇas on the Buddhist Stûpas of Sanchi and Bharhut. Centaurs have also been found at Bharhut and at Gayâ.

The Yâtrâ much resembles those on the Buddhist monuments; but it shows one peculiarity not found on the latter, viz. a bullock-cart, which looks exactly like a modern Shighram. If this doorstep came from the older Kankâlî temple, it must belong at the latest to the middle of the second century B.C.; if it belongs to the younger one, it probably dates from the first century B.C.

Plate iii. gives the obverse and the reverse of the fragment of a Torana, with sculptures on both sides. The representations, which are arranged in four bands, are very similar to each other, and seem to give scenes from Yâtrâs, performed by gods and men, to sacred places of the Jainas. Certain details—e.g., Makaras and other marine monsters—are the same as those found on the Buddhist monuments; but others, like the covered carts, yoked with bullocks and camels, are peculiar to the Jaina sculptures.

Plate iv. contains the statue of the Arhat Nandiâvarta, i.e. the prophet Ara, which the lady Dinâ dedicated, as the accompanying

inscription states, in Samvat 79 or 156—157 A.D., at the Vodva Stûpa, built by the gods. The Tîrthaṅkara is unfortunately mutilated; to the left of him appears a Dharmachakra, agreeing, except in two very small details, in shape with the “wheel of the law,” common on the Buddhist monuments. Both the Jainas and the Bauddhas borrowed the Dharmachakra from the Brahmans, who mention it as the symbol of the “undisputed reign of the sacred law.” Farther to the left are figured four females, probably intended for the donatrix and her relatives. A *lion couchant* closes the scene.

The new sculptures from Mathurâ teach the same lesson as Dr Bhagvânlâl's slab published in the Transactions of the Leyden Congress, and prove that the ancient art of the Jainas did not differ much from that of the Buddhists. The cause of this agreement is in all probability, not that the adherents of the one sect imitated those of the other, but that both drew on the national art of ancient India and employed the same artists. Full proof of this assumption, which considerably modifies the prevailing doctrines regarding the développement of ancient Indian art, can only be obtained by the excavation of really ancient Brahmanical temples, which, it is to be hoped, Dr. Führer will undertake in the next working season. But even at present there are many collateral pièces of evidence which speak in its favour, such as the now more generally acknowledged fact that Brahmanists, Jainas, and Buddhists at the same time contributed to the development of the cave-temple architecture, and that the oldest caves known, those at Barâbar, Nâgârjuna, and in Katak, do not belong to the Buddhists, but to the Vaishṇava Âjîvikas and to the Jainas.

IX.

EPHTHALITES, OR WHITE HUNS.

BY

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM, K.C.I.E., R.E.

THE earliest notice that we possess of the great horde of Ephthalites or White Huns, who took Khorasan from the Sassanians and overran Northern India, is by the historian Priscus. It was in the camp of Attila, in A.D. 448, that he first heard of the Οὔννοι κιδαρίται. The next notice is by Kosmas Indikopleustes, who in A.D. 530 mentions *Gollas*, king of the Λευκοὶ Οὔννοι, on the west bank of the Indus. He calls their country Οὐννία, again giving the name without the aspirate. Procopius also, who died in 565, calls them Οὔννοὺς Λευκοῦς and Ἐφθαλίτας. Theophanes, too, calls them *White Uns* and *Nephthalites*. The aspirate, however, is given by the Armenian writers Elisha and Lazarus, who speak of the *Hunk* and *Kushank*, or *Huns* and *Kushâns*. They are described by the Chinese pilgrim Sung-yun in A.D. 520 under the name of *Yetha*, which is only a shortened form of *Ye-tha-i-li-to*, the original of the Greek Ἐφθαλίται and of the Muhammadan *Haiathelah* of Firdausi and later writers. As Sung-yun's description of the *Yetha* tallies exactly with Hwen Thsang's account of the *Himatala* in A.D. 640, we see that this is also a variant form of *Ephthala*. By the Indians they are always called *Hûṇa* or *Hâra Hûṇa*. It seems probable that their Chinese name of *Yuan-Yuan* may have been the original of the Indian *Hûṇa*.

The earliest Indian notice of the *Hûṇas* is in the Bhitari inscription of Skanda Gupta, A.D. 450 to 480, where the king is said to have "joined in close conflict with the *Hûṇas*."¹ According to the pilgrim Sung-yun, who was in Gandhâra in A.D. 520, two generations had already passed away since the *Hûṇa* conquest, when the *Yethas*

¹ Fleet's Inscriptions of the Guptas, p. 56.

set up *Lae-lih* as king.¹ As the accession of Mihirkul, who was then reigning, is now generally accepted as about A.D. 515, the conquest of Gandhâra and the enthronement of *Lae-lih* must be placed about fifty years earlier, or in A.D. 465 to 470, or towards the end of Skanda Gupta's reign. As Skanda Gupta possessed Mâlwa and Gujarât, the *Hûnas* probably came into conflict with the Indians on the Lower Indus.

According to the Chinese writers, the White Huns first appeared in the countries on the Oxus in the beginning of the fifth century, when *Shebun*, the son of the *Fsanyu* (or *Shanyu*) of the *Iwan-jwan* (or *Yuan-Yuan*), retired to the west with his brother. After defeating *Payekhi*, the king of the *Hiungnu*, he gave up the title of *Tsangu* and assumed that of *Kieu-teu-fa Khâkdn*. In 410 A.D. he was defeated by the Wei Tartars, and died during his flight. His brother *Hulu* succeeded him, and was followed in 414 by his nephew *Puluchin*, who was killed by his cousin *Tatân* in 425. The new king began his reign by the invasion of the north-east provinces of Persia; but, being vigorously attacked by the Sassanian king *Varah-ran V.*, he was defeated and killed near Merv in 428 A.D. His whole camp, with his queen, the *Khâtun*, and his rich crown set with gems, all fell into the hands of the conqueror.

Tatân was succeeded by his son *Uti*, who took the title of *Solien Khan*. He would appear to have been the real founder of the Ephthalite power, as he received a Chinese princess in marriage and gave his own sister to the Emperor of China. He carried on a nine years' war with Isdegerd II. of Persia, from 443 to 451 A.D., and eventually, about 456, forced him to retire to his own dominions to the south of the Oxus. From this time the empire of the White Huns became very powerful until 554, when *Solien tewfa Khan* was defeated by *Tumen*, the "Grand Shahu" of the Turks. During this century of their prosperity the dominion of the White Huns was extended on all sides, until, as described by Sung-yun in 520, it embraced all the countries lying between *Persia* on the West and *Khotan* on the east to *Tieh-li* on the south. *Tieh-li* I would identify with *Dahal* or the kingdom of *Ghedi* on the Narbada, over which Mihirkul must have held sway in succession to his father *Tordamaņa*. During this century about a dozen different kings ruled over the Ephthalites on the Oxus. I now give their names on Chinese authority,² as I think it probable that hereafter we may be able to assign to them some of our numerous unread coins.

¹ Beal's Chinese Pilgrims, i. 100.

² D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*.

A. D.	Name.	Title.	Remarks.
402	SHELUN	<i>Kieu-teu-fa-Khâkân</i>	..
410	Hu-lu	Brother of Shelun	...
414	Pu-lu-chin	Nephew of Shelun	Killed by <i>Tatan</i> .
425	TA-TAN	Cousin of Shelun	Killed in battle with Vararan V., 428.
428	U-TI	<i>Solien Khan</i>	
443	Tu-ho-chin	<i>Chu-Khan</i>	<i>Kούρχας</i> of Priscus; war with Isdegerd II.
464	YU-CHIN	<i>Shulo-Puchin Khan</i>	
485	Teu-lun	<i>Fu-ku-shun</i>	<i>Khush Nawâz</i> of Firdausi; war with Feriz.
492 }	...	<i>Apotilo</i> ; revolts	
494 }			
...	No-kai, joint emperor	<i>Heu-khi-fu-tai</i>	Faganish of Firdausi; restored Kobad.
...	Futu	<i>Ta-khan-Khan</i>	
508	Cheu-neu	<i>Tu-lo-fu-pe-teu-fa</i>	Retires to west with 100,000 followers.
520	Shifa	Rebels	
521	<i>O-no-wei</i>	So-lien-teu-piu-teu-fa	...
...	<i>Po-lo-men</i>	Joint ruler	...
534	<i>O-no-wei</i>	Sole Khakan	Defeated by Turks in 546.
546	<i>Ghan-lo-chin</i>	...	Defeated by Turks in 554.
554	...	MUHAN-KHAN	of the TURKS.

The connection of the White Huns with India cannot be traced till near the end of the fifth century, from which time they may be looked upon as a separate branch of the Indo-Scythian conquerors, or the "Indian Ephthalites." Their history, as far as I have been able to trace it, begins with *Lae-lih*, the father of *Toramâna* and grandfather of *Mihirakula* or *Mihirgul*. Both the last kings were rulers of the Panjâb, and both made conquests in India in the early part of the sixth century A.D., while the main horde remained in possession of the countries to the north of the Indian Caucasus, with Gorgo as their capital (Procopius, A.D. 540). The following points in their history are derived from six different authorities:—

I. *Sung-yun*, Chinese pilgrim, A.D. 520.

In A.D. 520 *Sung-yun* entered Gandhâra, where he found that the reigning king was an Ephthalite (*Ye-tha-i-li-to*) who *did not believe in Buddha*. He was warlike, and kept 700 war-elephants.¹ Peshawur was on his frontier, and he had been at war with Kipin for three years regarding his boundary. The pilgrim adds that "*it was formerly called the country of Yefolo*," and that since the conquest by the Yethas, who set up *Lae-lih* to be king, the question had passed away.

¹ Beal, vol. i. p. xcix.

II. *Kosmas Indikopleustes*, A.D. 522-530.

"In India further up the country, *i.e.*, further north, are the White Huns. The king, named *Gollas*, 'tis said, goes forth to war with not less than 1000 elephants, besides a great force of cavalry. *This ruler tyrannises over India.* Once when he laid siege to a certain inland city of India, protected all round by water . . . his army drank up all the water, and he took the city."

III. *Hwen Thsang*, Chinese pilgrim, A.D. 630.

In the old town of She-kie-lo [*Śākala* or *Sangala*] formerly reigned King *Mihirakula*. *He ruled over India*, and conquered the neighbouring provinces. *Bālāditya*, king of Magadha, having refused to pay tribute, *Mihirakula* invaded his kingdom. *Bālāditya retired to a morass.* The invader was taken prisoner, and afterwards released. As his brother had established himself in *Śākala*, *Mihirakula* went to Kashmir, where he killed the king, and afterwards did the same in *Gandhāra*. He persecuted Buddhists, overthrew stūpas, and demolished monasteries.

IV. *Tāranāth*, History of Buddhism in India.

In the time of *Dharmachandra*, king of Magadha, a *Turushka* ruled in Kashmir, and *Hunimanta*, king of Persia, ruled over Lahore and Multan. One day, seeing on his queen's dress the foot-print mark of the king of Magadha, he was affronted, and invaded the country of Magadha, where he demolished the temples of Buddha. Then *Buddhapaksha*, Raja of Benares, with the aid of other princes of West and South India, attacked *Hunimanta*, and killed him, and *re-established the religion of Buddha.*

V. *Raja Tarangini*, History of Kashmir.

I. 289.—*Mihirakula*, son of *Mukula*, on seeing the golden foot-print of the king of Ceylon on his wife's dress, invaded Ceylon and killed the king. He was as cruel as death (*Yama*). He persecuted Buddhists, and built a temple to the sun as *Mihireswara*.

VI. *Chach-Nāma*, History of Sindh.

After the capture of Multān by Muhammad Kāsim in A.D. 713, he was informed that "in ancient times there was a chief in this city whose name was *Jibawin* [or *Jabūin*, جبوين], and who was a descendant of the Rai of Kashmir. . . . He made a reservoir on the eastern side of Multān. In the middle of it he built a temple . . . (which contained) an idol made of red gold." This was the famous temple of the sun-god, which was a great object of worship for many centuries. The popularity of the sun-god of Multān is vouched for by Al Beruni (*Sachau*, ii. 148, 184). The Sāhis are said to have reigned for 137 years.

Inscription of TORAMĀṆA from Kyura, Panjāb.

In this inscription from the Salt Range in the North-West Panjāb the king is called *Mahārāja TORAMĀṆA Shāha JAÜVLA*. The title of *Jaüvla* occurs twice. I notice this because on my silver coins it is spelt *Jabubla* or *Jabuvla*. The date of this inscription is unfortunately too much injured to be readable.

Inscription of TORAMĀṆA from Eran in Mālwa.

The inscription is dated in the *first* year of Maharājādhi Raja TORAMĀṆA.

Inscription of MIHIRAKULA from Gwalior Fort.

This inscription was found by myself in 1844, built into the wall of the fort of Gwalior, near the Suraj-kund. Mr. Fleet describes it as a record of the building of a temple of the sun in the fifteenth year of the reign of MIHIRAKULA, the lord of the earth, the son of TORAMĀṆA.

Inscription of YASODHARMAN from Mandasor in Mālwa.

In these inscriptions it is recorded that *Yasodharman* possessed countries which "not even the *Guptas* and the *Hūnas* could subdue . . . and that homage was done to him by even the famous King MIHIRAKULA. One of the inscriptions is dated in the *Mālava* year 589, or A.D. 532.

Jyotirvidābharana, xxii. 17.

"In a great battle he [Vikrama of Ujain] conquered the king of Śakas in *Ruma*, paraded his royal prisoner Ujjayini, and afterwards set him free." As this Vikrama of Mālwa is said to be the contemporary of Varāha Mihira and the "Nine Gems," we learn that his date was the first half of the sixth century A.D.

Raja Tarangini, iii. 125-128, 330.

125. "At the same time [when Pravarasena was young] Sriman Vikramāditya, also named Harsha, ruled in Ujjayini as Emperor of all India."

128. "Having first destroyed the Śakas, &c.

330. "He [Pravarasena] restored to his father's throne the son of Vikramāditya (of Mālava), who was named Pratāpaśīla by some, and Śīlāditya by others."

Hwen Thsang, Chinese Pilgrim, 629-642 A.D.

"Sixty years ago flourished *Śīlāditya* [King of Mālava]." As the pilgrim visited Mālwa in A.D. 640, Śīlāditya's date must be 580 A.D., and his father Vikramāditya's date the first half of the sixth century. The pilgrim also visited Sindh in A.D. 641,¹ when the king was a *Shu-to-lo* or Sudra. But as we know from Sung-yun and Kosmas that the White Huns were then ruling on the Indus, I would suggest that the first syllable, *shu*, may be a mistake for *fa*, as these two characters are so much alike that they are frequently mistaken. This change would make the name *Fa-tu-lo*, which might be accepted for Ephthala. It is, however, quite possible that the pilgrim may have looked upon a White Hun as a Sudra.

Albiruni, A.D. 1030.

In his account of the Vikrama and Śaka eras, Albiruni gives his opinion that the Vikramāditya from whom the era got its name was not identical with that one who killed the Śaka king, but only a namesake. I came to the same conclusion myself when I found at Gyārispur the first inscription dated in the "Era of the Mālavas" (936 of the Mālava Kāla), which I at once presumed to be the

¹ See Ancient Geography of India, p. 566, for this date.

same as the famous Vikramâditya era (Archæol. Survey, x. 34, and Plate xi.). At the same time I hazarded the conjecture, which I communicated to Mr. Fergusson, that the name of Vikramâditya must have been given to the era by the later king of that name, the patron of the "Nine Gems," who reigned in the first half of the sixth century A.D. But Mr. Fergusson went beyond my conjecture, and attributed the original foundation of the era to that king.

TORAMÂṆA.

From a comparison of all these authorities I gather the following facts regarding TORAMÂṆA and his son MIHIRAKULA.

The leader of the Hūnas, who established himself on the Indus towards the end of the fifth century A.D., was *Lac-lih*, to whom I would assign the silver coin with the title of *Udayaditya*. His son was TORAMÂṆA, called also Shâha *Jaiṛla*, or *Jabuvla*, or *Jabula*. He was the *Jabula*, reading جبول for جبون, or the first of the Shâhis, who built the temple of the sun in Multân in A.D. 505. This date is established by deducting the duration of the Shâhi rule in Sindh, 137 years, from A.D. 642, when Chach Brahman rebelled and became king of Sindh. In September 641, when Hwen Thsang was in Sindh, the king was a *Shu-to-lo*, or, as I have suggested, a *Fatulo* or *Ephthalite*, or perhaps the Chinese pilgrim looked upon him as a Sudra.

Some time later, or about 510 A.D., Toramâṇa had extended his rule to Mâlwa. We know certainly that Budha Gupta was still reigning in 165 and 174 of the Gupta era. The former date is on the Eran pillar, and the latter is the date on one of my silver coins. They correspond with 483 and 492 A.D. The inscription of Bhânu Gupta is dated in A. Gupta. 191, or A.D. 509. The colossal boar at Eran was set up in the first year of Toramâṇa, some time after Budha Gupta.

The small silver coins of Toramâṇa of the Gupta type are dated in 52 of some unknown era. The only *era* that seems possible is that of *Śaka*, which a Scythian might be supposed likely to adopt. By adding the omitted hundreds to make 452 Śaka, we get 530 A.D., which is a possible date, although I should have preferred an earlier one. The only remarkable date in the history of the White Huns which I can suggest is the final expulsion of the Sassanians from the countries to the north of the Oxus by Chu-khan in A.D. 456 or 457. If the year 52 be reckoned from this point, we get A.D. 508 or 509 for the establishment of Toramâṇa's rule in Mâlwa.

Toramâṇa's preference for solar worship is shown by his building a temple to the sun in Multân, and by naming his son *Mihir-kul*.

The silver coins of *Toramâṇa* are of two distinct classes—(1.) Broad thin pieces of Sassanian type, bearing the king's head on the obverse, with a club in front of the face. The legend is in Indian letters of Gupta type, *Shâhi Jabublah*, and also *Jabula* on others. *Reverse*, traces of fire-altar and attendants. (2.) Small silver hemi-drachms, like those of the Guptas, with the king's head on the obverse, and a peacock with expanded tail on the reverse. The king's face is turned in the opposite direction to that of every one of his Gupta predecessors.¹ In front of the face is the date of 52, which I have previously noticed.

The small copper coins attributed to Toramâṇa are found both in the Panjâb and in the country between the Satlej and Jumna. Their attribution is based on the type of the sun with the abbreviated name of *Tora* in large letters. The same sun-type is found on the copper coins of *Mihirakula*, of which a few specimens show the bull struck over the sun emblem.

As Toramâṇa was the successor of Budha Gupta in Mâlwa, and also the father of Mihirakula, the contemporary of Bâlâditya (Narasinha Gupta), his date must certainly fall about the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century, or from 490 to 515 A.D., allowing perhaps a few years either way.

MIHIRGUL or MIHIRAKULA.

The career of *Mihirgul* or *Mihirakula* may be briefly sketched from a comparison of the different authorities which I have previously quoted.

Hwen Thsang.—He was the Raja of *Sâkala*, in the Panjâb. Having attacked Bâlâditya, king of Magadha, he was taken prisoner, but was afterwards released. On returning to Sâkala, he found his brother on the throne. He then went to Kashmir, of

¹ Mr. Thomas has drawn attention to this change in the direction of the face, which he considered to be *intentional* (Dynasty of the Guptas, p. 51, note). I have also noted it as denoting the change of dynasty. But Mr. Vincent Smith thinks that the change is a mere accident, because on the gold coins the horsemen and archers face the right as well as the left. He has overlooked the fact that *every* single silver coin of the Guptas has the face in the same direction. He has also overlooked the fact that the silver coins were the produce of the Mâlwa mints, while the gold coins were the produce of the Gangetic mints. I would suggest also that where the archers and riders hold the bow or the bridle in the *right* hand, the change must have been due to the carelessness of the die-sinker, and not to the ambidextrousness of the kings.

which he became king by treachery, and afterwards occupied Gandhâra.

Tārānāth.—*Hunimanta*, the foreign king of Lahore and Multân, invaded Dharmachandra of Magadha, but was defeated and killed by the combined troops of Central and Southern India. I take *Hunimanta* to be the leader of the *Hûnas*, and I would identify Dharmachandra with Raja *Yasodharman* of Mâlwa, who records that Mihirakula had paid him homage before A.D. 532.¹

Raja Tarangini.—*Mihirakula* is recorded as having succeeded his father on the throne of Kashmir, and the invasion of Mlecchas during his father's reign probably refers to the *Hûnas*. He is also recorded as being a persecutor of Buddhists and a worshipper of the sun, to whom he dedicated the temple of *Mihireswara*. During the reign of his father Kashmir was invaded by *Mlecchas*. His father is variously named as *Mukula* or *Vâsukula* or *Vâmakula*.

Kosmas Indikopleustes, who travelled in A.D. 522–530, names the king of the White Huns *Gollas*, whom I would identify with *Mihir-gul*.

In all these different authors I find the record of a great foreign conqueror in the end of the fifth and beginning of the sixth century A.D., who ruled over the Panjâb, and invaded Northern India, where he reigned for upwards of fifteen years, as the Gwalior inscription of his minister from the temple of the sun is dated in the fifteenth year of his reign.

As I have already identified his father, *Toramâna*, with *Jabuna* or *Jabula*, the first Scythian king of Sindh, who built the temple of the sun at Multân, so I would now identify his son Mihirkul with Jabula's successor, who in the Chach-Nâma is called *Sihiras*. As the original Chach-Nâma must have been written in Indian characters, in which the letters *s* and *m* are so much alike as to be frequently interchanged, I think it very probable that the name of this second Scythian king of Sindh was really *Mihira*, and that he was the *Mihir-kul* of our coins and inscriptions.

All the accounts of Mihir-kul agree in the main points of his career :—

1. He was a foreigner, a Mleccha or Hûna.
2. He invaded Northern India, at first with success, as we learn by his inscription from Gwalior; but latterly, after at least fifteen years, he was defeated and obliged to retire.
3. He persecuted Buddhists and patronised Brahmans and their gods, as we see by the bull of *Siva* and the *Vrishadhvaj*, or "bull-ensign," on his coins.

¹ See inscription from *Mandisor*.

4. His rule generally covered the second quarter of the sixth century, or from 515 to 545 or 550 A.D.

The coins of *Mihir-kul* are of several different types. The silver money is of Sassanian fabric, with the king's head on the obverse and the legend in Indian letters, *Jayatu Mihirkula* or *Jayatu Vrisha-dhwaja*. In front of the face is the *Saiva* standard, the *Vrisha-dhwaja*, a "recumbent bull on the top of the staff." On the reverse is a rude fire-altar with two attendants.

The small copper coins which are found in the Eastern Panjâb and in Rajputâna are also of Sassanian type. On the obverse is the king's head with the legend in Indian characters *Sri Mihirakula*; on the reverse a humped bull with the Indian legend *Jayatu Vrisha*, "May the bull be victorious."

The middle-sized copper coins are copies of the previous Kushân types—the king standing with a spear in left hand, and right hand held downwards over a small altar; legend in Indian letters, *Shâhi Mihira-gula*, or simply *Mihira-kula*. Reverse, the goddess Lakshmi seated with cornucopiæ.

The large copper coins present the Raja on horseback with the Indian legend *Mihirakula*; reverse, the goddess Lakshmi.

With regard to the supposed identity of the Toramâṇas of Eran and Gwalior with the Toramâṇa of Kashmir, which was originally advocated by Rajendradâḷ and Bhan Dâji, I may say that I cannot conceive it to be possible for the following reasons:—

1. The *Toramâṇa* of Kashmir, according to the Raja Tarangini, was never a king, but died in the prison where he was put by his brother for striking the coins which we now possess. The Scythian Toramâṇa was a powerful king, who ruled over the valley of the Indus, both Panjâb and Sindh, and afterwards conquered Mâlwa, where small silver coins of Gupta type were struck in his name and a colossal boar set up in the first year of his reign. Eventually he left his kingdom to his son Mihirkul, who held it for at least fifteen years.

2. The son of the Kashmir *Toramâṇa* was *Pravarasena*, who is also described as a great conqueror; but if the two Toramâṇas were the same person, then *Pravarasena* must have been *Mihirakula* himself. But there is this difference between the two, that Mihirkul was eventually defeated by Yasodharma, king of Mâlwa, whereas *Pravarasena* re-established on his throne *Sîlâditya*, the expelled son of the king of Mâlwa.

3. The coins of *Pravarasena*, both in gold and silver, show him to have belonged to the *Kidâra* Kushâns, as they present the name

of *Kidāra* in beautifully-formed letters written perpendicularly, as on all the Kidarite coins. Lastly, I may observe that the earlier Toramāṇa, like all the White Huns, has his hair cut short, while the Kashmir Toramāṇa has bushy hair like his ancestor *Kidāra*, as copied from the Sassanian kings.

4. I may note also that the characters of the Kashmir coins are of a later date than the others. This is most clearly shown in the attached *ā* and *o*, which are simple prolongations of the *mātras* of the *t* and *m*, instead of marks placed above those letters, as in the *Kyūra* and *Eran* inscriptions of the other Toramāṇas. I note also that the letter *r* has a turn up at the foot on the Kashmir coins of Toramāṇa and his son Pravarasena, which is not found on the others. These differences are clearly shown in the plate of inscriptions under the head of TORAMĀṆA—A and C.

The great Indian empire of the Hūṇas, under Mihirkul, would appear to have been overthrown by a combined attack of the Hindu princes under Vikramāditya of Mālwa and Bâlāditya (Nara Sinha Gupta) of Magadha. The scene of his defeat is placed in *Ruma*, in the traditionary account which is attributed to Varāha Mihira, and he is said by Al Beruni to have been killed in his flight "in the region of Karūr, between Multân and the castle of Loni."¹ The castle of Loni is a small fort close to Delhi, which was besieged by Timur, but it is so close to Delhi that the natural description of the position of Karūr would have been between Multân and Delhi. I conjecture the river *Loni*, or the "Salt Stream," was really intended, because it rises in the country of *Ruma*, or the salt district of Sâmbhar, in which the battle is said to have taken place. *Kahrur* is a large town, to the west of the Satlej, between Multân and Bahâwalpur. If Mihirkul was defeated near Ajmer in the Ruma country, he would naturally have fled towards the strong fortress of Multân.

TRIBAL NAME.

The first notice of the tribal name of the White Huns of India I take to be the *Ye-po-lo* of the pilgrim Sung-yun, who says that Gandhâra was formerly called "the country of *Ye-po-lo*," over which the *Yethas* had placed *Lae-lih* as king two generations before his time.² As the king then on the throne had been reigning for at least three years, his accession may be fixed about A.D. 515, and that of *Lae-lih* at fifty years earlier, or 465 A.D. I suppose that

¹ Sachau's *Albiruni*, ii. 6.

² Beal's *Chinese Pilgrims*, I., *Introd.* p. xcix.

on this occupation the country was first called after the name of the conquerors *Jabula* (= *Ye-po-lo*), which was either the name or the tribe of *Toramâna*, as we learn from the Kyura inscription found in the Salt Range of the Panjâb. In this inscription *Toramâna* is called *Maharâjâ TORAMÂNA Shâha Jaiivla*. On my silver coins the name is spelt *Jabubla* and *Jabula*, each preceded by the royal title of *Shâhi*. This at once recalls the name of *Jabûn* or *Jabul*, the first king of Multân, who built the temple of the sun.¹ As he was not a Brahman, he must have belonged to the Shâhi dynasty, which preceded the Brahman Chach. As his date is fixed by subtracting the 137 years of the Shâhi dynasty from A.D. 642, the date of Chach's accession, we get A.D. 505 for the accession of *Jabul*, the builder of the temple of the sun, who must therefore be the same person as *Diwaij*, the founder of the Shâhi dynasty in Sindh. But as *Toramâna Jabula Shâhi*, the father of Shâhi Mihirkul, was reigning at that very time, I have no hesitation in identifying him with the *Jabula Diwaij* of Multân. To this tribe also I would assign the name of *Zâbulistân* of the early Muhammadan writers. In fact, on several of the later coins of the Ephthalite rulers of Arachosia the name of *Zaûlistân* is found in the marginal Pahlavi legends. The people of *Zâbulistân* spoke a language of their own called *Zaûli*, which was distinct from the Hiriwi of Herat, from the *Sakzi* of Sejistan of Sakastan, and from the *Sughdi* of Saghd or Sugdiana.

The great power of the White Huns in the countries to the north of the Indian Caucasus lasted for just one century, or from A.D. 455, when they drove Isdegerd II. to the south of the Oxus, down to A.D. 554, when they were subjugated by TUMEN, the Khâkân of the Turks. But they had already established a vast empire over all the countries to the south of the Caucasus, from the shores of the Caspian to the banks of the Satlej, and for a short time even to the banks of the Ganges. The great western extension of their power began with the defeat and death of the Sassanian king, Feroz, in A.D. 483, and lasted until the conquests of the Muhammadans in the eighth century.

The White Huns have been described by Gibbon² as "a polite and warlike people, who possessed the commercial cities of Bokhara and Samarkand, who had vanquished the Persian monarch, and carried their victorious arms along the banks, and perhaps to the mouth of

¹ Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, by Dowson, i. 205. The name is variously written as *Jabun* and *Jabur*, for which I propose *Jabul*. The change is very slight in Persian characters.

² Decline and Fall, c. 42.

the Indus." The doubt of our great historian is now cleared away by the discovery of coins which declare that the White Huns possessed the great cities of Multân and Bahmana in Sindh. From the same source we learn that they also possessed the neighbouring countries of Zâbulistân and Khorasân. The western extension of the Ephthalite dominion to the shores of the Caspian is confirmed by the historian Procopius, who, writing in A.D. 550, states that they held the country to the north of Persia, with *Gorgo* as their capital. As *Gorgo* or *Gurgân* was the chief city of Hyrkania, the White Huns must have occupied the whole province of Khorasân. According to Yakut, their capital was *Bâdghîs*, which the Chinese call *Pa-ti-yan* or *Wang-she-ching*, the "town of the king's house."¹ Their conquest of the country to the south is confirmed by Masudi, who describes *Zâbulistân* as the "kingdom of Firoz," that is, the portion of Persia which was occupied by the *Jâbuli* or *Zabuli* tribe of the White Huns.

The historian Gibbon describes the letters in the Scythian character and language which Maniach, prince of the Sagdoites, delivered to Justin II. on the part of Dizabulus, the Khâkân of the Turks, as announcing "a people who had attained the rudiments of science." But as the Turks were an illiterate people, I would ascribe the "Scythian characters" to the cultured Kushâns rather than to the illiterate White Huns, as the Kushâns still formed the bulk of the population of all the countries on the Oxus. In the following century no less than ten of their petty princes claimed descent from the *Shaowu* WEN, the great Kushân conqueror of India, and I believe that Maniach was only one of these tributary chiefs.² In A.D. 630, when the pilgrim Hwen Tshang passed through the province occupied by the White Huns (or *Hematala* = *Hephthal*), the population was quite insignificant.³ It was only 300 *li* or fifty miles in circuit. The *Varchuni* or White Huns had, in fact, been driven out of the country by Dizabul and his successors.

The kings of the three Indo-Scythian races, the *Tokhari* or Great Kushâns, the *Kidarite* or Little Kushâns, and the *Ephthalites* or White Huns, all took the title of Shâhi. The coins of the first, at least all the earlier coins, can be easily recognised; but as the *Kiddras* and the White Huns were contemporaries from about the middle of the fifth century, there is some difficulty in distinguishing them.

¹ Edouard Specht, *Études sur l'Asie Centrale—Indo-Scythes et Ephthalites*, p. 24, note 4.

² Remusat, *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques*, i. 225; Kings of Sogdiana, &c.

³ Beal's Chinese Pilgrims, ii. 290.

Both peoples adopted the Sassanian types for all their silver coins, and both adhered to the old Kushân types for their copper money. But the White Huns have left no gold coins, while the gold money of the Kidâras of the old Kushân types is very common.

Most of the Ephthalite silver coins are distinguished by a peculiar symbol, 𐰄 , which is not found upon any of the known Little Kushân coins, while it occurs on several pieces of the Ephthalite kings, beginning with those of *Jâbula Shâhi*, or *Toramâna*. It is also found on my unique coin of *Khingila*, who was one of the Hûna successors of *Mihirkul* as suzerain of Kashmir.

Again, there are two distinct types of legend even in the Indian inscriptions. Thus some coins of *Mihirkul* give him the simple title of *Sri* preceding the name, whilst others have *jayatu Mihirakula*. Others, again, bear the Scythian form of *Shâhi Mihiragula*.

One peculiarity observable in all the early Ephthalite coins is that the obverse alone has been struck upon one of the current Sassanian coins, and that in consequence the old Sassanian reverse has been nearly obliterated. In many cases the relief of the obverse king's head would appear to have been obtained by punching up from the other side of the coin. This process has left a sunken copy of the head on the reverse.

The question now arises whether any of our numerous Ephthalite coins can be assigned to the "Great Khâkân" of the White Huns, who ruled over the horde in the countries to the north of the Indian Caucasus? As they were an illiterate people, they would almost certainly have adopted the Scytho-Greek alphabet of their predecessors, the Kushâns and Scytho-Sassanians. I possess a few specimens of this description. Two coins of this class from the Hidda Tope were published in "*Ariana Antiqua*." The difference did not escape Wilson, who says of one, Pl. xvi. 9 and 10, that "the peculiar characters differ from Pahlavi;" and of another, Pl. xvi. 20, that the "characters are *perhaps* intended for Pahlavi."

A single coin in my cabinet, Pl. iv. 1, which is clearly copied from the money of Varahran IV., A.D. 388-399, as the king has a single bird's wing on his head-dress, presents a short legend of two lines in what appear to me to be corrupt Greek characters. The upper line appears to give the title of *Shâhi*, and the lower one looks like ΔΙΖΟΒΟΛ, or, by omitting the strokes on the left, simply ΖΟΒΟΛ. *Dizabul* or *Shapolio* was the Grand Khâkân of the Turks, whose grandfather had subjugated the White Huns on the Oxus. But his date is perhaps too late, and I rather incline to read *Shâhi Zabol* for *Shâhi Zabul*, the king of the *Jâbuli* branch of the White

Huns—that is, *Toramâna Shah Jâbula*, who conquered the Panjâb, Sindh, and Mâlwa about the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century A.D. There are several undoubted coins of this king with Indian characters, which will be mentioned presently.

Amongst Masson's Hidda Tope coins there are two which have debased Greek legends, one of which also has the Ephthalite symbol. Of the first, Wilson gave two specimens ("Ariana Antiqua," Pl. xvi. 9–10). I have two specimens of this coin, which differ from Masson's in wanting the lunar crescent behind the head. The legends also slightly differ, although they are probably intended for the same.

Of Wilson's second coin ("Ariana Antiqua," xvi. 20), I have one specimen which has the legend on the left rather more perfect. The head-dress is no longer Sassanian, but appears to be a helmet with flaps or side-pieces. The bust faces the left, and is supported on a double-branched ornament, similar to that on the gems and seals of Shahpur I. The legend seems to be intended for *Shahano Shah Zoobol*. The bust is in very high relief, which has been attained by the very deep repoussé of the reverse.

The only other coins which possess the same apparently Greek legends are smaller in size, and perhaps of somewhat later date. They have the king's bust on the obverse, with various Indian symbols in front of the face. One has the *discus* and *shell* of Vishnu; a second has the *trident* of Siva and *shell* of Vishnu; a third has the trident of Siva springing out of a lotus flower. All have the Sassanian fire-altar on the reverse, but always nearly obliterated.

Another class of these smaller coins presents the king on horseback on the obverse, with the same debased Greek legend. The reverse is always very imperfect. On my best specimen there is a large wheel, which may be the *discus* of Vishnu.

Other coins with the king on horseback have Indian legends reading *Shâhi Jabula*. My second specimen seems to read *Shâhi Janâbula*, perhaps for *Jâmbula*. The two coins in the Plate are the only specimens of this kind that I have seen. But they are of great interest, as they both bear the Ephthalite symbol, and their Indian legends confirm my readings of the debased Greek legends previously described. The accessory ornaments also are repeated in the *discus* and *shell* of Vishnu of the same pattern as on the bust coins.

The next coins are of peculiar interest, as they point to Kashmir as a portion of the dominions of the Ephthalite king *Jabula* or *Jabuvla*, who is clearly the same as the *Jaiuvla* of the inscription of *Toramâna Jaiuvla* from the Salt Range in the Panjâb. Three of

these coins are so much alike in type and size and general fabric that they must almost certainly belong to the same people and the same country. Their legends are—1. *Shâhi Jabuvla*; 2. *Deva Shâhi Khingghila*; 3. *Raja Lakhana (?) Udayâditya*. The peculiar name of *Khingghila* is found in the *Raja Tarangini* (i. 349) as one of the *Rajas* of Kashmir closely following *Mihirkul*. As he was also known as *Narendrâdiya*, we learn that these Scythian kings had adopted Indian titles, from which I infer that *Udayâditya* and *Pûrvâditya* (both meaning "Lord of the East") may be only the titles of other *Scythian* kings of Kashmir. But they were the supreme monarchs of an extensive empire, of which Kashmir was only a tributary province.

There is also a small class of copper coins, which I would assign to *Toramâna Jabula*. They bear a king's head of Sassanian aspect on the obverse, and a *chakra*, or *sun-wheel*, on the reverse, with the Indian legend *TORA* in bold letters. The same legend is found on some of the smaller silver coins, with the name of *ZOBA*, or *Jabula*. The sun symbol is found also on the Indian copper coins of *Mihirkul*, which bear his name in Indian letters of the Gupta period. It occurs also on a single coin of *Vala[ditya]*. I observe that the peculiar symbol, which is rarely absent from any of the broad silver coins of these Ephthalite kings, does not appear on any of their undoubted Indian coins which are found in the Eastern Panjâb and Rajputâna.

The silver coins of *Mihirkul* are exceedingly rare, while his copper coins are not uncommon. The copper coins of the Western Panjâb are all of the Kushân type, with the standing king and seated goddess *Lakshmi*; but the few silver coins and all the Eastern Panjâb copper pieces bear a Sassanian-looking bust of the king, with the bull and trident of *Siva*. His devotion to *Siva* is also strongly marked by the legends of *Jayatu Vrisha-dhwaja* and *Jayatu-Vrisha*. In the *Raja Tarangini* he is described as a persecutor of Buddhists.

A few copper coins of the Kushân type, with the title of *Shâhi*, give the names of *Hiranya-kula* and *Jara*. The latter name seems to be incomplete, but four coins of different issues offer nothing further. On one of these the goddess *Lakshmi* is seated on a *Sinhâsan*, or "lion-throne." These coins I would assign to *Gândhâra*.

The coins in Plate vii. nearly all present the Ephthalite symbol, and all save one have Indian legends. The names of *Bhârana* and *Treloka*, the titles of *Pûrvâditya* and *Deva-Shâhi*, are all clear enough, and so is the legend of *Jayatu Sri Narendra* on the two

copper coins at the bottom of the Plate. But all that can be said about them is, that they must have flourished during the sixth and seventh centuries in the countries bordering upon India, or even in North-West India itself.

In Plate viii. I have brought together all the latest specimens which bear the Ephthalite symbol. Some of them have Indian legends, of which the most remarkable is No. 3. I read it as *Jayatu Bayār Khotalan*. A district named *Khotalan* is to the north of the Caucasus. The coins Nos. 5 and 6, which bear native legends, present exactly the same head as on Nos. 7, 8, and 9, which have the simple Indian legend *Sri Shāhi*. I infer, therefore, that the native legend must give the equivalent of *Sri Shāhi*. The latter part of it certainly seems to read *Shono* in debased Greek letters. In support of this reading I have inserted my crystal seal, Fig. 11, with the Indian legend *Shānē* on the left side, and the debased Greek *Shaono* on the right. The coin No. 14 bears exactly the same legend as that on Figs. 15 and 16. It is Pahlavi, which Mr. Thomas read as *Nipki Malka*. I prefer *Napki* as the name, and I would ascribe these coins to the king of *Kipin* (or Kophene = Arakhosia), who is mentioned by the Chinese as wearing "un bonnet fait en tête de bœuf."¹ The coins in the Plate, Nos. 15 and 16, which present a buffalo's head surmounting the king's head-dress, seem to correspond with this description; but the same name is found on No. 14, which has a simple head-dress surmounted by three tridents or *trisuls*. These coins apparently belong to the middle of the seventh century. Ghazni was the capital of Kipin.

The coins collected in Plate ix. are all bilingual or trilingual, the various legends being in Indian *Nāgari*, Persian *Pahlavi*, and some unknown Scythian characters. Figs. 1 and 2 present a short Indian inscription of two lines on the reverse, which is so imperfectly formed that it has hitherto baffled all attempts to decipher it. It begins with *Sri*.

Fig. 3 has also a short *Nāgari* inscription of two lines, which was read by Wilson as *Sri Bahmana Vāsu Deva*. The word read as *Bahmana* is uncertain, but I can suggest nothing better. I believe that it refers to the famous capital of Sindh called *Bāhmanwāsi* by the Hindus, and afterwards Brāhmanābād by the Muhammadans. It was the "city of Brahmins" of Alexander's historians. Vāsu Deva must have been the king of Sindh. The marginal legends on both sides are in Scythian characters.

The remaining four coins of Plate ix. are remarkable as present-

¹ Remusat, *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques*, i. 211.

ing the same bust on the reverse, which many years ago I identified with the famous "sun-god" of Multân, as the head is rayed. Fig. 5 is a coin of Khusru II. Parvez of Persia, dated in the year 37 of his reign, or A.D. 628. In the native histories he is said to have invaded territories of the Indian king, who fell in battle against him. I conjecture that this coin may have been struck to commemorate this victory.

No. 6 coin has long been known for its trilingual inscriptions. Two specimens were obtained by Ventura in the great Stûpa of Mânikyâla. The principal inscription is the marginal legend of the obverse in the Indian language and Nâgari letters. On the same side, in front of the face, there is a short legend in Scythian characters. The legends on the reverse are all in Persian Pahlavi. A large number of these coins have been found in different places on both sides of the Indus. Two specimens were obtained by Ventura in the Mânikyâla Stûpa. Dr. Lord got forty to the north of the Caucasus. I have received some twenty or thirty from Kabul, and I am aware that a few have been found in Sindh and Kacch. The letters of the Nâgari legend vary a little in some of the shapes, but my reading of the whole legend agrees substantially with that of James Prinsep. Thomas made one important suggestion in the reading of *Shâhi* for Prinsep's *Vâhi*. I give their two readings for comparison with my own:—

Prinsep—*Sri hitivira Airâna cha parameswara Sri Vahitigân devajânita.*

Thomas—*Sri hitivira kharala cha parameswara Sri Shâhitiṇa devanârîta.*

Author—*Sri Hitivi cha Airân cha paramaeswara Sri Shâhi-Tigin Devajârîta.*

I have seen a great number of these coins, and I still possess twenty-six specimens. I am now able to say decidedly that the name of the king is *Tigin*, the *gi* being very clear on several of my coins. *Shâhi* is the well-known Scythian title for "king;" and *Devajâ*, or "son of heaven," was an Indian title adopted by Scythians as well as by Sassanians. The Pahlavi legends on the reverse have been read by Thomas as follows:—

To left, *Saf-Tansaf-Tef*; to right, *Takân Khorasân Malkâ*.

For *Tausaf* I propose to read *Takhif*, thus making *Saf Takhif Tef*, the equivalent of *Shâhi Tagina Deva*. Similarly I take *Takân Khorasân Malkâ* to be the equivalent of *Hidivi cha Airân parameswara*, the "king of India and Persia." *Tâkan* or *Tâki* was the name of the Panjâb, with its capital cities of *Tâki-shahr* or Taxila,

Sâkala or Sangala, and Multân. The name of the king was preserved in the famous city of *Takînâbâd* on the Helmand, which, according to the *Tabakât-i-Nâsiri*, was the largest town in Garmsir. It is noticed by Nâsir-uddin-Tûsi and Ulug Beg under the erroneous name of *Takniâbâd* by the misplacement of the points. The *Tabakât-i-Nasiri* has *Takînâbâd*.

The possession of Khorâsân and Zâbulistân by the White Huns dates from the defeat and death of the Sassanian king Firoz in A.D. 483, when the conquerors took possession of those provinces and made *Gorgo* (Gurgân) their capital. Upwards of three centuries later, when the country was visited by Masudi, Zâbulistân was still known as the "kingdom of Firoz." As the head-dress of *Shâhi Tagîn* is a simple tiara surmounted by a lion's head, he must be placed before the time of Khusru II. Parvez. I would therefore identify him with *Divâij II.*, the *Shâhi-shâhim* of the *Chach-Nâma*, and I would fix his reign to about 565 to 595 A.D.

The next coin of this class, No. 7 of the Plate, bear the name of the king *Sri Vâsu Deva* in Indian characters, with several Pahlavi legends on both sides. The first step in reading these difficult legends was made by Olshausen. A further advance was made by Thomas, who succeeded in finding the name of the king, *Vâsu Deva*, in the Pahlavi *Varsu Tef*; but the decipherment of the whole is still incomplete. His readings were:—

OBVERSE	{	Left, <i>Afzût</i> (=increase); right, <i>Saf Varsu Tef</i> .
		Margin, <i>Pun-shami dât</i> (In nomine justî judicis). <i>Saf Varsao Tef-Wahman ach Multân malkâ</i> .
REVERSE	{	Left, <i>Panchai Zâûlistân</i> ; right, <i>Sri Vâsu Deva</i> .
		Margin (not read).

Thomas felt some doubt about the reading of *Panchai* on the left reverse. I differ from his reading, as the first letter is T, and not P. I read the word as *Tukân* in conjunction with *Zâûlistân*, and I believe it to be intended for the Panjâb or *Tâkan*, of which *Tâki-shahr*, or Taxila, was the capital. Of the reverse marginal legend I cannot make anything certain. I read doubtfully *Sapar-dalakshân* for *Sapâdalaksha* or Rajputâna (Sawâlakt).

The coins of Vâsu Deva are still very scarce, only six specimens being known to me. The king's head-dress is a direct copy of the double-winged crown of Khusru Parvez, and the coins have the same crescents and stars in the margin. As to the ruler of Multân and the contemporary of Parvez, I incline to identify him with Rai Siharas of Sindh, who was attacked by the king of Nimroz (or

Sejistan) and killed in battle, apparently on the frontier of Mekrân. If the coin of Khusru Parvez with the Multân sun-god on the reverse was struck on this occasion, the date on the coin, the year 37 of his reign, or A.D. 628, would be also the date of Vâsu Deva's death.

The last king of Sindh, called Rai Sâhasi, was the son of the opponent of Parvez. In the British Museum there is a unique copper coin of the sun-god type which I would attribute to this king. It has the same double-winged head-dress, but the legends appear to be partly in Scythian characters and partly in Pahlavi. The margins on both sides are occupied by the Scythian legends, which are at present quite unintelligible. But in the two Pahlavi legends of the reverse I read on the left of the head *Sapâdalakshân*, and to the right *Zâulistân*.

Sapâdalaksha, or "one lakh and a quarter," was the old name of Rajputâna. The shortened form was *Sawa-lakh*, which is still preserved in the present form of *Sawâlik*. The early Muhammadan writers describe *Mandor*, the old capital of Mârwâr, as being in Sawâlik. Ajmer also was in it, and Hânsi is specially mentioned as the capital of Sawâlik. The name is said to have been derived from the great number of scattered hills in the country, for which 125,000 is a significant expression. *Sapâdalaksha* is mentioned as the territory of King Asoka-balla in my Buddha Gayâ inscriptions of the twelfth century, before the Muhammadan occupation.

Our knowledge of the early history of Sindh prior to the Muhammadan conquest is derived from two native histories, the *Chach-Nâma* and the *Tuhfat al Kirâm*. The *Chach-Nâma* was originally written in Arabic to record the conquest of Sindh by the Arabs under Muhammad Kâsim in A.D. 713, but only a Persian translation now exists. The work must have been written before A.D. 753, as there is no mention of the Muhammadan city of Mansûra, which was founded during the reign of the Khalif Al Mansûr. It is therefore almost a contemporary record of the conquest, which transferred the possession from Râja Dâhir, the son of the Brahman Raja Chach, to the Muhammadans. It begins with a brief notice of the three kings of the Rai dynasty who preceded Chach. The *Tuhfat al Kirâm* gives two additional reigns, and states that the reigns of the five Rais lasted for 137 years.

For the accession of Chach we possess two statements, which agree in fixing it not earlier than 641 A.D. The first is the length of the two reigns of Chach and his son Dahir, or 40 + 33 lunar years = 73 lunar years or 71 solar years, and as Dahir was killed


on 11th Ramgân A.H. 93, or 21st June 712 A.D., the accession of Chach must have taken place in $712-71 = 641$ A.D. The second authority is the statement of the pilgrim Hwen Thsang that when he visited Sindh in September 641 A.D., the ruler was a *Shu-to-lo* or Sudra. At that time, therefore, the last king of the Rai dynasty was still reigning. Deducting 137 years from 642, we get 505 A.D. as the date of the accession of the Rai dynasty. The following list gives the names of the kings of the Rai dynasty, with the names derived from coins for comparison—all of them had the title of Shâhi-shâh. Their rule was not confined to the province of Sindh, but embraced all the neighbouring countries up to the frontiers of Kirwân on the west, up to the foot of the Kashmir hills on the north, and up to the boundary of the kingdom of Kanauj on the east. These limits were maintained up to the last, as I find that Chach went to Mekrân to settle the boundary of *Kirwân* with Persia, and to Shâkalhâ or Sâkola to settle the boundary with *Kashmir*. On the east the ruler of *Chitrâwar* or Chitor is said to have been a relative and ally of Rai Sâhasi. The Indian dominions of the Ephthalites formed a mighty empire, the rival of Persia both in power and wealth.

A.D.	<i>Tuhfat-al-Kirâm.</i>	<i>Chach-Nâma.</i>	Coins.
505	Rai Diwâij I.	...	Shâhi Jabubal = TORAMÂNÂ.
535	Rai Siharas.	...	Shâhi Mihirgul = GOLLAS.
565	Rai Sâhasi.	Rai Diwâij II.	Shâhi Tigin Devaja.
595	Rai Siharas II.	Rai Siharas.	— Vâsu Deva.
627	Rai Sâhasi II.	Rai Sâhasi.	— — ? name not read.

The ancient title of the Ephthalite kings was *Tsanyu* or *Chanyu*, which was changed for *Khâkân*, or *χαγάνος* as written by the Greeks. But just like the Sassanian kings, who call themselves by the foreign title of *Malkân-malkâ* instead of by their native one of Shâhân Shâh, so these White Huns preferred the Kushân and Indian titles of Shâhi and Maharaja to their own title of Khâkân. Both Toramâna and his son Mihirkul, who were certainly White Huns, take the title of Maharaja and Shâhi written in Indian characters.

About the middle of the sixth century A.D. the White Huns were conquered by Muhan Khan, the chief of the great Turkish horde, who sent an embassy to Constantinople under Maniach, Prince of the Sogdoites. His letter in the Scythian character and language was received by Justin in 569 A.D. A return embassy was sent by Tiberius in 582; but on its arrival in 584, they found that the

Emperor *Shapelo* or *Disabul* was dead. In 588 his successor, *Shahu Khan*, sent a letter to the Emperor Maurice. As the Prince of the Sogdoites, Maniach must have been only a tributary chief, either a Kushân or an Ephthalite; his letter in the Scythian character must have been in the corrupted Greek characters which were common to both. As late as the ninth century the ruler of Mawarunnahr is called king of the Kushâns by Khordâdbah.

Unfortunately, we have no coins that can be certainly attributed to the Ephthalite kings of the Oxus. The coins with the  symbol, which I believe to belong to the White Huns, may be divided into two classes:—

1. Those with legends in unknown characters.
2. Those with legends in Indian letters.

Specimens of each kind were found together by Masson in No. 10 Hidda Tope. Similarly, in a parcel of about eighty of these Scytho-Sassanian coins that came to me together, I found some of each kind. The only difference that I could perceive was in a few specimens of No. 1 class, which were certainly of earlier date than any of the No. 2 class; I refer particularly to Ariana Antiqua, Plate xvi. Figs 9 and 10, on which the king's head-dress is copied from the Sassanian coins of Sapor III., A.D. 383–388. The characters look like debased Greek; they are certainly not Pahlavi or Indian. A single coin with the winged head-dress of Vararan IV., A.D. 420–440, has similar characters, which might be read by taking the two lines, Boustrophedon fashion, as *Sholono-Bozino* for *Shulopachin*, the famous *Kush-nawâz* of Persian history, who defeated the Sassanian Firoz in A.D. 482. He is called *Fizun* by Firdausi.

These coins I would assign to the northern branch of Ephthalites on the Oxus, as I believe that the debased Greek characters had already been given up by the southern branch of the Ephthalites on the Indus. The earliest certain coins of the Indian Ephthalites are the silver pieces of Toramâna and his son Mihirkul, both of whom take the title of *Shâhi* instead of *Khâkân*. The coins of Udayâditya and Khinggila belong to the same period.

Since writing this paper, I have found a direct proof that the Sâhasi kings of Sindh were White Huns. Elliot¹ quotes Khâki Shirâzi, who says: "In the year 22 the province of Sejistan was conquered . . . and in the same year Makrân was subdued. . . . The ruler of that province, whose name in the language of the country was *Zambil*, was also ruler of *Sind*." The year A.H. 22 began on 30th November A.D. 642. The conquest of Chach

¹ Muhammadan Historians, ii. 418.

Brahman may therefore have taken place in A.D. 643. Vivien St. Martin assigns it to 644 A.D.

This name of *Zambil* is only another variant of the *Zanbil*, *Zanbol*, *Ranbil*, *Ranbol*, &c., which is given to the kings of Kabul and Sistan by the early Muhammadan writers. One of my coins with the horseman obverse has *Janbula* in Nâgari letters. This is, of course, the true Indian form of the Scythian *Zanbol* or *Zabul*, as the Indian alphabets have no z.

X.

THE VAJRÂSAN OR THUNDERBOLT
SEAT AT MAHÂBODHI.

BY

FREDERIC PINCOTT, M.R.A.S.

AMONG the many discoveries of the present century illustrating early Buddhistic ideas, none can claim a higher interest than those just announced by Sir A. Cunningham's new book on the relics of Mahâbodhi. This ancient temple, as is well known, was the very centre of Buddhist thought, and there we must expect to meet the highest expressions of devotion and adoration. The temple was raised to mark the spot where the veritable Buddha, or Sâkya Muni, or Sâkya Sinha, sat under the Pipal or Bodhi Tree and thought out the great secrets on which his religion was afterwards based. The spot on which he actually sat is thus the very basis of all the subsequent ages of adoration, and must, therefore, have been surrounded with every accessory calculated to give expression to the intense devotion felt for the place. It has been Sir A. Cunningham's great good fortune to discover that in the sanctum of this ancient temple there are two older seats inside the one which now forms the centre of the existing remains; and that the interior and most ancient of these seats is not in the centre of the existing buildings, but is in the exact centre of the buried foundations of an ancient temple, which his penetration of thought induced him to search for and find. I need not recapitulate the conclusive arguments by which he has demonstrated that the seat which he has now discovered is the veritable Vajrâsan, or Diamond Throne, celebrated in Buddhistic records. Those who read Sir A. Cunningham's *Mahâbodhi* cannot fail to be convinced that the structure known as Buddha's Walk, the foundations recently discovered, many of the sandstone rails now in the enclosure, the seat of which I am speaking, and the upper slab of the seat, now resting against the western wall of the

building, are all genuine remains of Asoka's ancient temple, raised on this sacred spot about B.C. 250. The following remarks are confined to an explanation of the top of the ancient seat or Vajrâsan throne, for it seems to me that we have here something of peculiar significance.

Sir A. Cunningham says of this sacred stone that "the whole surface was carved with geometrical patterns, circular in the middle, with a double border of squares." This is all that he says about the pattern of the stone, and it does not seem to have occurred to him that this pattern may have possessed significance. Now it seems to me inconceivable that so much intense interest can attach to a spot, and that the central stone which symbolised all this interest should be adorned with mere unmeaning marks. This would be doubtful under any circumstances, but it may be declared impossible among a people so addicted to symbolism as the ancient Buddhists undoubtedly were. Fortunately, Sir A. Cunningham has supplied two reproductions of photographs of this stone, which enable me to offer the following explanation of its markings.

The stone has always been called the *Vajrâsan*, or Thunderbolt Throne, and ideas of the thunderbolt are associated with this temple in a great variety of ways. The Chinese pilgrims spoke of the spot as the "Diamond Throne" or "Adamantine Throne," and this term was probably intended to express something extremely hard and dense, like the *Vajra*, or Thunderbolt. Statues of *Vajra-Varâhi* with the thunderbolt in her hand are found in this temple; but I need not multiply arguments, for it will not be disputed that the thunderbolt so frequently found in Buddhist sculpture is, for some reason, peculiarly associated with the temple of Mahâbodhi. It may have been because Sakko, or Indra, whose weapon was the thunderbolt, was intimately associated with Buddhism; or it may have been that the adamantine truths of Buddha struck like a thunderbolt upon the superstitions of his age, and, while indestructible themselves, destroyed all antagonistic notions. It is certain that the thunderbolt was in some pre-eminent way symbolised by this seat of Buddha before the Bodhi, or it would not have been universally renowned as the Thunderbolt Throne.

Now the conventional representation of a thunderbolt, whether for Brahmanical or Buddhist purposes, is an object like a dumb-bell, that is, a narrow-waisted object fanning out broad at each end. Upon looking at the border of this Vajrâsan, we shall see that it has a double row of nine squares at the ends and a double row of ten squares at the sides, thereby completing a double border

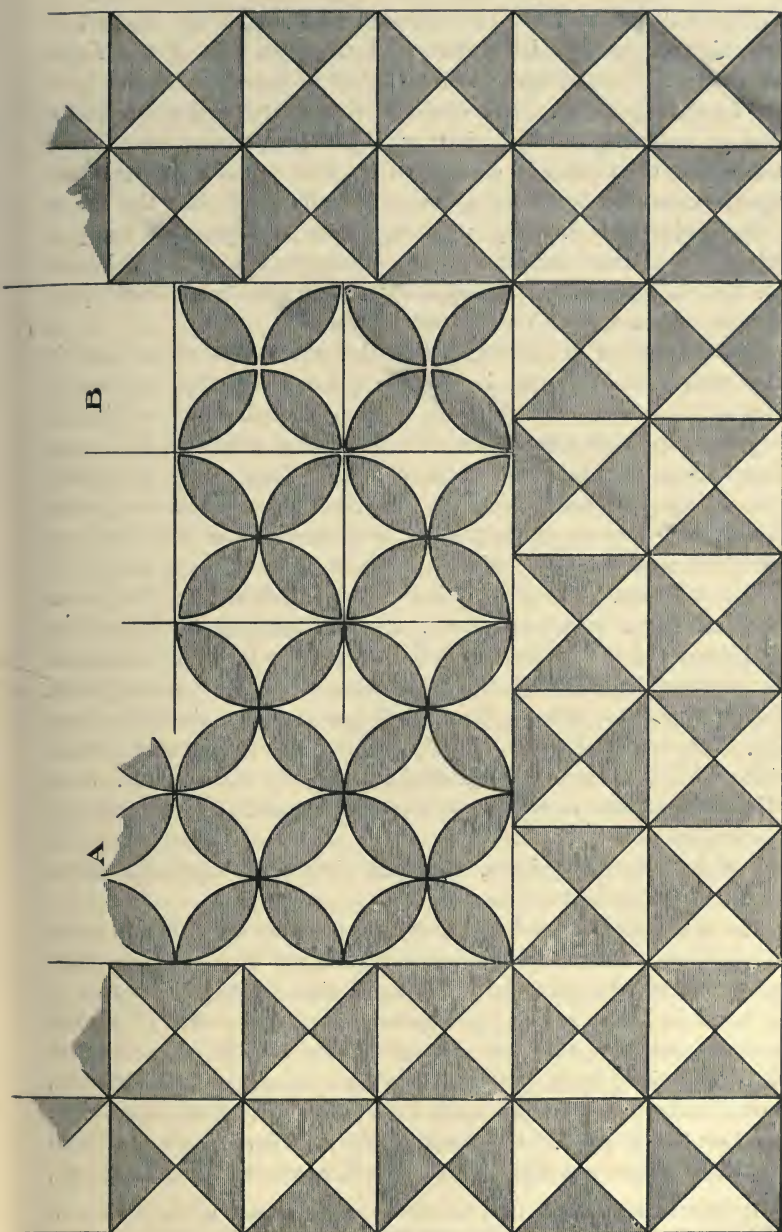
of seventy-six squares. Each of these squares by being crossed diagonally presents the exact representation of two Vajras, or thunderbolts, laid across each other, and thus filling the whole square. That it was the intention to exhibit such a shape is shown by the fact that these raised and depressed Vajras are placed alternately upright and sideways, and by this arrangement the thunderbolt shape of the sculpture is made strikingly apparent. This resemblance may so far be pronounced imaginary; but by reckoning both the raised and the depressed Vajras—that is, the entire surface of the border—we double the number, and thereby get 152 Vajras laid across each other, filling the entire border. Now it happens that 8 times 19 produces 152 exactly; and as we know the peculiar fondness of the Buddhists for the number 8, shown by their eight-sided columns, their eight-petalled lotuses, &c., it is at least remarkable that these Vajras should present a multiple of that number. But the multiple is 19, and real significance is given to that number by remarking that on the top of the structure known as Buddha's Walk at the side of the temple there are just *nineteen* circular markings, obviously intended to represent the places where Buddha's feet touched the ground as he there paced up and down. The border may, therefore, be intended to represent eight repetitions of the nineteen paces of Buddha; and the number 8 may well stand for the four quarters and the four intermediate points, that is, the universal sway of the Chakravartin, or Lord of the Universe.

There is an extraordinary proof that the number 19 was associated with this Vajrâsan throne in the fact that Sir A. Cunningham found a ball of relics buried in the pavement of the Throne itself. These relics were placed there by the Gupta monarch, who rebuilt the bulk of the temple, faced the ancient Vajrâsan with its plastered front, and removed the upper slab to the exterior of the building. The ball of relics was placed in the *sanctum sanctorum* at the foot of the Throne itself, and it contained silver discs and fragments of silver and precious stones. Among them, however, are some of gold, which are specially distinguished by their metal and their forms; and, strangely enough, they consist of *nineteen* shaped objects and *seventy-six* discs. Here we have nineteen objects representing the footsteps of Buddha, and seventy-six discs representing the seventy-six squares in the border round the stone. Nor is this all that can be said of this number 19, for a small stûpa not far from the end of Buddha's Walk, on being opened, was found to contain two small trays of relics. Unfortunately, the relics of each tray have not been kept separate; but when put together they were

found to contain *nineteen* lapis-lazuli beads and *nineteen* beads of other precious stones. The remainder of these relics consists of glass beads, bits of crystal, &c. Here again we have two nineteens of specially valuable objects mingled with material of a very different character; and it may have been that one of these nineteens was in one tray and the other nineteen in the other tray as two distinct deposits. It will also be evident that the nine squares of Vajras on one side of the Vajrâsan Throne added to the ten squares along the front give nineteen, and the same along the other side and the back. It would seem unreasonable to hold that the border of this sacred stone should consist of sets of nineteen squares; that nineteen specially shaped gold objects should be deposited at its foot; that two sets of nineteen specially distinguished relics should be deposited in a stûpa close to Buddha's Walk; that that holy promenade should have nineteen markings on its summit indicating footmarks, and that eight times nineteen Vajra-like carvings should cover the border of the stone; and that the whole of this should result from pure accident. It may be taken as an axiom that not one single mark or adornment was placed on any Buddhist monument without its having some distinct and explainable reason.

Now, when we look at the central pattern of the stone, the first thing that must strike the eye is the fact that there are three rows of perfect circles down the centre, with a row of semicircles at each side of them. There are *eight* circles and *eight* semicircles in each row; and, again, we have this number 8 before us. But there seems no reason why four perfect rows of circles should not have covered the centre, instead of this combination of circles and half-circles. But if we abandon the notion that they are circles, and consider them squares, we shall be struck by the fact that they at once assume the appearance of squares, with four lobe-like leaves radiating from the centre to the four corners. Now, if we count these squares, we shall see that there are *four* rows of them, with *eight* in each row, filling up the entire centre. These four eights make thirty-two, exactly the number of marks of perfection on Buddha's body; and the four-lobed pattern occupying each square is the indication of a lotus, most appropriately typifying these characteristics. Here, then, we have thirty-two squares joining up to the border and completely covering the centre of the stone with the proper number of lotus-like marks, emblematic of Buddha. The Bharahut bas-relief giving a picture of this very stone helps us here, for it is seen to be covered with lotus flowers on the top.

A question here arises as to why the pattern of the eight-leaved



A.--Portion of centre treated geometrically.
B.—Portion of centre treated symbolically.

lotus was not given to these squares instead of the plain geometrical four-lobed arrangement. The answer is, I think, found in the fact that this seat was specially connected with the idea of the Vajra, and therefore it must have been an object to introduce as much of that figure as possible. This could be very neatly and symbolically done, by scooping out the sides of the Vajra,¹ and placing two of them across each other in each square. This would give the exact appearance of the figure before us, and would symbolise the union of the Vajra with Buddha in a very neat and effective manner. Vajras would thus be all over the upper surface of the Vajrâsan, and the scooping out of the sides of those in the centre would produce the appearance of four-leaved lotuses.

In confirmation of this suggestion that the centre of the seat is filled with crossed Vajras, it may be pointed out that, as two of them are in each of the thirty-two squares, their total number is *sixty-four*, and this accords with the number of pillars which Asoka placed round the enclosure of the edifice. There must have been some reason for surrounding the Vajrâsan throne with sixty-four pillars; and it seems more than a coincidence that the centre of that stone should be covered by sixty-four cross marks so strikingly similar to Vajras. The resemblance between a Buddhist pillar and a Vajra has never been pointed out. Sir A. Cunningham notices that the pilasters at the foot of the colossal figure of Buddha placed over the Vajrâsan had been altered into Vajras; but the peculiar shape of most Buddhist pillars is strongly suggestive of a similar connection. The common shape of a Buddhist pillar is a slender column with a ball at each end, terminated by step-like entablatures. Such pillars, seen from any point of view, are suggestive of the conventional contour of a Vajra. It is certain that Asoka surrounded this seat with sixty-four pillars, and that sixty-four Vajra-like marks are found on the top of the stone.

The symbolical character of everything connected with this structure is clearly shown by the many repetitions of 8 and its multiples. It will be seen that the small pillars formerly supporting the inner structure round the Vajrâsan itself are *sixteen* (8×2) in number, and that they are arranged in the form of a Greek cross, which is divided by these pillars into *eight* squares or compartments. Such an arrangement as this must have formed part of a general plan, based on the figure 8. Furthermore, Sir A. Cunningham has found that these pillars are, from centre to centre, 9 feet $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches apart,

¹ It must be remembered that, beyond a swelling at each end with a narrow waist, there was no absolutely rigid pattern for the Vajra.

that is, $118\frac{1}{2}$ inches. But if we measure from the outer faces of the bases, so as to ascertain the length of ground covered by the structure, we shall find the distance is about 140 inches. Now the length of the ancient *hasta* (now called *hāth* or cubit) is not very definitely known, but it is taken to be about 18 inches. It happens that eight times $17\frac{1}{2}$ gives exactly 140 inches; and this strongly suggests that the length of each side of these square compartments was intended to be, and probably is, 8 *hastas* or cubits. Each of the compartments immediately inclosing the Vajrāsān will, therefore, be 64 cubits square, in conformity with the 64 outer pillars enclosing the whole. Again, Sir A. Cunningham has ascertained that the brick basement of Buddha's Walk is 53 feet long, with 19 marks on the top indicating the footprints of Buddha. By taking $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches as the length of the cubit, we find that $17\frac{1}{2} \times 32$ gives 47 feet 6 inches; and by allowing 2 feet 9 inches at each end for the extension of the basement beyond the first and last footmark, we get exactly 53 feet, the actual length. This leads to the inference that the nineteen footprints were intended to cover $32 (8 \times 4)$ cubits, in agreement with the 32 marks of perfection impressed on the feet of Buddha. With respect to the number of footprints, it is true that Hiouen-Thsang says there were only eighteen; but if the actual structure still shows nineteen marks, that objection can be set aside, more especially as Sir A. Cunningham corrects one obvious misstatement of Hiouen-Thsang about the dimensions of this Cloistered Walk.

It may be only a coincidence, but if we add together the 64 crossed Vajras on the top, the 32 lotuses, and the 152 crossed Vajras on the border, we obtain 248, and this is exactly *thirty-one* times 8. If we consider that the entire seat was allowed to symbolise one 8 (by reckoning the four sides of the top and the four sides of its supporting basement), we get the curious fact that, while the various parts and markings would symbolise various ideas and their combinations, the whole taken together would symbolise the sacred Thirty-two, or Buddha himself, as well as his thunderbolt Law, and their combination or Sangha.

Around the edge of the stone the well-known goose, acanthus, and lotus border is engraved. On this I would merely remark that this design is still a very common one in the manufacture of Central Asian carpets. Of its origin and meaning I know nothing, but it is remarkable that the pattern should, for some reason, still live on.

XI.

GLEANINGS FROM MARĀTHĀ CHRONICLES.

BY

THE HON. MR. JUSTICE K. T. TELANG, C.I.E.

It is well known that the standard history of the Marāthās by Captain James Grant Duff¹ is based, to a considerable extent, on Marāthā Bakharas or chronicles, and other original papers and documents, to which the author had access. Of several of these, Grant Duff had copies made, which, he tells us² in his History, were deposited by him with the Literary Society of Bombay. This was certainly the most appropriate thing to do at that time, in order to provide facilities for students of Marāthā history to examine for themselves the original materials which Grant Duff had worked up into his book. Unfortunately, however, the Literary Society has long ceased to exist, and Grant Duff's manuscripts cannot now be traced anywhere. I have had inquiries and search made in the library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, which is the successor of the Literary Society; but the manuscripts are not in that library, and nothing on the records of either Society now available affords any clue to their present whereabouts. An impression has existed for several years past in some quarters³ that the manuscripts in question were burnt with the knowledge, if not under the orders, of Grant Duff himself. I have never, however, been able to ascertain the basis on which this impression is founded;⁴ and the story itself is so improbable, and so much like the stories

¹ See Journal, Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, vol. ix. pp. vi.-ix., xxxiii. *et seq.*; vol. x. p. 120 *et seq.*

² See footnotes to the History *passim*.

³ See, *inter alia*, *Vividha Jnāna Vistāra* (a Marāthi monthly), vol. viii. p. 213; vol. ix. p. 247; a Review of Grant Duff's History of the Marāthās, by Rav Bahadur Nilkanth. J. Kirtane, p. 9 *et seq.* In the second edition of this Review, Mr. Kirtane very candidly and properly expresses his disbelief in the rumour (see pp. 95-97). I am told that no such impression ever prevailed at Satara, where Grant Duff served.

⁴ The basis alleged in the Review mentioned in the last note, viz., oral information given by a Karkun in the Inam Commission Office about the contents of a letter said to have been seen by him, is very unsubstantial and inadequate. A certain "Southern Commissioner" is stated to have had a hand in the destruction of these MSS. It may be mentioned that the loss we have to lament in this case is no exceptional thing. The MS. translation of Khafi Khan's History, used by Grant Duff and others, is stated also not to be now forthcoming (Dowson's Elliott's History of India, vol. vii. preface, p. vi. and p. 210).

about the burning of papers and documents by the Inam Commission, that it does not deserve any further consideration. It must have originally arisen, probably, when it was ascertained that the manuscripts were not on the shelves of the library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Some of these documents, however, have within the last ten or twelve years become accessible to the Marâthî reader in print; and with these there have also been published some others, which apparently were not before Grant Duff. An examination of these discloses sundry passages of interest in connection with Marâthâ history, although it did not fall within the scope of Grant Duff's work to cast any except a very incidental and hurried glance at some of them. That work devotes itself mainly, if one may not even say exclusively, to the purely political history of the Marâthâs. Their social and religious progress receives only a very occasional and indirect notice in it. It is true that, even in the original documents alluded to, the various political transactions of the periods to which they respectively relate form almost exclusively the subject-matter of the narrative; still, when the original documents are before us, the incidental references to social and religious matters are even now capable of being utilised. In the case of the manuscripts that are lost, on the other hand, this necessarily is not the case; and, for the reasons stated, we cannot now have access, even at second-hand, to such references as may have been contained in them. Considering that, taken altogether, the light thrown on the social and religious history of the Marâthâs by the documents now available is not very plentiful, but comes, so to say, in only scattered rays, it is a subject of just regret that even the chance of adding to it an extra ray here and there is now foreclosed by the loss of Grant Duff's manuscripts. In default of them, however, it is proposed in the present paper to gather together to a focus such of these scattered rays as may be obtained from the papers and documents which have, within the last few years, been made generally accessible in print—in the pages of the *Vividha Jnâna Vistâra*, in those of the *Kâyasthâ Prabhûnchyâ Itihâ-sâchîn Sâdhanen*, and above all in those of the *Kâvyetihâsasangraha*.¹

¹ Some other works of less importance have also been utilised, as will be seen later on. The *Bakhar*, a translation of which is contained in Professor Forrest's *Selections from Bombay State Papers*, vol. i. (Marâthâ Series), must, it seems to me, have been in some parts mistranslated, and in all abridged in the translation. As an example of this translation, I may refer to the phrase, "night darker than his (i.e. Śivâjî's) heart" (p. 15), a phrase which one would hardly expect to occur in relation to Śivâjî in a Marâthâ *Bakhar* deposited in Râyagâd.

The first point of interest, then, to be noted is the attitude of the state towards the social and religious concerns of the people. Here we are enabled to go back to the very beginnings of Marâthâ power, to the system established by its great founder himself. And it is to be remarked, that, in spite of the unfavourable conditions then existing, in spite of the all-engrossing militarism of the day, Shivâjî found time to apply his genius to the elaboration of a regular system of civil administration¹ in a manner to which we find almost no parallel throughout the period of Marâthâ history, save during the régime of that excellent Peshwa, the elder Mâdhavrâo.² One principal feature of Shivâjî's system consisted in the creation of a cabinet council—the famous Ashta Pradhâna, or eight ministers. One of these eight was known as Panditrâo.³ His functions, like those of the other ministers and high officers, are stated in a note or memorandum which purports to be written on the 13th of Jyeshtha Vadya, Tuesday, of the first year of the era of the installation (A.D. 1674).⁴ It states that the Panditrâo's duties are to exercise all the sovereign's ecclesiastical powers, and to order punishment to be inflicted after investigating into what is and what is not in accordance with the religious law. He is to receive learned persons on behalf of the state, and countersign all documents that may issue from the sovereign relating to Âchâra, Vyavahâra, and Prâyschitta, the three departments of the Dharma-sâstra; that is to say, rules of conduct, civil and criminal law, and penances.⁵ He is also to look after the performance of sântis⁶ and other ceremonials, and the distribution of the royal bounty. It is stated in the Life of Shivâjî written by Malhâr Ramrâo Chitnis, that the scheme of the cabinet and its functions was settled by Shivâjî in conformity with previous practice and tradition.⁷

¹ Comp. Grant Duff, vol. i. p. 223 *et seq.*; and *inter alia*, Chitrâgupta's Life of Shivâjî, pp. 38-39, 104.

² See Grant Duff, vol. ii. p. 208 *et seq.* Compare also Forrest's Selections from Bombay State Papers, p. 250, for a contemporary English estimate of Mâdhavrâo.

³ See Grant Duff, vol. i. p. 235 *et seq.*, and compare Chitrâgupta's *Shivâjî*, p. 103; Krishnâjî Sâbhâsad's *Shivâjî*, p. 69; and M. R. Chitnis's *Shivâjî Vividha Jnâna Vistâra*, vol. xiii. p. 238 *et seq.*; and Forrest's Selections from Bombay State Papers (p. 14), where the management of religious bequests is mentioned as one of the Panditrâo's functions.

⁴ See Letters, Memoranda, &c. (Kavyetihasasangraha), p. 357. Cf. Malcolm's Central India, vol. ii. p. 429.

⁵ See the Digest of Hindu Law, by Sir Raymond West and Dr. J. G. Bühler, p. 13.

⁶ See Mandlik's Hindu Law (Introd.), p. xxxii.

⁷ V. D. Vistâra, vol. xiii. p. 238. The Mussulman writer whose memorandum is summarised at Forrest's Selections from Bombay State Papers, p. 725 *et seq.*, says incorrectly (at p. 727) that "the nature of the duties and the names of the offices" of the Ashta Pradhâna were "chiefly borrowed from the Muhammadans."

In an Âjnâpatra, or rescript bearing date Mârgaśīrsha Śuddha 4th, Thursday, of the 42nd year of the installation era (1716 A.D.), and issued by Rājā Shambhu Chhatrapati of Kolhapur, it is said that it is among the duties of a king of men to destroy any tendency towards impiety, and to increase piety in his kingdom, and thus acquire eternal happiness in the life to come.¹ And accordingly it is laid down² that heretical opinions, antagonistic to religion, should not by any means be allowed to prevail in the kingdom; and if perchance they should be found to have manifested themselves anywhere, the matter should be inquired into personally,³ and due punishment should be inflicted, so that no one else may join in the evil courses, and they may be altogether stopped.

It would thus appear that the Marāthā Rājās considered it their right, or rather their duty, to regulate the religious affairs of their subjects, although it is to be remarked that the minister appointed for the purpose of attending to this part of the Rājā's duties was in fact always a Brāhman, as, indeed, might naturally be expected. It further appears that these duties were practically enforced, and did not exhaust themselves in being committed to paper. In the reign of Sambhājī, the son and successor of Shivājī, the favourite "Kabji" Kalusha,⁴ among his other high crimes and misdemeanours, induced the king, against the advice and remonstrance of the responsible minister Panditrāo, to order Prāyaschittas or penances to be performed by eminent Brāhmins, "masters of six shāstras."⁵ What offences or shortcomings were alleged for justifying these orders, the document before us does not state, and there is no other source of information on the subject known to me.

Coming down to later times, we find that in the reign of Shāhu, when Bālājī Bājirāo was Peshwa, the state had to deal with a dispute, which was even then one of long standing, between the Brāhmins and the Prabhus.⁶ The dispute appears to have commenced,

¹ *V. J. Vistāra*, vol. v. p. 194.

² *Ibid.*, p. 91, and compare Letters, Memoranda, &c. (K. I. Sangraha), p. 9.

³ That is to say, by the minister, I take it, to whom the order is directed.

⁴ See note 1, p. 016. Kabji is identical with Kavi, abbreviated to Kab, when going with the honorific suffix *ji*. In the *Śrīśivakāvya*, vi. 21 *et seq.* (which was composed about 1820), and elsewhere, he is represented as an instrument of Aurangzeb-Khafi Khan's account gives no indication of this being correct. See Elliott's History of India, by Dowson, vol. vii. p. 338 *et seq.*

⁵ *Marāthī Sāmrajyāchī Bakhar*, p. 59.

⁶ This is the correct mode of spelling the name of the caste, as claimed by themselves. The change to Parabhu (corrupted by Anglo-Indians to Purvoo) they attribute to jealousy. See *Kāyastha Prabhānchī Bakhar* (K.P.I.S.), p. 6. In the *Sivamahākāvya*, viii. 29, the form is Parabhu.

indeed, as early as the days of Shivâjî,¹ and the settlement come to then was, apparently, adhered to during the reigns of Sambhâji and Râjârâm, and the greater part of the reign of Shâhu himself. Towards the latter end of Shâhu's reign, however, the dispute was rekindled, as the Prabhus were much in favour with Shâhu, as they had been with Shivâjî.² The Brâhmanas of the day were charged, in the Prabhu chronicles, with having interpolated³ new verses into the Purânic and other works like the Sahyâdrikhanda, &c., for the purpose of lowering the status of the Prabhu caste. The dispute having come before Bâlâjî Bâjîrâo, he wrote to Shâhu, recommending that the old practice should be adhered to, that the new quarrels raised by the Brâhmanas should be discountenanced, and that they should be given clear and final orders in the matter. Shâhu thereupon sent an order to all the Brâhmanas of Khande and Mâhuli (two villages on the banks of the Krishnâ, where presumably the quarrels had then recommenced), ordering that they should continue to perform all ceremonies, funeral and other, as the same had been theretofore performed during the régime of the Bijapur kings,⁴ and also in the times of Shivâjî, Sambhâji, Râjârâm, and Târâbâi, and in the early days even of the then current reign. They were directed "not to do anything new, not to break anything old." At the same time with this order of the sovereign, the minister Panditrâo Rajhunâth appears also to have addressed a communication to the Brâhmanas aforesaid, reciting briefly the order made by Shâhu, and adding that the old practice should be revived.⁵ We learn, however, that although these orders were sent, the disputes were not in fact settled, as the Pratinidhi, Jagjivanrâo Pandit, and his agent Yamâjî,⁶ who were managing all affairs at Satara on behalf of Shâhu, would not accept the settlement, seeing that Shâhu's end was approaching. Shortly afterwards Shâhu died, as was expected, and Bâlâjî Bâjîrâo immediately placed both the Pratinidhi and his agent Yamâjî in prison.⁷ He then proceeded to order the old practice as regards the ceremonies among Prabhu families to be resumed, and that practice continued undisturbed until the end of the administration of Mâdhavrâo and the beginning of that of Nârâyanrâo.

¹ See *K. P. Bakhar* (K.P.I.S.), pp. 10-12.

² See Chitragupta's *Life of Śivâjî*, p. 123.

³ See *K. P. Bakhar* (K.P.I.S.), pp. 12-17.

⁴ It would seem from this that the Mussulman Rajas also had had to deal with the question between the two castes. See below.

⁵ See *K. P. Bakhar* (K.P.I.S.), pp. 12-13, where both letters are set out at length.

⁶ See Grant Duff, vol. ii. pp. 17, 32.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 35.

Several years after this, in the days of the Peshwa Savâi Mâdhavrâo, a Brâhman named Narhari Ranâlekar became "yavanamaya and bhrashta"—that is to say, perverted to Muhammadanism and fallen off from Hinduism. He was then, it appears, taken back into the fold by certain Brâhmanas of Paithana, although, as the Peshwa's order says, this was an unwarrantable proceeding. The re-admission naturally led to a split in the Brâhman community of the place; and then an officer of the Government came upon the scene, and by coercion—that is to say, under colour of his office—got all the Brâhmanas, the excommunicated ones and the others, to sit down to dinner together. The result, says the Peshwa's order,¹ was that the whole of the Paithana Brâhmanas became excommunicated, and therefore the Sarkar or Government sent two Karkuns to administer penance wholesale to them all; and this was accordingly done. The order then, which is addressed to the Deshmukhs and Deshpandes of Pargana Jalnapur, after reciting the above-stated facts, goes on to direct that the other Brâhmanas of the Pargana, having had intercourse with the Paithana Brâhmanas, must also perform due penance, according to the measure of their intercourse,² through the instrumentality of the two Government Karkuns aforesaid. This case presents several remarkable features, not the least remarkable of which is the severe logic by which the penance is made to extend to all the Brâhmanas of the whole Pargana. The same severe logic may be noticed in a later case, which occurred in October 1800, soon after the deaths of Nana Faḍanavis and Paraśurâm Bhaṇ Patwardhan. It seems then to have been found out that one of the household attendants in the Peshwa's palace, who had been, I presume, supposed to be a Brâhmana, was in fact of a low caste—a saddler. The man was thereupon ordered to be punished, and penance was administered to the whole city of Poona—that is, presumably, to the Brâhmanas of the place, who must have been, as they are now, the large majority of the inhabitants.³

¹ See Letters, Memoranda, &c. (K. I. Sangraha), p. 76. A similar question arose long afterwards in connection with the case of Śrīpād Sheshādri, a brother of the late Rev. Nārāyan Sheshādri, in which the late enlightened Professor Bâl Gangâdhar Shastri is understood to have taken a prominent part, which mortally offended the orthodoxy of his days.

² The tediousness of the ceremonial of penance, and the amount of the money commutation, must both vary with the closeness and frequency of the intercourse.

³ Letters, Memoranda, &c. (K. I. Sangraha), p. 523. I know of no other source of information on the subject than the very short entry there. A curious extension of the severity of the logic above alluded to even to dead persons is suggested at *Kāyastha Prabhunchyâ Itihâsachin Sâdhanen (Grāmānya)*, p. 9. See also Letters, Memoranda, &c. (K. I. Sangraha), p. 9, where the circumstances are not very clearly stated.

A curious ecclesiastical case was disposed of by Bâlâjî Bâjîrâo at Trimbakeshwar. The Giri and Puri¹ sects of Gosâvis had some dispute about bathing at Trimbakeshwara in the Simhastha year—a dispute apparently about who was to have precedence. The dispute led, we are told, to severe fights, until Bâlâjî Bâjîrâo having offered to settle the matter “on the part of the Government,” the two parties agreed to his suggestion; and then the Peshwa, taking hold of the hands of each of the Mahants of the two rival sects, entered the sacred waters of the Kuśâvarta with the Mahants for his companions. The two Mahants thus entering the water together all disputes about precedence ceased.²

The Peshwa, however, had not been equally successful in settling another dispute between rival Brâhmans, which had arisen also at Trimbakeshwara,³ in relation to the temple built by him at that place. The consecration of the edifice could not be performed at the time when Bâlâjî wished it to be done because the Yajurvedî and Âpastamba Brâhmans had some dispute—the nature of which is not more precisely indicated—about the southern gate of the temple. How the matter was ultimately settled does not appear.⁴ It may be here remarked, in passing, that some of the stone used, under the orders of the Peshwa, for erecting the Trimbakeshwara temple is stated to have been taken from the Muhammadan musjids or mosques in the Mogul districts. Whether such mosques were then unused and dilapidated or not does not appear.⁵

Another matter in which the Peshwa of the day failed to carry out his own wishes, in consequence of opposition from the people, was one which had occurred in the time of the first Bâjîrâo. I have not seen any original authority for this, but a note of the editor of the Peshwa's *Bakhar* says that Bâjîrâo, having had a son by the Mussalman woman Mastânî, wanted to perform the thread ceremony upon that son, and make a Brâhmana of him,⁶ but that

¹ See Professor H. H. Wilson's *Religious Sects of the Hindus*, vol. i. pp. 202–203.

² See *Peshwa's Bakhar*, pp. 68–69. The Simastha year falls when Jupiter is in the sign Leo; and see Grant Duff, vol. ii. p. 71.

³ For another case of unsuccessful interference, see *K. P. Bakhar* (K.P.I.S.), p. 13 *et seq.*, and the Grâmanya section in the same collection, p. 3 *et seq.* In that case there was a series of interferences, all unsuccessful.

⁴ See *Peshwa's Bakhar*, pp. 68–69. It appears, however, from Letters, Memoranda, &c. (K. I. Sangraha), p. 522, that the consecration of the Trimbakeshwara temple was performed by Bâjîrâo II. in Faka, 1728 (A.D. 1806). The delay seems unaccountably long, in spite of the difficulty raised by the Brâhmans.

⁵ *Peshwa's Bakhar*, p. 68. See also Elliott's *History of India*, by Dowson, vol. vii. pp. 404, 415, 446, and Malcolm's *Central India*, vol. i. p. 56.

⁶ *Peshwa's Bakhar*, p. 40 n. That such an idea should have occurred to a Hindu defender of the faith is itself rather remarkable as an instance of that relaxation

the plan fell through in consequence of the opposition of the Brâhmanas. In a sketch of the career of Bâjirâo bearing date in 1840 (though this is probably the date of the copy, not of the original sketch itself) a brief account is given of the sort of quasi-marriage that was celebrated between Bâjirâo and Mastânî.¹ The account there given is that Mastânî was the daughter of the Nabob of Hyderabad, that is to say the Nizam, and that the Nabob's wife suggested that their daughter might be married to Bâjirâo as a means of cementing friendship between them. The marriage² was accordingly celebrated, but with a dagger, and Bâjirâo afterwards brought Mastânî away, and kept her in a separate mansion, built specially for her in a part of the grounds of the Sanavar palace at Poona.

One matter of considerable importance, to which attention is being directed among Hindus at the present day, was dealt with by an order of the Peshwas—which of them was then in power it is not possible to say. The order provided that no Brâhman in the Prânta Vâi³ should accept a money payment for giving his girl in marriage; that whoever receives any money shall forfeit double the amount of it to Government; whoever pays any shall forfeit as much; and whoever may act as go-between in arranging such a marriage, and receive money for his services as such, shall forfeit the amount of his brokerage. The official to whom the order is conveyed is directed to communicate the terms of it “in an emphatic manner” to all the Brahman caste, and to all Jamindars, ecclesiastical

of old traditions which is adverted to farther on. Comp. Grant Duff, vol. i. p. 569. Well might Grant Duff say that Bâjirâo was free from “bigotry.” The son, Samher Bahadur, is described as a “brother” of Bâlâji Bâjirâo in the letter of the Government of Bombay to Commodore James, dated in 1755 (see Forrest's Selections from Bombay State Papers, p. 102). The English must have reproduced the usual designation. See also Elliott's History of India, by Dowson, vol. viii. p. 283.

¹ Letters, Memoranda, &c. (K. I. Sangraha), p. 539. The whole story is a curious one, and the *Śrīśivakāvya*, x. 58–61, speaks of it all as a work of the evil spirit, Kali. The accounts we have of the matter are not all harmonious. See *Śivakāvya*, loc. cit.; *Marâthi Sâmrâjya Bakhar*, pp. 74–77; Kâśirâja's *Bhonsle Bakhar*, p. 40; *Peshwa's Bakhar*, pp. 37, 40, 49; and *Peshwa's Sakânnali*, p. 6. See, too, Forrest's Selections from Bombay State Papers, p. 658.

² For a similar instance of a marriage with a sword, see Malcolm's Central India, vol. ii. p. 158.

³ The order relates to this district, as the question which elicited the order arose there, not because it was intended to be confined in its operation to that district. Letters, Memoranda, &c. (K. I. Sangraha), 121–122. Manu, chap. iii. st. 51 *et seq.*, and chap. ix. st. 98 *et seq.*, forbids in terms what he stigmatises as the sale of a daughter (see also chap. xi. st. 62 *et seq.*). The established name for the transaction in Marâthi is still Kanyârikraya. Manu's sanctions are different from those enacted by the Peshwa.

functionaries, officiating priests, and astrologers (Joshis), and to Patils and Kulkarnis; and he is ordered to recover the amounts as prescribed without listening to any pretexts about expenses, &c. The letter now published acknowledges receipt of this order, the whole of which it recites, and promises to communicate it to the people of the town of Vâi and of Government villages, and to Deshmukhs and Deshpandes. It is unnecessary to say anything more with reference to this order than that its all-embracing character deserves notice. All parties to the nefarious transaction are hit at—the man who sells his girl, the man who buys her, and the man who arranges the bargain and sale.

It would appear, from the various instances collected above, that under Marâthâ rule the union of Church and State was very close indeed; and it was not merely a theoretical, but a practically enforced union; and that it was so as well during the régime of the Marâthâ Râjâs as under that of the Brâhmana Peshwas, though it is to be observed, *valcat quantum*, that the order of the Peshwa last mentioned bears the usual seal containing the name of Râjâ Shâhu.¹ This is not much to be wondered at, considering that the idea of a state leaving all ecclesiastical and religious affairs outside its own jurisdiction is not one which is even now universally accepted; and considering further that the main inspiring principle of the whole movement initiated by Shivâjî,² and carried on by his successors down to the closing years of the Peshwa régime, was the preservation of the Hindu religion against foreign aggression. The only point one is struck by is that the Marâthâ Râjâs should have been prepared and able to meddle so far in religious matters. One possible explanation is that the people at large may have accepted the claims set up in favour of Shivâjî's Kshatriya origin, a matter on which something more will have to be said in the sequel. On the other hand, it is to be observed that the Shâstris generally have been chary of admitting, and, in fact, have often expressly denied,³

¹ The orders mentioned in note 5, p. 256, were issued formally by Shâhu himself, through the responsible minister Panditrâo, and only on the recommendation of the Peshwa. As to the Peshwa's other seals, see *Journal Bom. Br. Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. xvi. p. 126.

² See Krishnâji Sabhâsad's *Life of Shivâjî*, pp. 27–28; *V. D. Vistâra*, vol. ix. pp. 50–53; *Marâthâ Sâmrâjya Bakhar*, p. 76; Bhonsle, *Letters, Memoranda, &c.* (K. I. Sangraha), p. 147; see also Mr. B. D. Nigudkar's *Life of Parasûram Bhân Patwardhan*, p. 57; and *Malcolm's Central India*, vol. i. p. 67.

³ See the *Grâmanya* section (K.P.I.S.), p. 2; and West and Bühler's *Digest of Hindu Law*, p. 921, note. The learned authors of that work—Sir R. West and Prof. Bühler—had seen a large number of opinions of Shâstris recorded in the various British courts of justice in the Bombay Presidency. In other parts of the country,

the existence of any castes other than Brāhmans and Sūdras in these modern days. They have generally, I believe, relied on an old text of the Bhāgawata Purāṇa, which says that the Nandas were the last of the Kshatriyas;¹ and they have not, as far as I am aware, grappled, from that point of view, with the claims of Shivājī to rank as a Kshatriya—claims which appear to have been at least acquiesced in by our Marāthā poet-saint Rāmadās.² Another explanation may, perhaps, be found in the old doctrine that every king has more or less of the divine element in him.³ In one passage of one of our recently published Bakhars, no less a person than the Mogul Emperor of Delhi has been given the benefit of that doctrine.⁴ If that is allowable *à fortiori*, must Shivājī and Sambhājī be also allowed to claim a share of the quasi-divine character?⁵

At this point I cannot resist the temptation to draw attention to a passage in Krishnājī Anant Sabhāsad's Life of Shivājī. Although, as above stated, his movement was in essence a religious one, it appears that in providing for the preservation of temples and religious institutions of his own faith, Shivājī also continued the existing

also, the Shāstris have on various occasions expressed opinions to the same effect. They may be seen referred to in the report of a case decided by Her Majesty's Privy Council. See Moore's Indian Appeal Cases, vol. vii. pp. 35-37, 46-49. Steele is there quoted as showing that the claims to Kshatriya descent of the Bhonsles and other Marāthā families have been denied. The denial is based there, not on the text of the Bhāgavata, but on the destruction of the Kshatriyas by Paraśurāma. But this would obviously prove too much, for no Shāstri will venture to deny the Kshatriya descent of Rāma of Ayodhyā, and all the later princes of the Raghuvanśa, who, of course, survived Paraśurāma. See also Malcolm's Central India, vol. i. p. 43.

¹ For one interpretation of that text see the opinion of the Benāres Pandits set out at K. P. Bakhar (K.P.I.S.), p. 17. The usual interpretation is that the text only applies to the Magadha district, not the *whole* of Bhāratavarsha.

² See Dāsabodha, xiii. 6. The various mediæval princes whose copperplates have been discovered claim to belong to the old Puranic Kshatriya families, such as Yādavas, &c. Hemādri describes the Jādhava or Yādava Prince Mahādeva as of the Somavanśa, and as having performed Yajnaṣ. See, too, Journal, Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, vol. ix. p. cxliv.; Forrest's Selections, p. 726; Elliott's History of India, by Dowson, vol. vii. p. 254, vol. viii. p. 258.

³ In the Grāmaṇya section (K.P.I.S.), p. 5, it is stated that when the dissensions between the Brāhmanas and Prabhus were going on in the lifetime of Narayanrāo Peshwa, the champions of the former said: "What does it matter what is in the Sāstras? Who looks at them? . . . They are sovereigns, and it is necessary to act as they direct."

⁴ See Raghunāth Yādav's *Panipat Bakhar*, pp. 19-20, and compare M. R. Chitnis's Life of Rājārām I., p. 71, and also *Bhan Sahel's Bakhar*, p. 56, and Chitragnpta's *Sivājī*, p. 137. And for a Muhammadan account of the *Darśana* of the Emperor of Delhi, which is probably to be explained by this doctrine, see Dowson's Elliott, vol. vii. p. 284.

⁵ See *Śrīśivakāvya*, viii. 56.

grants in favour of Mussulman Pirs, mosques, &c., for keeping up lights and religious services.¹ As this Life professes to have been written at the desire of Rājārām, the second son of Shivājī, and as there is some internal evidence to confirm the statement, the information furnished by Shivājī's biographer is obviously of great historic value.

To return, however, to our main point. It is necessary to note, in connection with this matter of the union of Church and State, that it is clear from the Kāyastha Prabhūchī Bakhar,² and some other evidence, that the Mussulman sovereigns were also on occasion called on to deal with these ecclesiastical cases arising among their Hindu subjects. It appears, for instance, that in the course of the quarrels between the Brāhmans and Prabhus in the Konkan, the two parties once went to the local Mogul officer for redress. The officer was a Mussulman, and he pointed out that he knew nothing of the Shāstras of the litigants. He therefore told them both to go to their principal sacred place, Benâres, and obtain a decision from the Pandits there, and promised that he would enforce such decision. The Kāyastha Bakhar goes on to say that the parties did repair to Benâres accordingly, and there a great Sabhâ or assembly of the Pandits was held, and after high debate it was determined that the Prabhus were genuine Kshatriyas, and entitled to the benefit

¹ See Sabhāsād's Life of Śivājī, p. 27, and also Elliott's History of India, by Dowson, vol. vii. p. 260, which is of very special value, as containing the testimony of a Mussulman and hostile historian. Compare, also, clauses 7 and 12 of the treaty mentioned at Forrest's Selections from Bombay State Papers, p. 41, though it is to be remarked that the Portuguese, who got the benefit of those clauses, do not appear to have shown any similar liberality themselves. See *Sāshṭi Ba Kahn*, p. 1, and Elliott's History of India, by Dowson, vol. vii. pp. 211, 345. With this compare the Delhi Emperor's prohibition of cow-slaughter, procured by the influence of Mahādji Sindhia (Grant Duff, vol. iii. p. 76, and Malcolm's Central India, vol. i. p. 164). The direction given by the Government of Bombay to Colonel Keatinge not to kill bullocks (see Forrest's Selections, p. 216) stands on a somewhat different footing. This subject of tolerance reminds one of a note of Sir John Malcolm's in his very sympathetic and fascinating account of Ahalyābāi, the saintly queen of the Holkar family. See Central India, vol. i. p. 194. Here, too, perhaps, I may be permitted to draw attention to a passage in Holkar's *Kaifiyat* (p. 108), which shows the Holkar "taking the guise of a fakir" in connection with the Mussulman Moharram—a practice which prevails among Hindus to the present day. See also, in connection with this last point, *Marāṭhī Sāmrajya Bakhar*, p. 41, and Forrest's Selections from Bombay State Papers, p. 1.

² See pp. 8–9. At a later stage of these dissensions, in the days of Nana Fadnavis's power, the Prabhus said: "All our caste says, Convene an assembly of Pandits and determine our status. Then let an order of the state be issued, and it will be our duty to have the ceremonies performed as ordered. Only let the state order be given after due consideration." See the Grāmanya section (K.P.I.S.), p. 17; see also *K. P. Bakhar*, p. 17, and our note 4, p. 256.

of Vedic ceremonies,¹ and to be taught the sacred Gâyatrî verses. After this decision the Brâhmans are said to have been satisfied, and to have agreed to conduct the ceremonies for the Prabhus in the regular manner. And it is further stated subsequently that this was accordingly done.

There is a passage in the Bakhar of the battle of Kurdla² which illustrates how the ecclesiastical jurisdiction thus indicated was invoked, and how it was practically invoked on its judicial side. At Taleguam it seems there was a Brâhman woman who lived in adultery with a Mussalman.³ The Brâhmans of the place made a complaint about this to Nana Faḍanavis at Poona, stating the facts, and adding that the days of Brâhmanism were gone! Nana expressed his disbelief of the charge, but appointed a Panch or board of arbitrators⁴ to investigate it. The Panch were apparently bribed by the Mussalman, and even before the time for final decision was reached betrayed a tendency to decide in his favour, and to hold that the charge was false. Thereupon "a hundred or two hundred Brâhmans" gathered together and proceeded to Poona. There they went before the tent of the Peshwa (who was starting with his army on the expedition which ended at Khardâ), and sat there in the middle of the day with torches blazing. When the Peshwa came out of the tent the Brâhmans set up a loud cry, "Har! Har! Mahâdeva." And on the Peshwa desiring to know the meaning of it all, they said they had come from Talegaum, stated their whole case, and explained that they had lighted torches at mid-day as there was so much darkness—that is, absence of justice—prevailing in the kingdom. Nana was thereupon sent for, and subsequently the arbitrators, and finally the accused woman. The woman, on being asked, at first remained silent. But cane-sticks being ordered to be sent for,⁵ she acknowledged her guilt, and the Peshwa there-

¹ The ceremonies for Sûdras are performed with Purâṇic, not Vedic Mantras. See West and Bühler's Digest, pp. 920-921, *inter alia*. But see, too, Mandlik's Hindu Law, p. 56, where a somewhat different view is expressed by Nilakantha Bhaṭṭa as regards adoptions.

² This is Grant Duff's spelling of the name, which has been copied into some subsequent works. The correct spelling is Khardâ.

³ See the *Kharda Bakhar*, p. 5.

⁴ As to this mode of administering criminal justice, see Grant Duff, vol. ii. p. 237 and a very full and interesting account in Malcolm's Central India, vol. i. p. 556 *et seq.*, vol. ii. p. 290 *et seq.*, and p. 426 *et seq.* As to what is said by Grant Duff about women and Brâhmans not being put to death, compare M. R. Chitnis's Life of Shâhu the Younger, pp. 72-80, the *Peshwa's Bakhar*, p. 132, and Forrest's Selections from Bombay State Papers, p. 18.

⁵ This is in accordance with old tradition. Compare the Mudrârâkshasa drama, Act v.; Wilson's Hindu Theatre, vol. ii. p. 225. See also Malcolm's Central India.

upon decided that both the accused persons were guilty—a decision in which Yajnes'var Shâstri¹ is stated to have concurred. The sentence was, that the male culprit was ordered first to be paraded through the streets of Poona on the back of a donkey with his face turned towards the back of the animal, and then tied to the foot of an elephant and killed; and the female culprit, as she could not be sentenced to death,² was banished from the kingdom.

The various incidents to which we have thus referred illustrate the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Marâthâ sovereigns in all its aspects. We see from them that those sovereigns, as heads at once of the State and the Church, to borrow a modern European expression, exercised legislative powers, judicial powers, both by themselves direct and through the medium of arbitrators, administrative powers by the hands of a departmental minister, and executive powers through the instrumentality of Government Karkuns. And the documents, it may be added, which furnish this information extend over nearly the whole period of Marâthâ rule, from the time of Shivâjî down to that of Savâi Mâdhavrâo.

It has been already stated that the Marâthâ Râjâs who claimed and exercised the wide ecclesiastical jurisdiction thus indicated in outline were regarded as Kshatriyas. The recently published documents contain many allusions to this point; but from those which relate to Shivâjî himself,³ it rather appears, if we read between the lines, that the claim set up on his behalf to be of the Kshatriya race was not universally regarded as really and truly tenable, although, from considerations of policy and expediency, it might be

vol. i. p. 575. For a Muhammadan prince's use of the torture to extract information, see Elliott's History of India, by Dowson, vol. vii. p. 322.

¹ Compare Malcolm's Central India, vol. i. p. 558.

² See note 4, p. 263. The punishments here mentioned were in ordinary use in those days for certain offences. The infamous Ghâsirâm Kotwal was subjected to the parade called Dhinda (see *Peshwa's Bakhar*, p. 157), though he appears to have had a camel instead of a donkey to ride on. Some of Nârâyanrâo Peshwa's murderers, and the pretended Sadâshivrâo Bhâu (Grant Duff's spelling of this name as Sewdashesrao is incorrect), were tied to the feet of elephants and thus killed (comp. Forrest's Selections, p. 4, and Elliott's History of India, by Dowson, vol. vii. pp. 359-360), others were beheaded or shot, and some had torches tied to their bodies, which were then lighted, and they were thus burnt to death after their fingers had been pierced with needles. See *Peshwa's Bakhar*, p. 132. It may, perhaps, be added that about the manner of the death of the pretended Sadâshivrâo Bhâu there are varying accounts given. See the *Peshwa's Bakhar*, p. 134, and *Peshwa Sakâvali*, p. 30; Mr. B. D. Nigudkar's Life of Parasthirâm Bhân Patawardhan, p. 40; Grant Duff, vol. ii. p. 331, and note there; and Elliott's History of India, by Dowson, vol. viii. p. 294.

³ See, *inter alia*, Chitrâgupta's Life, pp. 108, 116, 168; and cf. *Marâthi Samrâjya Bakhar*, p. 47.

conceded. From the biographies of Shivâjî by Krishnâjî Anant Sabhâsad¹ and by Chitrâgupta,² it seems to follow that the search for the origin of Shivâjî's family, which resulted in the discovery that he belonged to the Shiśode³ clan of Rajputs who reigned in Udayapur,⁴ was not commenced until after the idea of a formal installation (or Alehisheka) had been first started; and Malhâr Râmrao Chitnis's narrative, although it proceeds on the assumption of the fact as already established, rather indicates that Gâgâbhattacha, the great Pandit of Benâres, whose services were put in requisition for the installation ceremonies, had some considerations of policy put to him before he was persuaded to join in those ceremonies.⁵ They had also to strain a point when, as a preliminary to the installation, the thread ceremony essential for a Kshatriya was performed on Shivâjî at a time when he was "forty-six or fifty years old," and had already had two sons,—an irregularity which also was, we are told, expressly assented to by all the assembled Brâhmans and Pandits.⁶ How the assembled Brâhmans and Pandits worked their way to this decision none of our authorities states. Further, it is remarkable that none of them anywhere mentions the performance of the thread ceremony upon any of the members of Shivâjî's family except the ones who were installed on the Gadi,⁷ and then that ceremony is mentioned in connection with the installation ceremony.⁸ In view of these facts, it may be permissible to doubt whether the statements of both

¹ See p. 68.

² Page 98.

³ See *V. D. Vistâra*, vol. x. p. 44.

⁴ See Chitnis's Shâhu, p. 9; see too *V. D. Vistâra*, vol. ix. p. 32; Gupte's *Bhonsle Bakhar*, p. 4; Letters, Memoranda, &c. (K. I. Sangraha), p. 362; M. R. Chitnis's *Life of Shâhu the Younger*, pp. 101-102, where the different practice of the old Udaypur family in a certain matter of ceremonial is referred to. It will be remembered that the Udaypur family were the oldest of the Rajput clans (see Grant Duff, vol. i. p. 27), and that they were the only family which had not permitted a daughter of theirs to marry into the family of the Great Mogul. See Elphinstone's *History of India*, by Cowell (3rd edit.), pp. 480, 506-507, and Malcolm's *Central India*, vol. i. p. 44, note; vol. ii. pp. 126-128, and note; but also p. 482.

⁵ *V. D. Vistâra*, vol. xiii. p. 202. See also the *History of the Chitnis Family* (K.P.I.S.), pp. 6, 8, and *K. P. Bakhar* (K.P.I.S.), pp. 10-11.

⁶ See *V. D. Vistâra*, vol. xiii. p. 203. See, too, Forrest's *Selections*, p. 22, which passage appears to me to illustrate a remark made in note 1, p. 253, that the translation of the *Râyagad Bakhar* is probably a very condensed translation, and not *verbatim*.

⁷ Râjârâm's is mentioned by M. R. Chitnis, *V. D. Vistâra*, vol. xiii. p. 248, but his case was peculiar.

⁸ *E.g.*, see Chitnis's *Life of Râjârâm II.*, p. 2. Sambhâjî's thread ceremony appears to have taken place at a much earlier age than Shivâjî's; apparently it was celebrated as a preliminary to his installation as Yuvarâj or heir-apparent. See below.

Krishnâjî Anant Sabhâsad¹ and Malhâr Râmrâo Chitnis,² about Shâhâjî, the father of Shivâjî, claiming to be a Rajput of the Shisode clan, or about Jaysing, Mirza Râjâ of Jaypur, acknowledging Shivâjî as a Kshatriya, and dining with him before the installation, deserve to be entirely trusted. That at a later time the Satara Râjâs,³ and the Nâgpur Bhonsles, and the Ghorpades and others claimed to be Kshatriyas, is a matter which, after Shivâjî's affair, need excite no surprise. The explanation of it all is contained in a passage in K. A. Sabhâsad's Life.⁴ He says that Gâgâbhatta was much pleased with the splendid reception given him by Shivâjî,⁵ and it was Gâgâbhatta who suggested,⁶ that while a Mussalman Padsha sat on the throne, and had the chhatra or umbrella indicative of sovereignty, it was not proper that Shivâjî, who had achieved what he had, should not adopt the formal ensigns of kingship.⁷ And it was when this suggestion was accepted by Shivâjî, and a formal Alehisheka determined on, that it became necessary to look into the origin of the family, and to promulgate that Shivâjî was by birth a Kshatriya.⁸ Taking the whole evidence together, it looks like a case of a more or less deliberate manipulation⁹ of facts and religious rules in aid of a foregone conclusion, adopted for a purely political purpose.

¹ See Life, pp. 28, 38. In 1747 Raja Bakht Singh, a Râthor, speaks of the Marâthâs as a contemptible tribe from the Dekkan.

² See Elliott's History of India, by Dowson, vol. viii. p. 209. See *V. D. Vistâra*, vol. x. pp. 44, 119; vol. xiii. p. 202, where Śivâjî claims that other members of his family are reigning in Cutch and Nepâl.

³ See *Marâthî Sâmrâjya Bakhar*, p. 116, and the references already given, also Scott's Deccan, vol. i. p. 32 n.; vol. ii. p. 4; Forrest's Bombay Sélections, p. 725 (which is a Mussulman's account in 1781).

⁴ Page 38.

⁵ Chitrâgupta appears to say that Gâgâbhatta had come of his own motion to see Śivâjî (Life, p. 95). The other authorities point the other way.

⁶ He is said to have got a lakh of rupees as a present. See the History of the Chitnis Family (K.P.I.S.), p. 6, note.

⁷ Śivâjî is stated to have been himself rather keen about having his Munja or thread ceremony performed. See Chitrâgupta's Life, p. 84. In the *Marâthî Sâmrâjya Bakhar*, p. 47 (see also B. S. Gupte's *Bakhar* (K.P.I.S.), p. 8), it is said that he was at one time going in for the regular Brahmanical life in preference even to the Kshatriya life, after having been taught the Gâyatri Mantra (*Om tat satitur*, &c.) by Gâgâbhatta. But from this extreme he allowed himself to be dissuaded by his officers. He then also ordered that no mean employment was to be given to Brâhmans, and he made some transfers accordingly. See also Grant Duff, vol. i. p. 266, and Forrest's Selections from Bombay State Papers, pp. 20-21.

⁸ In the *S'risivakâvya*, iv. 23-29, Śivâjî and Gâgâbhatta are both censured for the whole proceeding, which is said to have been due to the suggestion of the evil spirit, Kali, and which led, it is said, to Śivâjî's losing his hidden wealth.

⁹ The *S'ivakâvya* expressly charges Gâgâbhatta with this.

Of similar manipulations, or more pronounced and direct violations of religious rules of greater or less importance, the documents before us afford sundry other examples. One of the earliest occurred in connection with the arrangements for the accommodation of Sambhâjî, when Shivâjî, after the flight from Delhi, was obliged, in order to disembarass himself of all impediments, to leave the young prince behind him. It appears that some of Aurangzeb's people suspected that the boy was not, as pretended, a son of the Brâhman Kâsîpant, in whose charge he was, and in order to silence their suspicions, Kâsîpant was obliged to accept their challenge, and to eat out of the same dish as Sambhâjî. The Brâhman made the offence as light as he could make it by taking a quantity of parched and flattened rice, called *pohê*,¹ mixed with curds on a plantain leaf, for the purpose of eating in presence of Aurangzeb's myrmidons. These men made a favourable report to the Emperor, and Sambhâjî was saved. But one of Shivâjî's biographers, Chitragupta, says, that the Brâhman Kâsîpant secretly performed penance for what he had done.² It is to be remarked that Sambhâjî is stated by the same writer to have been dressed like a Brâhman,³ with a dhotar tied round the waist, and also with the sacred thread, which he did not get as of right till about 1679, when Shivâjî had his thread ceremony performed, with a view to instal him as Yuvarâja or heir-apparent.⁴

¹ The rice not being cooked, as ordinary rice has to be, was not so objectionable for the intended purpose as ordinary cooked rice would have been. It may be noted that Khafi Khan's account (Elliott's History of India, by Dowson, vol. vii. pp. 285-292) makes no reference to this episode. The Brâhman Kâsîpant is there called Kabkalas, and identified (p. 205) with the Kabji who became so notorious under Sambhâjî. The author of the note there does not seem to have been aware that Kabkalas is an abridged form of Kabi or Kair Kaluśa, which fact harmonises all the various forms of the spelling of the name.

² Page 75. The other authorities mentioned farther on say nothing about any penance. This test of dinner together appears to have been frequently applied in Marâthâ history. See, *inter alia*, *Marâthî Sâmrâjya Bakhar*, p. 32 (this is about Sambhâjî); *V. D. Vistâra*, vol. x. p. 202 (ditto); Gupte's *Bhonsle Bakhar*, p. 9 (this also relates to Sambhâjî), p. 20; M. R. Chitnis's *Life of Râjârâm II.*, p. 2; and see Grant Duff, vol. ii. p. 39, and Malcolm's *Central India*, vol. ii. pp. 131 n., 149 n.; and Asiatic Researches, vol. iii. p. 137. For two curious incidents connected with the dinner question, see *Holkar's Kaiṣiyat*, p. 4, and Gupte's *Bhonsle Bakhar*, p. 31.

³ See Chitragupta's *Life*, p. 77, and *V. D. Vistâra*, vol. x. p. 185. He was said to have been dressed like a girl. See Scott's *Deccan* (based on Ferishta), vol. ii. p. 16. It is curious, in this connection, to notice that when Savâi Mâdhavrâo was going to his father-in-law's house for his wedding, he is stated to have put on, not the old Brâhman dress, but a silk fentâ or sash, tied round the head, a long coat, and trousers (see *Peshwa's Bakhar*, p. 139). He put on trousers also when sitting in Durbar. See *ibid.*, p. 105.

⁴ See *V. D. Vistâra*, vol. xiii. p. 242. According to the account of Kâfi Khan,

A similar occurrence took place again in Shivâjî's family on his father Shâhâjî's death, when, in spite of the prayers of her son, Jijibâi, Shâhâjî's widow, at first insisted on preparations being made for her sacrificing herself as a Satî. Chitragupta's Life shows that the argument which ultimately prevailed with the lady was that, if she insisted on having her own way, Shivâjî's life could not be relied on, and the empire established by him would at once cease to be.¹ Similar instances are not wanting in subsequent years in the days of the Peshwa power. The great violation of religious rules which was involved in the Brahman Peshwas taking to the military profession is become so familiar, and almost such a matter of course, so to say, that it hardly strikes one sufficiently in the present day as having been in truth of that character.² In the protest made by the eminent Râmshâstrî against the Peshwa Mâdhavrâo Ballâl's devoting too much time to religious observances, their incompatibility with those duties of Kshatriyas which the Peshwas had undertaken is the strongest point in the argument; and the departure from the ordinances of the faith is assumed as an accomplished and irreversible fact, not a matter seriously under discussion at all.³ Another story of similar significance is told of the same eminent Peshwa Mâdhavrâo. When he was arranging for his expedition against Hyder Ali, he sent a summons to the Bhonsle chief of Nâgpur to come over to join the Marâthâ army. The

Sambhâji had been married before he went to Delhi with Śivâjî. This follows from the statement that his wife wanted to become a Sati on hearing of the news of Sambhâji's death at Allahabad (see Elliott's History of India, by Dowson, vol. vii. p. 292). If so, Sambhâji's Munja also must have taken place *after* his marriage. See note 8, p. 265.

¹ Page 85.

² See *V. D. Vistâra*, vol. xvi. p. 284, for what a Brâhman of our own day says about it. See, too, Malcolm's Central India, vol. i. p. 77. In the *S'rîśivakâvya*, viii. 4, Shâhu's reign is extolled, in the well-established conventional style, as showing all castes devoted to their respective duties; and immediately afterwards, at viii. 22 *et seq.*, we read of that same Shâhu ordering Bahiropant Pingle and Bâlâji Visvanâth, the first of the Peshwas, to go on a military expedition, which the latter is stated to have undertaken forthwith; and again, at viii. 49, Bâjirâo I. is made to speak of himself as both a Brâhman and Kshatriya. See also *ibid.* xiv. 49, which relates to the death of Viśvâsrâo at Panipat, and *ibid.* (Appendix xi. 19), where the Raja of Kolhapur is said to have twitted Paraśurâm Bhâu Patwardhan with having deserted his duties as a Brâhman. In the memorandum by a Mussulman writer (dated 1781-82) summarised in Forrest's Selections from Bombay State Papers, p. 725 *et seq.*, this point is made against the Peshwas (p. 728). The remarks of the writer are noteworthy (see also Malcolm's Central India, vol. i. p. 75). It is curious that the persons thus teaching the Brâhmanas their duty should have been, one a Marâthâ, and one a Mussulman, who quotes Manu against them!

³ See Grant Duff, vol. ii. p. 209.

Bhonsle's agent at Poona went to consult with the ex-minister Sakhârâm Bâpu as to what should be done. The latter was afraid to give his counsel openly, as the Peshwa's Karkun was present, but he managed to convey his advice to the Bhonsle's agent without the Karkun understanding the point. He suggested to one of two persons who were sitting near him playing chess that, as the pawns¹ of his opponent had advanced in force, he should take back his king a square or two. The Bhonsle's agent, taking the hint, at once wrote off to his master to advise that he should not come to Poona in pursuance of the Peshwa's summons, but should go back the one or two stages he had advanced from Nâgpur. This was done accordingly, and Mâdhavrâo, who had a great reputation for obtaining news of everything that was going on in which he was interested,² heard of the Bhonsle's return to his capital; and he also heard of Sakhârâm Bâpu's advice, which had led to it, though the latter was perceived only by him hidden under the facts he learnt from the cross-examination of the Karkun. Mâdhavrâo was a man of very strong will. He at once sent for the Bhonsle's agent, and told him of his master's return to Nâgpur on the advice of Sakhârâm Bâpu, and added, "If your master is in Poona within fifteen days, well and good; if not, I will pay no heed to my being a Brâhman, but will break his head with a tent-peg!"³

The matter may perhaps be said to be carried a step farther when a Brâhman Karkun, writing of the end of the Brâhman Paraśurâm Bhâu Patwardhan's life, writes as follows:⁴ "The end of the deceased was excellent, for he served the Peshwas, performing a Kshatriya's duties to the very last." But even if we pass from the case of these secularised Brâhmins, we find, in the instance of the priests of Kâyagaum, and perhaps I may add of the Swami of Dhâvadaśi, that these men also, while still living as religious Brâhmins, devoted themselves to worldly, that is to say to political, pursuits. Of the latter I only know from the recently published Chronicle and the note in Grant Duff's History.⁵ The original correspondence alluded to I have not seen; but, with regard to the

¹ Pawns in Marâthi are called Pyâdas, which also means soldiers.

² Nana Faḍanavis is believed to have adopted and carried out Mâdhavrâo's system of obtaining news from everywhere. See Grant Duff, vol. ii. p. 229. As to Nana, compare *Peshwa's Bakhar*, pp. 146-148, *inter alia*.

³ *Peshwa's Bakhar*, p. 94. For a more ferocious story about Râghobâ Dâdâ see *Peshwa's Bakhar*, pp. 81-82.

⁴ Letters, Memoranda, &c. (K. I. Sangraha), p. 501. This is nearly all reproduced in the Life of Bhâu, by Mr. Nigudkar, recently published, p. 123.

⁵ Grant Duff, vol. i. p. 523 n.

former, the published letters show that they lent money at interest to the Peshwas, were consulted by them about men and things connected with the state, and, in fact, took an active and personal, if occasional, part in public affairs.¹ Another point of the same sort may be noted as being a somewhat remarkable one. Among the papers recently published is a letter addressed to the Peshwa Savâi Mâdhavrâo by his grandmother, Gopikâbâi, in reply to a request by the former for advice as to how he should conduct himself. One of the directions given to her grandson by the old lady, the widow of Bâlâjî Bâjrâo, was that he should cut short his Sandhyâ or daily worship, and that, while the household priests performed the general daily worship of the household gods, he should only offer the leaves of the Tulsî plant.² Such a direction, given by a woman, and to a young boy who was only just learning to read, write, and cipher, affords somewhat remarkable evidence of how the exigencies of the times were operating to relax the rigours of the old religious observances, even in the family of the Peshwa defenders of the faith. Gopikâbâi was a very practical lady, of quick intelligence and strong will;³ she must have seen the course of life of several prominent men in the history of the Peshwa régime,⁴ and drawn therefrom the conclusions which she embodied in her advice to her grandson.

There are one or two curious facts to note in connection with the relaxation of the rules regarding the taking of food. The first point I take at second-hand from a note by the editor of the *Life of*

¹ See Letters, Memoranda, &c. (K. I. Sangraha), pp. 2 *et seq.* In this connection, the metamorphosis of Gosavis into soldiers may also be noted. See Grant Duff, vol. iii. pp. 33, 338, and compare, *inter alia*, *Bhâu Sâheb's Bakhar*, p. 53; *Holkar's Kaiṣiyat*, p. 53; see also Elliott's History of India, by Dowson, vol. vii. p. 294, and Malcolm's Central India, vol. ii. p. 168.

² See Letters, Memoranda, &c. (K. I. Sangraha), p. 458; *V. D. Vistâra*, vol. v. p. 179, where also Gopikâbâi's letter is published.

³ See Grant Duff, vol. ii. pp. 120, 168, and compare, *inter alia*, *Bhâu Sâheb's Bakhar*, pp. 89-90, *Peshwa's Bakhar*, pp. 61, 64-65, and Forrest's Selections from Bombay State Papers (pp. 250-251), for what was thought of her among the English in those days. Their prejudices, however, in favour of Râghobâ Dâdâ, their ally, are pretty clearly perceptible there as elsewhere (*e.g.*, see p. 267), and require to be always borne in mind in such matters (see also p. 677). See further about Gopikâbâi, Elliott's History of India, by Dowson, vol. viii. p. 287.

⁴ The Muhammadan observer whose memorandum is summarised and translated in Mr. Forrest's Selections from Bombay State Papers (pp. 725 *et seq.*) speaks of the rule of the Brâhman Peshwas as an "ecclesiastic government," and goes on to say that "this union of spiritual and temporal authority forms a two-headed monster in society, which frightens an ignorant world into submission;" and adds finally, that "a great portion of the temporal power was, however, soon transferred to its proper ministers, the laity, who, of course, endeavoured to shake the unnatural yoke of civil Brahmanical authority."

Shâhu, written by Malhâr Râmrao Chitnis. The Pratinidhi Parasuram Trimbak, having come under the displeasure of Shâhu on account of his son's having gone over to the Kolhâpur interest, was about to be put to death by Shâhu's orders, when Khando Ballâl Chitnis hastened to the spot, and interceding for the Pratinidhi, saved his life. From that time forward it is said that one prominent member of the family of Khando Chitnis was, for several years, always asked to the Srâddha or anniversary dinners in the Pratinidhi's family, in company with the Brâhmans invited.¹ Two similar departures from strict rule in regard to dinners are mentioned in the Bakhar of the battle of Khardâ. After the victory, the Peshwa was taken round by Nana Faḍanavis to honour the various Sardârs with a visit. Among others, they called on the two Sardârs of the Sindhia, Jivabâ Dâdâ and Lakhobâ Nânâ. There the Peshwa was invited to what is called a farâl—that is, a dinner, about which there are fewer ceremonial and other difficulties than about the ordinary preparations. The Peshwa turned to Nana saying, "These people are Shenvis;² how can their request be granted?" Whereupon Nana said, "The preparations have been made by our Brâhman cooks; what does it matter if they are Shenvis? Jivabâ's wishes must not be balked. He has used his sword well. Such difficulties in the case of our Sardârs must be overcome." Then the Peshwa, and also the Brâhmans who accompanied him, sat down to the farâl—the Peshwa taking something only for form's sake, and the rest taking the farâl in the usual way. From the narrative in the Bakhar, it seems clear that all parties thought that something not in accordance with the prevailing rules was being done, and that the justification or excuse for its being done was found in the political exigencies of the occasion. From Jivabâ Dâdâ's tents the Peshwa proceeded to those of Parasurâm Bhâu Patwardhan.³ Here, too, the Peshwa had an invitation to stay for dinner. There was, of course, no caste difficulty here, as both parties belonged to the same

¹ Page 26. I can now refer to an original authority from the Prabhu side of the matter. See the History of the Chitnis Family (K.P.I.S.), p. 11. See also *K. P. Bakhar* (K.P.I.S.), p. 13 n. As to the historical event of the saving of the Pratinidhi's life, see Grant Duff, vol. i. p. 426, where, however, as said in the beginning of this paper, the particular episode referred to in the text is not even hinted at.

² Page 20. The Shenvis are called "fish-eating Brâhmans" in Chitragupta's *Life of Śivâji*, p. 123, where there are certain paragraphs, pronounced by the editor on good grounds to be interpolated, which are nevertheless of interest from an historical point of view. The objection of the Peshwa mentioned above was based upon the prevailing custom, which must have originally arisen from the Shenvis being then, as now, ordinarily a fish-eating caste, while other classes of Brâhmans are not such.

³ *Khardâ Bakhar*, p. 20.

caste division. But the Peshwa said to Nana, "Paraśurâm Bhâu is in mourning;¹ what should be done?" Again Nana was up to the occasion, and ready with his practical advice. "Bhâu's wishes," said Nana, "must not be baulked on such an occasion as this; some way out of the difficulty about the mourning shall be found."² Ultimately the Peshwa consented, and he and all his party took their nocturnal meal at Paraśurâm Bhâu's camp—Bhâu himself sitting apart, and not in the same row with his guests, in consequence of his mourning. The writer of the *Bakhar* says, that in consequence of the Peshwa's condescension, Bhâu forgot his grief for the loss of his nephew, and told³ the Peshwa that the latter's staying to dinner in the house of mourning⁴ was an ample reward to him.⁵

On the next point of this sort to which I now proceed to draw attention, the evidence is not quite as clear as could be wished. Such as it is, however, I will adduce it. One of the most splendid festivities celebrated during the days of the Peshwa power was on occasion of the first marriage of Savâi Mâdhavrâo. The festivities are described in much detail in the *Peshwa's Bakhar*.⁶ There is

¹ Paraśurâm Bhâu's nephew had been killed at the battle of Khardâ, and for ten days after his death his house and all his family would be in a state of ceremonial impurity.

² This idea is worthy of note.

³ Page 20. Jivabâ Dâdâ also had expressed himself in terms of similar gratitude.

⁴ In his recently published *Life* by Nigudkar, Paraśurâm Bhâu is stated to have been a very pious Hindu. His request to the Peshwa, therefore, is remarkable, as well as the Peshwa's compliance and Nânâ's counsel.

⁵ The elder Mâdhavrâo Peshwa's dining with Jânôjî Bhonsla, as mentioned in the *Life* of the Nâgpur Chitnises (R.P.I.S.), p. 3, does not seem to have been a matter of much religious or social significance. It appears from Mr. Forrest's *Selections* from Bombay State Papers, p. 162, that the same Peshwa once invited Mr. Mostyn to "stay and sup with him," and that Mr. Mostyn did so. How the supper went off, and what were the details of the arrangements made, one would have liked to know, but no information is forthcoming on that head, as far as I am aware.

⁶ Pp. 135, 144. The *Peshwa's Bakhar* gives an account of some other *tamâshas* held about the same time, e.g., the Divâlî, Shingâ, and other festivities, which were celebrated on a grander scale than usual, at the instance mainly of Mahâdjî Sindhia. The editor of the *Peshwa's Bakhar* observes upon these latter, that they were part of Mahâdjî's scheme for establishing his own power over the Peshwas and the Marâthâ kingdom of the Deccan. That having regard to Savâr Mâdhavrâo being in reality a child, Mahâdjî may have had some *such* scheme in his head is not impossible, as he was not himself much of a lover of pomp for its own sake. (See Malcolm's *Central India*, vol. i. p. 125, and Forrest's *Bombay Selections*, p. xxix.) But that these *tamâshas* were not to the taste of Nana Faḍanavis, and were in some sort of way forced upon him, is an observation which rests on no evidence, and is rather contrary to such slight evidence as there is. See *Peshwa's Bakhar*, pp. 167–172, 175, 193 (the last two passages relate to events which took place after Mahâdjî's death). See, too, *Bhâu Sahel's Bakhar*, p. 90, and the ballad at *V. D. Vistâra*, vol. v. p. 200, and Grant Duff, vol. ii. p. 139, with which compare Elliott's *History of India* by Dowson, vol. iii. p. 280, and Kâsi Rai's narrative, 3 *Asiatic Researches*, p. 124. There would seem to have been a general degeneration all round.

also a memorandum dated Sake, 1704 (A.D. 1782), containing a most elaborate series of directions as to each one of the innumerable elements making up "the pride, pomp, and circumstance" of a glorious marriage, including even the perfumery, the refreshments, and the amusements to be provided, the men to superintend them, and so forth.¹ Among other things, the memorandum directs that Sardârs, Shilledars, Marâthâs, Mussalmans, Ali Bahâdur,² and others, should be taken, after they are assembled together, to the house of the bride's father for dinner and for farâl, and that they should also be invited to a farâl or dinner at the Peshwa's palace on the proper occasion. And again it is said in another part of the memorandum that the Nawab, Bhonsle, Holkar, and Shilledars of high positions, and Sarkarkuns (*sic*), Marâthâs, and Mussalmans should be invited; and they should be taken to the house of the bride's father, and to the palace for dinner, and to see the dance. They should be invited, and provisions also should be sent to them. It is not clear from these directions how the various guests, Marâthâs, Mussalmans, &c., were to be accommodated at the time of dinners and farâls, nor how they were served; and, therefore, one cannot be sure that they all sat down together, and were served out of the same pots, though this does not seem altogether unlikely.³

Passing now from this point about dinners, we come to the important point of marriage. And here, too, it appears that the Peshwas on their part initiated a change of custom, which, however, failed in subsequent years to get itself established. I am not now referring to Bâjirâo's left-handed marriage with Mastânî, but Bâlâjî Bâjirâo, who was, of course, of the Chitpâvan or Konkanastha section of the Brâhman caste, married Râdhâbâi, who belonged to a different section of that caste, viz., Desâstha;⁴ and it is said, though no written authority is forthcoming for the statement, that Bâlâjî had also married a Karhâdâ girl, in order to secure the ultimate complete amalgamation of three of the great sections of the Brâhman community, viz., Desâsthas, Konkanasthas, and Karhâdâs. That object, however, has not been yet attained, and it is still usual, to put it in the mildest language, to look askance at intermarriages⁵ amongst the several subdivisions.

To turn now to laxities of a somewhat different character. It is

¹ Letters, Memoranda, &c. (K. I. Sangraha), pp. 277, 292.

² The son of Samsher Bahadur, who was the son of the first Bâjirâo by Mastânî.

³ In the *Peshwa's Bakhar*, p. 143, a separate dinner for Mussalman guests is mentioned.

⁴ Letters, Memoranda, &c. (K. I. Sangraha), p. 541; *Peshwa Sâkâvalî*, p. 18.

⁵ They take place on extremely rare occasions.

curious to notice that even in the days of Peshwa rule there had come into existence a number of Brâhmanas who were unable to help in the performance even of ordinary religious ceremonies. In the sketch which has been published of the last days of Paraśurâm Bhâu Patwardhan, we read that after the fuel had been collected for the cremation of the great warrior's corpse, and some Bhikshukas, or priestly Brâhmans, had been got together from the village near the place of cremation, the friends of Bhâu naturally wished to burn the body with the proper Mantras and ceremonies; but a good Brâhman could not be secured for the occasion; "the Joshis of the village were sheer dunces;" and so the body had to be burnt with an unconsecrated fire.¹ A similar instance of ignorance, perhaps, however, more excusable than this, is recorded in connection with the death of the great Swâmî of Dhâvaḍaśî, the Mahâpurusha² of Bâjîrâo I., and others. We read in the Bakhar of Brâhmendra Swâmî of Dhâvaḍaśî that the attendant Brâhmans performed the ceremonies connected with his death with the ritual-book in their hands. Even with this aid, however, they appear to have blundered; and after they had declared, in answer to a question from Shâhu, that the whole of the ceremonial was finished, the Râjâ inquired whether their book contained any direction about the breaking of the Swâmî's skull with a conch-shell, which he had heard was the proper thing to do in the case of a Sannyâsî. The Brâhmans replied that there was a direction to that effect in their book, but that they had overlooked it through inadvertence, and were thereupon taken up roundly by the Râjâ for their ignorance and carelessness.³

I have said before that this was perhaps a case of more excusable ignorance than was betrayed by the Brâhmans concerned in the death-ceremonies of Paraśuram Bhâu Patwardhan. These latter ceremonies are every-day ceremonies, which one would suppose ought to be familiarly known to priestly Brâhmans. Those in connection with the death of a Sannyâsî, on the other hand, might well be unfamiliar, as being only of rare occurrence. Still, the ignorance betrayed even on this latter occasion is remarkable, especially when one has regard to the place and the time where the event occurred. It cannot be that the ignorance was due to there being no demand for that sort of learning in which the men were

¹ Letters, Memoranda, &c. (K. I. Sangraha), p. 500. The statement in Mr. Nigudkar's recently published Life (p. 125) is not consistent with the express mention of a Bhadâ Gori there.

² Grant Duff, vol. i. p. 23.

³ Page 31.

found deficient. That is a condition of things of which some sort of indication is perhaps beginning to be visible in some parts of the country at the present day ; but its existence in the old days to which these events carry us back is not to be assumed.¹ However, whatever may be the true explanation, the facts themselves are worthy of note.²

In connection with these incidents relating to funeral ceremonies may be noticed one which is stated to have occurred on the death of the uncle of the famous Bâpu Gokhale, viz., Dhondopant Gokhale. Dhondopant having been killed by a freebooter named Dhondi Vagh, in an action in which Bâpu Gokhale was also injured, but was unable to save his uncle, Bâpu cremated the body at the scene of the disaster, and returned to Poona, where he wished to perform the residue of the funeral ceremonies enjoined by the customs of the caste. Dhondopant's widow,³ however, it is said, would not hear of it. She is said to have spoken very stingingly to Bâpu on the occasion, and directed that none of the funeral ceremonies should be performed until after Bâpu had taken vengeance upon Dhondi Vagh for the slaughter of Dhondopant. The ceremonies were accordingly held in abeyance. Luckily for him, Bâpu Gokhale did soon afterwards get an opportunity of encountering Dhondi Vagh. Dhondi was killed in the encounter,⁴ and his head was carried on

¹ From the point of view from which the above various incidents are here collected, I do not think that much weight can be attached to the attack made by one of the Patinidhan chiefs, Konherpant, on the Maṭha of the *Sankarāchāryaat Sanke's Vara* (as to which see *V. D. Vistāra*, vol. xx. p. 118), or to the plundering raid, which seems to have gone against the priests, of Kāyagaum (see Letters, Memoranda, &c. (K. I. Sangraha), p. 26), or to the people at large, as distinguished from some Brāhmanas, resorting to English medicines dispensed at the English Residency at Poona (Forrest's Selections, p. 540), though about this last the old prejudice is even now not thoroughly rooted out ; still these facts are not altogether without interest in this connection. I have seen no original authority about the former of these incidents. There is a further reference to it, and an attempted explanation of it, at *V. D. Vistāra*, vol. xxi. p. 285. Compare with it Malcolm's *Central India*, vol. i. pp. 148-224.

² With the above instances of ignorance on the part of Bhikshuks or priests must be coupled the examples of laxity on the part of Pandits and Shastris betrayed on the occasion of Śivājī's thread ceremony, &c. (as stated in the authorities quoted in notes 1, p. 260, and 3, p. 263, and the remarks in the text to which they are attached), and also on the occasion of the adoption of Chimājī Āppā by the widow of his nephew Savai Mādhavrāo. That adoption was subsequently cancelled, Chimājī Āppā was made to undergo penance, and the Shastris who advised the adoption were banished. See Captain Macdonald's *Life of Nana Faḍanavis*, p. 118, which seems to be based on Grant Duff, vol. iii. p. 145 ; and also Mr. V. V. Khare's *Life of Nana Faḍanavis*, p. 203 ; and for an original authority see M. R. Chitnis's *Life of Shāhu II.*, p. 67.

³ Compare the somewhat similar conduct of the Rajput Jasvant Singh's wife. Elliott's *History of India*, by Dowson, vol. vii. p. 231.

⁴ See Selections from Wellington's Despatches, by Colonel Gurwood, p. 9.

a spear's point by Bâpu and shown to Lakshmîbâi, the widow of Dhondopant Gokhale. The lady was then satisfied, and the counter-manded ceremonies were *then* finished!¹

There is one incident in the life of Paraśurâm Bhâu Patwardhan which is entitled to notice here, although I have not come across any reference to it in any original document accessible to me. The incident itself is pretty familiar to people in the Marâthâ country, but I take the account of it that is given in the biography of Paraśurâm Bhâu recently published by Mr. B. D. Nigudkar.² It appears, then, that Paraśurâm Bhâu's eldest daughter, Bâyâbâi, was married into the family of the Joshis of Bârâmatî. She was then only about seven or eight years old, and her husband died within about a fortnight after the marriage. She therefore became a child-widow, according to the usual custom. Some time afterwards Paraśurâm Bhâu laid the whole of the case of the unlucky girl before the celebrated Râmshâstrî, who has already been mentioned in this paper. His heart was touched, and he declared it as his opinion that there was no objection to the little girl being re-married. Then Paraśurâm Bhâu sent up the case to Benâres, and the opinion of all the Shâstrîs there was obtained in favour of such re-marriage. But after this stage was reached Paraśurâm Bhâu abandoned his intention of getting the girl re-married, because it was represented to him that the re-marriage of widows was against the custom which had existed for many years, and that it was not advisable for him to take the risk of offending his people by taking a new departure from such a custom. The result was that the idea was abandoned.³ But the incident is nevertheless of much historic importance. That such a man as Paraśurâm Bhâu Patwardhan, one of the most prominent men at the court of the Peshwas, a man who, as his biographer shows, was at heart a full believer in the religion of his ancestors, should seriously contemplate such a

¹ I only know of this incident from Aitihâfikgoshti (Historic Anecdotes). I have seen no original authority about it. In the recent Life of Bâpu Gokhale there is no allusion to it. It is there stated (p. 37) that Bâpu, of his own motion, merely resolved not to put on his turban until after he had wreaked vengeance on Dhondi. For other instances of woman's stern determination see *Bhâu Sahib's Bakhar*, p. 14, and Malcolm's Central India, vol. i. p. 107, *inter alia*.

² Pp. 131-132. Mr. Nigudkar's book is stated to have been written after reference to some unprinted original papers which are indicated in a list of authorities appended to the book. It is also stated that some of these original papers were inspected by my friend Rav Bahadur M. G. Rânade when examining Mr. Nigudkar's book in manuscript.¹

³ See Nigudkar's Life, part xv.

departure from established rules,¹ is a thing sufficiently remarkable when we are considering the nature of the hold which those established rules had upon the conscience of that generation. That so venerable and eminent an authority as Râmshâstrî, a man widely respected then and since throughout the Marâthâ Empire, should have lent his countenance to that contemplated departure from established usage, makes the incident still more remarkable. And it is most remarkable of all that the eminent Shâstrîs of Benâres² should have offered the support of their unanimous opinion to such a departure. On the other hand, it illustrates the condition of Hindu society in reference to such a practical departure that even with the powerful supports now indicated, and with the proofs in his hand that the current notions rested on no substantial basis, a man like Paraśurâm Bhâu Patwardhan should nevertheless have found himself unable, owing to his surroundings, to take the step to which the kindly impulses of his own heart prompted him.

As I have brought together so many instances in which the rigours of existing rules appear to have been deliberately relaxed to a greater or less extent,³ it is right to point out one or more instances which, in some respects, may be said to present a different appearance to the view. Thus there can be no doubt that the existing documents show many instances of very early marriages in the Peshwa family.⁴ Bâlâjî Bâjirâo, for instance, was married when he was nine years old; Viśvâsrâo, when he was eight; the elder Mâdhavrâo, nine; Nârâyanrâo, ten; Savâimâdhavrâo, a little over eight. And this was not merely the practice in the Peshwa's family. We find from a brief autobiographical sketch of Nana Faḍanavis that he was married when he was only ten years old.⁵ Again, we find a record of more than one re-marriage immediately after the death

¹ We learn from that most valuable repertory of information on the condition of India about 1200 years ago, the Buddhist Records of the Western World, that in the days of Hiuen Tshang widow-marriage was not customary among Hindus. See vol. i. p. 82.

² In our own days the Pandits of Benâras have expressed an opinion in exactly the contrary sense—a fact which may, perhaps, be treated as one indication of that change in the way of looking at these matters which is glanced at farther on in the text.

³ Compare generally Chitnis's *Life of Râjârâm I.*, pp. 58, 66, and Grant Duff, vol. i. pp. 322, 373 n.

⁴ See, *inter alia*, *Peshwa Sakâvali*, pp. 5, 10, 14, 22, 23.

⁵ Letters, Memoranda, &c. (K. I. Sangraha), p. 34; *Life of Nana*, by Captain Macdonald, p. 1. The sketch does not appear to have been seen by Captain Macdonald. In the recent *Life of Nana* by Mr. V. V. Khare (p. 4), it is said that the original of the sketch was taken away to England by a Mr. Brook.

of a first wife.¹ As to widows, there is a curious entry in a chronological list of important events which occurred in the last few years of Peshwa rule.² On the 12th of Śrâvaṇa Śuddha Śaka 1729 (about 1807), it is stated that widows were subjected to the shaving operation at the Nâkazari in Poona. One would have liked to possess some further information about this hideous performance. Further, it appears that a dancing-girls' dance was among the entertainments ordinarily provided at marriages and so forth;³ and that not only a man's wives, but even his kept mistresses,⁴ sacrificed themselves as Satis upon his death.

Looking at the facts and circumstances here collected as a whole, we may say that we get some slight glimpse of the social and religious condition of Marâthâ society during the days of the old régime. That many things which exist now also existed then, of course goes without saying. That the Brahmanical system existed then in greater strength than at present is also what naturally might have been anticipated. But that there should have been so many actual departures from traditionary rule, that there should have been even such schemes for departure contemplated as some of those that have been here noticed, are facts which are not in harmony with the notion that prevails in some quarters, that laxity in these matters began with the introduction, under British rule, of Western ideas into this country.⁵ To my mind, the various

¹ See, *inter alia*, *Peshwa's Bakhar*, p. 172; *Peshwa Sakāvalī*, pp. 15, 35.

² Letters, Memoranda, &c. (K. I. Sangraha), p. 523.

³ See, *inter alia*, *Marâthi Sāmrajya Bakhar*, pp. 102-104; *Peshwa's Bakhar*, p. 139; *Life of Raoja Appaji* (K.P.I.S.), pp. 27, 63; *Bhau Sahab's Bakhar*, p. 90; *Forrest's Bombay Selections*, p. 138; *Scott's Deccan*, vol. i. p. 29. There is a precedent of quite respectable antiquity for this form of entertainment (see *Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṇśa*, canto iii. stanza 19).

⁴ See the *Bhonsle Bakhar*, pp. 79, 119, among many other passages.

⁵ In the *Kāyastha Prabhāncī Bakhar* (K.P.I.S.), p. 10, it is said that the ordinary conduct of all castes was spiritually unclean under Muhammadan rule, and that Brāhmanas did not observe the rules about what to eat and what not. See also the opinion of the Benâras Pandits at *ibid.*, pp. 17 *et seq.*, and the Grāmaṇya section (K.P.I.S.), p. 13. On the other hand, the *Srīśvakāvya*, xv. st. 1 *et seq.*, represents the evil spirit of this Kali age as despairing, in consequence of nearly 5000 years of his reign having passed away without the people beginning to indulge in what he esteemed piety, and what is properly impiety, and it finally represents the spirit as contented when the world—these writers always speak of India as the world—which had been snatched out of the hands of the (Mussulman) Yavanas by Śivaji and others, was again placed in the hands of the British Yavanas (xv. 49). The meaning of this obviously is that the writer thought the Hindu religion had been well preserved till the British became sovereigns of India, but might now be expected to break down. Considering that this was said about 1820, I suppose that the writer merely expressed the fears created in his mind by the establishment of a foreign and "Yavana" Government, not any fears connected with the British in particular.

items above set out indicate a relaxation which had commenced long before that period. And when we have regard to the causes of the relaxation, as distinctly indicated in one or two instances, the conclusion which they suggest is that the surrounding conditions in the days of the Maráthâ power were too strong for the dominion of rules which had had their birth under quite other and different conditions.¹ Originally, I suppose, this incompatibility manifested itself in certain special instances only. But once the solvent is applied in that way at one point, similar results follow even at the points where the conditions are not equally and directly favourable.

It will have been noticed that some of the instances above given of departure from the old rules of conduct are instances of deliberate departure, consciously made, in view of the existing conditions; while the others cannot be so clearly traced to a conscious and deliberate initiative, but seem to form part of what I have called a general relaxation of the rigours of traditionary bonds. In both respects, I am disposed to think, further progress would have been achieved, and achieved with comparative ease, if the sceptre of Mahârâshtra had not passed away from the hands of the Peshwas. Under indigenous rulers, whose fundamental rules of government have been illustrated above, such progress would have come directly, and, I think, also indirectly, with less friction² than under a foreign power like the British, governed by the principles which it has laid down; although, no doubt, the silent force of education in Western

¹ That some of these rules, even though practically inconvenient, still continued to be observed, as is remarked elsewhere in the text, is not really a consideration adverse to this view. As to such rules, it may be mentioned that, in Mr. Forrest's Selections from Bombay State Papers, one can see many instances of business delayed by reason of weddings and formal mournings, holy celebrations, and unlucky constellations. See, *inter alia*, pp. 129, 130, 133, 145, 146, 149, 150, 159, 175, 596. At p. 489 we find the objection on the ground of the constellations being unlucky first taken, but afterwards abandoned, by Fattasing Gaikwar, on account of the firmness of Mr. Malet. At p. 596 is a reference to delays due to Bâjirâo's superstitions. For an account of a misfortune due to holy celebrations, see Elliott's History of India, by Dowson, vol. vi. p. 291.

² Compare the remarks, of somewhat similar purport, in the late Sir Henry Sumner Maine's Village Communities (3rd edit.), pp. 46-47. It is said that the Peshwa Bâlâji Bâjirâo, among his other reforms, "put down" the practice, commonly supposed to have been prevalent among the Karhâdâs Brâhmans, of "offering human victims." See Forrest's Selections from Bombay State Papers, p. 725, and authorities there quoted. The note in the new edition on Sir John Malcolm's paper in the Bombay Literary Society's Transactions is merely a caveat against its implicit acceptance, and unluckily affords no positive information. The practice, if it ever prevailed, has so long ceased that it is now a subject for a mild joke only. The victim, it was supposed, used to be not merely "a member of the religious order," but the son-in-law of the person offering the victim!

science and art, in Western history and literature, which the British have brought to bear, must necessarily have been entirely absent under indigenous rule.¹

The late Sir Sumner Maine pointed out, many years ago, that the operations of British courts of justice had resulted in the arrest of the further development of Hindu law.² It may with truth be said that the passive influence of British administration generally has exercised a somewhat similar influence on the general social development of the Hindus. It is not altogether easy to analyse fully the causes which have led, or which are leading, to such a result, nor would this be a proper place to institute such an analysis; but, speaking broadly, it would appear that the general effect of British administration so far has been to render feeble the various forces which were in old days working from within the community itself as a community,³ while, on the other hand, individualism⁴ has become, or is becoming, more and more the prevailing force. Nana Faḍanavis, for instance, when the occasion arose, gave advice as to what was required to be done, even in defiance of what was supposed to be right according to existing traditions; and the Peshwa acted on such advice, the Brāhmanas about him followed the example, and nobody apparently raised any storm about it.

It does not appear that the way out of the difficulty, which Nana said *would be found after* the act itself was done,⁵ had even to be sought after. If it had been necessary to seek after it, it would doubtless have been found. The community still being endowed with vitality as a community, it would, no doubt, have been a way of the same nature as is indicated by the various

¹ With regard to this force, however, it must not be forgotten that it has two modes of operation, as indicated by Sir H. S. Maine, *Village Communities*, p. 273, and also pp. 270, 288.

² See *Village Communities*, pp. 45-47.

³ In the *K. P. Bakhar* (K.P.I.S.), p. 9, for instance, we read that a dispute having occurred in these parts between the Brāhmanas and Kāyastha Prabhus, the matter was referred to the Pandits of Benâres, and on their decision in favour of the latter, *all* people in Western India commenced to act in accordance with that decision, notwithstanding all previous dissensions. It is, however, proper to point out that some recent events of a different aspect have also their parallel in occurrences of the days of Savâi Mâdhavrâo. See the Grāmanya section (K.P.I.S.), p. 7 *et seq.*

⁴ This force, I am disposed to think, is incompatible with the old basis of Hindu society.

⁵ See notes 271, p. 2, and 4, p. 272. Yet it must never be forgotten that Nana himself was not apparently a sceptic or freethinker. He was a thoroughly pious Hindu, and was so regarded by his contemporaries. See *Letters, Memoranda, &c.* (K. I. Sangraha), p. 39; V. V. Khare's *Life of Nana*, p. 166, where the poet Moropant is quoted in support of Nana's orthodoxy. See also *Śrīśivakāvya*, xvi. 27.

instances we have stated. The old rule would by common, even if tacit, consent have been gradually relaxed, and in process of time custom would have sanctified everything. Such a process, I believe, is what might have been witnessed under Peshwa, and even under what may be called, in the narrower sense, Marâthâ rule ; but such a process hardly takes place now, or is, at all events, incomparably more slow and tedious in its operation, wherever British influence is in other respects powerful. The late Mr. Krishna Sâstrî Chiplunkar, thirty years ago, having eaten fruit at the table of a European friend,¹ was hauled over the coals in a community where he was a leader of thought. A similar thing has occurred since, with a similar result. It has been said that the first event retarded progress ; and whether this is true or not, and whether there has been any progress since then or not, it is perfectly clear that such progress as there has been is extremely slow ; and, on the other hand, it has certainly also become clear that there exists in Hindu society at the present day persons to whom the real gist of the movement under Peshwa rule is either unknown or unacceptable.

I must not, however, permit myself to continue these reflections any further. The main purpose of this paper is to piece together some features of the past from the scanty and desultory materials available. This having been done, the lessons to be drawn from a study of those features must be allowed to remain over for consideration and discussion elsewhere. I will only, in conclusion, add one word of explanation. The incidents here collected have been drawn from the available records, without any attempt to discriminate between those of them which are based on contemporaneous records and those which are not such. It must, of course, be admitted that many, even most, of those records are not contemporaneous ; but, in dealing with a theme such as that to which this paper is devoted, it has not been thought necessary to take any account of that circumstance. In any case, these records are of value on the principle which Grote applied to the older Greek writings—the curtain is the picture. And as most, if not all, of the documents drawn upon belong apparently to the age of the ancient régime, their special historic value in regard to the special incidents for which they are relied on has not appeared to me to be a subject necessary to be dealt with as part of the present inquiry.

¹ See the incident referred to in Dr. Norman Macleod's "Peeps at the Far East," p. 68, and note there.

XII.

THE CHIEF MARĀṬHĪ POETS.

BY

J. MURRAY MITCHELL, M.A., LL.D.

THE inhabitants of Mahārāshṭra—literally, *the great country*—are among the most remarkable of the races of India. The mass of the people has proved itself to be possessed of a bold military character; while the higher classes—the Brāhmans especially—have been remarkable for mental acuteness. Indeed, under native princes, the ablest administrators have, in many cases, been Marāṭhā Brāhmans.

One naturally expects that the literature of such a people will present interesting features. It has not yet received the attention it deserves; and I gladly avail myself of an opportunity of presenting a short paper on the subject to this Congress of Orientalists.

The prose writings in the Marāṭhī language are not of so much importance as the poetry. In former days there existed a somewhat numerous class of writings called *bakhar*. These were historical narratives that commemorated the leading facts in the history of the Marāṭhā people. They were of the greatest service to Grant Duff in the compilation of his valuable "History of the Mahrattas." Those which he had made use of he handed over to the "Literary Society of Bombay," which afterwards became the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. These MSS., however, have somehow disappeared. This is much to be regretted; they would doubtless have thrown light on various questions bearing on the annals and administration of the Marāṭhā empire which are now obscure. I need not dwell on this subject, as it is to be brought before the Congress by one fully qualified to do it justice—the Hon. C. F. Telang of Bombay. Other prose writings in Marāṭhī have chiefly been translations, most of them from Sanskrit, but a few—especially those of later date—from English. The native Christians in the Marāṭhā country are bearing an honourable share in the raising up of an indigenous literature; but the most important part of the

literature is in verse, and it is of this exclusively that I am to speak.

We have met with a few works composed by Jainas, and of course inculcating the tenets of the Jaina faith; but in Mahârâshtra the Jainas are timid, and we have found them reluctant to show their books, or even to confess that they possess any. Of Christian books, whether those written by Portuguese missionaries or more recently by Protestant missionaries and their converts, we need not speak. We limit ourselves to what is Hindu both in origin and sentiment.

There is a considerable class of writings relating to the affairs of ordinary life, such as marriage-songs, cradle-songs, and the like. Some of these seem to us full of simple, natural feeling. Others, called *lavanî*—which we may render *love-song*—are, for the most part, exceedingly coarse, not to say impure. Unhappily these miserable productions are only too popular. It is right, however, to say that there is one writer of *lavanî*—Râm Joshî—to whom little or no objection can be made.

It was to be expected that after the Marâthhâs, under Śivâjî, had risen in arms against their Muhammadan conquerors, their warlike exploits would be celebrated in verse. It has been so, in fact; and a large number of *powâdê*, or historical ballads, used to circulate in former days over the country. None of those which we have seen rise to high poetical merit, or, like “Chevy Chase,” “stir the heart as with the sound of a trumpet.” Yet they have, at all events, historical value, and are, in many cases, spirited or plaintive, as the occasion requires. It is well that many of the best of these ballads have recently been published.¹

But the most important part of the literature is religious. The most ancient piece of Marâthî verse that has come down to our day was written about six centuries and a half ago; and from that time to the present there have been at least thirty writers of verse who are fairly well known. It is interesting to note that several of these were women.

It is now generally admitted that the most ancient Marâthî poet was Mukundrâj. He is understood to have been the *guru* of Jayatpâl or Jaitrapâl, king of Devagiri (or Devagad), which is better known under its modern name of Daulatabâd. His reign probably began in the year 1191 A.D., and ended in 1200. Of the parentage and birthplace of Mukundrâj, we know simply nothing. The place of his burial is pointed out on the top of an almost inaccessible cliff

¹ At Bombay in 1891, by Messrs. Acworth & Shaligram.

near Jogayichen Âmben in the Dakhaṇ. Mukundrâj is said to have written his book—the *Vivek Sindhu*—in answer to questions proposed by his royal disciple. It inculcates the strictest Vedânta doctrines. The style is firm and compact; but the whole work is hard and dry, without passion or play of fancy. Probably it was never known beyond the limited circle of the students of the Vedânta philosophy, and even they would naturally set less value upon it than on the recognised Sûtras in the Sanskrit language.

It is believed that fully seventy-five years after Mukundrâj, the second poet arose in Mahârâshtra. To write his name as the Marâṭhâs pronounce it, this was Dnyâneśvar, otherwise called Dnyândeṇ or Dnyânobâ. It is satisfactory to find in his case a *date* on which we may rely. His greatest work bears the date of 1212 of the Śalivâhan era, which corresponds with 1290 after Christ. Dnyâneśvar, then, was a contemporary of Dante.

Everything in the history of this writer has run into wild mythology, out of which it is barely possible to extract one or two grains of historic truth. Born in the Dakhaṇ, he became connected—apparently through his marriage—with Alandî, a village about twelve miles north of Poona. Here he seems to have generally lived, and to have died. There is an annual celebration at a temple built in his honour at Alandî, which is attended by many thousands at each recurring anniversary.

Of the legends connected with the poet, one or two specimens will suffice. When Tsângdev, a still more mythical personage, visited Dnyâneśvar, he came riding on a tiger, holding a serpent as a whip. Dnyâneśvar, when he saw his distinguished visitor approaching, was seated on a wall of the town. Immediately he caused the wall to move forward and bear him to receive his guest. The event is related with all admiration by Marâṭhî chronicles; and, as the admirers of the poet say, we have ocular demonstration to corroborate the history, for there, to this day, stands the old wall at some distance out of the town. It is such an object of veneration to pilgrims that, to prevent its being carried off piecemeal, it has been found necessary to build protecting walls around it. After this, no one will be surprised to learn that musical sounds are still heard to issue from the poet's tomb. He lies there, not unconscious, but playing on the vîṇâ, as in life he loved to do. Such, at least, was the information we received from the admirers of Dnyâneśvar at Alandî.

Everything in our poet's history has been so fantastically changed, that we doubt whether we know his proper name. The term

Dnyâneśvar—"the lord of knowledge"—looks very like a honorific appellation, and reminds us of the title Dnyânî—"the knowing one"—which we know was given to the celebrated Kabîr. His chief work, the Dnyâneśvarî, is also called Bhâvâarth-dîpikâ; and this may be the original and genuine name.

Our poet was a voluminous writer. He composed a considerable number of *abhang*, but on these we need not dwell at any length. They are very similar in style and sentiment to compositions of the same name that proceeded from later writers, such as Nâmdev and Tukârâm. The vanity of the world, the delusive character of all sensuous joys, the necessity of detaching the heart from them, and seeking refuge at the feet of Viṭhobâ: these ideas are perpetually occurring. They were caught up and still more passionately expressed by succeeding poets.

The monumental work of our poet is the Dnyâneśvarî. It is on this his fame rests. It is a copious, elaborate paraphrase of the Bhagavad Gîtâ, a Sanskrit poem which has exerted immense influence in moulding Hindu thought. The 700 ślokas of the Gîtâ are expanded into 10,000 stanzas in Oṽi metre, which implies a fourteen-fold enlargement. New illustrations of the principles inculcated are prodigally introduced, and sometimes new ideas, for Dnyâneśvar is no slavish disciple of the Sanskrit poet. He has an unbounded admiration of the Gîtâ, but he has also ideas of his own, nor does he lack the courage to express them.

A pathetic interest clings to the Dnyâneśvarî. It was a swan-like song, poured forth on the eve of a great national catastrophe. The ferocious Alâ-ud-dîn had crossed the Nerbudda, and Hindu dynasties were falling before him like the grain under the reaper's scythe. The Dnyâneśvarî was completed in 1290, and in 1293 the Hindu kingdom which had its capital at Devagiri was overwhelmed by the Moslem arms.

We have mentioned that Dnyâneśvar was a contemporary of Dante. We may add that his relation to his mother-tongue was not dissimilar to that of Dante to Italian. Dnyâneśvar, who seems to have been as much skilled in Sanskrit as Dante was in Latin, refers to Marâṭhî in terms singularly like those in which the Italian poet speaks of *questo mio volgare*; he has the same desire as Dante to render the vernacular a fit vehicle for the conveyance of high thought, and he rejoices in his success in the attempt to render it such, in the same tone of self-congratulation in which the great Italian speaks of

"Lo bello stile che m' ha fatto onore."

The Indian poet says—

“Even my Marhâṭi prattle, flowing on,
Will in competition excel *amṛit* itself;
Expressions so full of beauty
I shall bring together.”

And when he has gone on for some time with his recital, he declares that the whole audience was immensely charmed:—

“Then exclaimed the hearers—‘Oh, this is excellent!
What refinement of language!
Its sweetness has quite surpassed
Even music’s self.
What? is it not a perfect marvel
That this is our national Marhâṭi speech?
The sounds are filling the whole air
With exceeding sweetness.
What clear thought, like to moonlight!
And the deep sense falls like refreshing drops:
And lotus-flowers spring up in the verse
Luxuriantly.’”

We must pardon our poet if his estimate of himself is a little too high, as we pardon Horace when he says “*Sublimi feriam sidera vertice.*” We also admire him for his love of his mother-tongue, and share in his joy on finding it a fitting vehicle of philosophic thought.

Dnyâṇeśvar was not only skilled in Sanskrit lore and possessed of intellectual acumen; he was also a true poet, though we cannot call him a great one. He certainly dwelt on Nature with a loving and observant eye. He does not indeed speak much of her grander manifestations. Not far from Alandî—his usual dwelling-place, apparently—the Sahyâdri mountains (the “Ghauts”) present striking, noble scenery; but Dnyâṇeśvar delights to point to what is soft and beautiful rather than to what is grand and sublime. Our poet continually illustrates his teaching by similitudes drawn from visible objects. His lavish use of imagery, indeed, amounts positively to a fault. He heaps illustration on illustration, till we almost lose the idea in the crowd of similitudes. We do not claim for Dnyâṇeśvar any deep insight into the meaning or spirit of nature; his love for it resembles that of Keats more than that of Wordsworth; still, it is no small honour to a Brahman, metaphysical

and introspective both by nature and education, that the beautiful shapes and hues around were to him "an appetite, a feeling, and a love."

As a fair specimen of his power of description, I may quote his picture of the retreat in the woods sought by the true ascetic on retiring from the noisy, deceitful world :—

"A spot prepared by holy men,
 Helpful to calm delight,
 Exhilarating to the heart
 And reassuring ;
 There studious thought leads on to studious thought,
 Experience doth wed the heart,—
 Such is the exceeding power evermore
 Of its delightfulness.
 When he lights upon such a place, O son of Pritha,
 Both the desire and the hope of devotion
 In the heart even of the profane man
 Will take deep root.
 When, going on in his own way,
 If unexpectedly he come upon it,
 Back from it even the sensual man
 Forgets to go.
 It detains him who is loath to be detained,
 The restless man it compelleth to sit down,
 Its soothing power awakens
 Unworldly thoughts.
 A kingdom might be left for this,
 That one might here in quietness repose ;
 So would even the voluptuary feel
 On his first glance.

 And one thing more be noted—
 Let it be the abode of holy men,
 But by the feet of the common throng
 Be it all unstained !
 There, like the drink of the immortals,
 Sweet, sweet from the very root,
 Stand thickly planted the trees,
 Fruit-bearing ever.
 There rivulets at every step,
 Very pure, flow even apart from the rain-season,
 And above all, fountains of water,
 Easy to find.

The heat of the sun is tempered there,
 And a feeling of coolness dwells ;
 The breeze is very gentle,
 Calm in movement.
 Seldom is heard a sound ;
 No beast invades the thick recess ;
 No parrot, no insect even,
 Disturbeth there ;
 But there are the water-loving *hansas*,
 There *sârasas* one or two,
 And there may now and then
 The *kokil* sit.
 Not dwelling always there,
 But passingly, now and then,
 Should also the peacock come,
 So let it be !”

I desire to speak of Dnyâneśvar as a poet rather than as a philosopher, and I shall not enter at much length into the tenets of the Dnyâneśvarî. It reproduces, though with no servile exactness, the teaching of the Gîtâ, of which, we have said, it is a copious paraphrase. It commences thus :—

“ Om ! salutation to the Primeval One,
 Demonstrated in the Veda !
 Victory, victory to the self-knowing One,
 Spiritual in form !”

In the very next verse, however, “ the primeval one ” is identified with Gaṇeśa, the elephant-headed god. The poet proceeds to compare the whole body of Sanskrit literature to the image of the deity—every portion of the image reminding him of some portion of the literature. The comparison is most elaborate and ingenious, though in the highest degree fanciful, not to say fantastic. Even the false teaching of the Buddhists and Chârvakas—for false the poet esteemed it—is not overlooked ; it is fitly symbolised by Gaṇeśa’s broken tusk ! Amid all this lavish fancy, the lengthened comparison of the literature and the image is possessed of historic value ; it shows us the estimate formed by this learned man of the respective portions of Sanskrit literature six hundred years ago. The Vedas and Upanishads are not confounded, as is often the case in more modern writings. The former are compared to the fragrant flowers that shine gracefully on the head of the image. But the poet dwells with especial delight on the heroic poem the Mahâ-

bhârata. The laudations heaped upon it are superlative. We quote one or two out of a multitude :—

“ Even as when, illumined by the sunbeams,
 The three worlds gloriously shine forth,
 So by the intellect of Vyâsa is made resplendent
 The whole universe ;
 Or as in the prime of life
 The full freshness of beauty
 Discloses itself pre-eminently
 In the female form ;
 Or as in a garden in spring-tide
 The treasure-house of vegetable glory opens,
 Even from the very first,
 Exuberantly ;
 So it [the Mahâbhârata] is peerless, without a second,
 All holy and beyond compare,
 The abode of excellence supreme—
 Be this noted well ! ”

Our poet then proceeds to speak of the Bhagavad Gîtâ, which he regards as the most precious portion of the precious Mahâbhârata :—

“ The very pollen of the Bhârata-lotus
 Is the disquisition named the Gîtâ,
 As it was spoken to Arjuna
 By the Deity :
 It is as if from the ocean of the divine word,
 Churned by the intellect of Vyâsa,
 There had come forth this extract,
 Peerless and fresh.”

In his metaphysical and ethical beliefs our poet is very generally a follower of the Gîtâ, which he so highly admires. The following description of the ascetic is a fair, though large, expansion of the views expressed in the Sanskrit poem :—

“ He who is steadfast in mind,
 Deep-meditating on the Supreme,
 And yet outwardly conducts himself
 Like other men :
 Who lays no constraint on his senses,
 And dreadeth not worldly joys,
 Who despises not any duty that befalls.
 At the fitting time :

When his active powers tend to work,
 He doth not restrain them,
 And yet by their exercise
 Is mastered not :
 Who is not seduced by whatsoever desire,
 Nor by the stain of affection soiled,
 Even as though in the water yet not by the water moistened,
 Is the lotus leaf :
 Just as the water knows not,
 While quenching the thirst of the cow,
 To turn to poison and kill the tiger,
 Even such is he."

The highest ethical position to which our poet rises seems to be expressed in the following stanzas :—

"The man who smites to hew it down,
 And the man who planted it—
 Even as alike to both of these the tree
 Yieldeth its shade :
 Or just as the sugar-cane,
 While to its guardian sweet,
 Is not bitter to him that crushes it ;
 Even such is he."

So far we can follow Dnyâneśvar and listen even admiringly. A note of extravagance, however, immediately succeeds the striking passage just quoted :—

"And the word *I* he knows not ;
 He calls not anything his own ;
 Happiness or unhappiness
 To him pertains not."

In connection with the subject of Dnyâneśvar's ethical teaching, it may be right to point out an important difference that exists between him and some other leading Marâthî poets—Nâmdev and Tukârâm, in particular.

These later writers often speak sorrowfully of their personal errors and deficiencies, and they earnestly implore help from a higher power than their own. They ask, and they expect, sympathy in their efforts after the true and the right from the Being whom they worship. Their cry often becomes an outcry—a melting, passionate, sorrowful pleading.

Now in Dnyâneśvar we see nothing of this kind. He always

retains not only the perfect calm, but also what Milton calls the "philosophic pride," of the Stoic. He makes no confession of failure in his efforts to realise his ideal. His mind—*ipsa suis pollens opibus*—rejoices in the absolute assurance of rising to the serenest heights of duty. If the Marâthâs are right in their dates—a doubtful point, however—our poet wrote his great work while still very young. Certainly it bears no trace of proceeding from a soul that had wrestled with temptation, that had failed to realise its own high ideal, or that knew it to be, as Wordsworth says—

"the most difficult of tasks to keep
Heights which the soul is competent to gain."

Dnyâneśvar, as might have been expected in an admirer of the Gîtâ, criticises with no small severity the popular worship of his day :—

"They pay visits to Kâśî ;
They bathe in the Bhâgirathî ;
When the month Âśvîn recurs,
They perform worship :
They smear ashes on their foreheads ;
Having put a *rudrâksh* garland round their throat,
Taking a lamp in their hands,
They go to obtain a sight of Malhârî.

To you, according to your various classes,
Have we fitted to each his special duty ;
Adhere to that, and then right easily
Your wishes are fulfilled.

Other deities do not worship,—
In no case let this be done !
Let your worship be the discharge of your proper duties
Full cheerfully !"

I have mentioned that although our poet is a warm admirer of the Sanskrit work on which his own is a commentary, yet he occasionally deviates from its teaching. This imparts a great interest to the Dnyâneśvarî ; it probably exhibits the religious thought prevalent in the Dakhaṇ towards the end of the thirteenth century, and so aids us in tracing the historical development of Hinduism.

One important point in connection with which this development appears is the doctrine regarding the *guru* or spiritual guide. The Gîtâ inculcates reverence for preceptors ; but the exaltation of the

guru gradually assumed extravagant proportions, so as to render him more important than the gods themselves. For, as the popular saying runs, "If the god is displeased with us, the guru is our refuge; but if the guru is displeased we have no refuge." The teaching of Dnyâneśvar does not go quite so far as this, but his language is sufficiently strong. Thus—

"The guru is his holy place; the guru is his god;
The guru is his mother; the guru is his father;
Apart from the service of the guru
No path [to heaven] he knows."

Further, the relation of our poet to the Yoga philosophy is notably different from that in which the author of the *Gîtâ* stood. It is exceedingly probable that although the Yoga sūtras, in the form in which we now possess them, may not have been in existence when the *Gîtâ* was composed, yet the doctrine had attained considerable development. The *Gîtâ*, however, by no means commits itself to such extremes as we see in the aphorisms of Patanjali and his followers. Dnyâneśvar, however, adopts the Yoga doctrine in its amplest development. He expands the discussion into 228 stanzas of four lines each. He elaborately describes the processes by which the devotee obtains an unearthly being and unearthly powers. The whole passage is exceedingly remarkable, not less so than the statements of Patanjali and his commentator, Bhoja Râjâ. We content ourselves with quoting a description of the result of the marvellous discipline. The discipline itself consists largely in suppressing the breath:—

"Like to the foliage of a golden tree,
With gem-like blossoms ever new,
Even so beautiful the nails
Come forth anew :
Over the body externally
Restraint extends its wings,
And also the internal strife of the mind
Doth cease :
Then dies imagination,
All earthly functions cease ;
Body and soul thereafter
Are lulled to rest.
Where is hunger now ?
What has become of sleep ?
Even memory is lost
And wholly disappears.

The teeth are changed,
And shine surpassingly,
As if they were a double row
Of diamonds set.

The body becomes golden,
And the marvel of the vital air is this—
That of water and earth is retained
No portion even.

Then he sees what is beyond the ocean,
Hears what is done in heaven,
He knows the imaginations
Even of an ant.

He rides on the blast of wind,
And walks on water, his feet leaving no trace ;
In this very way

Have many attained superhuman power" (*siddhi*).

These extracts will probably suffice, and I shall not ask you to follow the poet in his daring flight to what he calls

"the great gulf of Nothing,
Where there is no room for space."

Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra informs us that he could find no Pandit in Bengal who had made the Yoga his special study.¹ The study would almost certainly be accompanied by an attempt to carry out the practices it enjoins. When I was in Western India I heard of more than one instance in which this attempt was made. I could not learn, however, that the marvellous results on which Dnyâ-
neśvar so earnestly dwells had ever been attained. The poor Yogî was still only hoping that the faithful performance of the rites prescribed would bring success ere long.

The Theosophical Society of Bombay has naturally had its attention turned to a science which far excels in its pretensions the highest flights of its own "occultism;" and in America, if we mistake not, the remarkable man who dominated for a time the restless spirit of Laurence Oliphant professes to have renewed his youth, and this by the regulation of the breath and other practices somewhat similar to those which the Yoga prescribes. The renewal of youth, however, is but a commencement. We trust that the Transatlantic aspirant will not fail to inform the world whether and when his body has

¹ Dr. Mitra found a Brahman in Benares who promised to initiate him into the Yoga mysteries provided the pupil would live in the teacher's hut and yield him the strictest obedience prescribed by Hindu rules. This was too much for the inquisitive doctor. Was it a way of getting rid of a troublesome demand?

become golden and his teeth like "a double row of diamonds firmly set;" and thereafter we may expect to hear that, like the Yogis of old, he can even

"bestride the lazy-pacing clouds
And sail upon the bosom of the air."

The form of verse in which the Dnyâneśvarî is composed is called Ovî. It is loosely constructed in stanzas of four lines each, the three first rhyming. Both as to the rhyme and the number of syllables in each line, great liberties are taken with the rule—if there be a rule. So far as accent is concerned, it may be called trochaic verse, in the same sense as the name is given to certain forms of English verse. The following specimen will give a sufficiently clear idea of Ovî metre:—

"Zō sārṡā bhūtānchēn thāyīn
Dwēshātēn nēnēchī kāhīn
Āpā pārū jāyā nāhīn
Chāitānyā jāisēn."

Those who are familiar with Greek and Latin metres will hardly acknowledge the first three lines as trochaic dimeters; yet, as read or chanted, that is the metre they come nearest to. Our poet does his best with a somewhat rough and untunable language, but neither in majesty nor in melody will his lines bear a comparison with those of the Gītā. *Pace tanti viri dixerim*; for his own estimate of his versification is much higher than this.

But finally, the Dnyâneśvarî has by no means received from Marāṭhî students the attention it deserves. Its phraseology is archaic, and sometimes difficult to understand; but there are educated men in Western India who could successfully grapple with it. I heartily wish my words might stimulate some of them to undertake a thorough examination of the poem. I have already said that esthetically its merits are not inconsiderable, for Dnyâneśvar was a true poet, though not a great one; and further, that its historical value is great, as throwing light on the development of Hinduism. Linguistically, also, it is fitted to render great service to all inquirers into the earlier condition and the growth of the Marāṭhî language.

I have still to mention that the Dnyâneśvarî is said to have been almost forgotten for a lengthened period, a circumstance which need not surprise us when we remember the convulsions in the Dakhan occasioned by the Musalman invasion. It is said to have been brought back into notice by Eknāth of Paīṭhan in the year 1584. The text of the poem now existing dates from that year.

I meant to speak at less length than I have done regarding the Dnyâneśvarî; yet on this interesting, important, but little studied work I could hardly have said less. I am, however, in consequence compelled to deal more rapidly with other writers. I have called this a paper on the *chief* Marâthî poets. I must confine myself to the two that are most popular, Nâmdev and Tukârâm.

Nâmdev or Nâmâ was an inhabitant of Pandharpûr, a tailor by trade. It is impossible to give exact dates as to his history; his birth is usually said to have been in 1278, and his death fifty years later. He evidently was a most voluminous writer of verse in *abhang* metre, and many of his lines are still popular. It is interesting to note that six of his short poems are included in the Granth or sacred book of the Sikhs,¹ having been rendered into Panjâbî. The god Viṭṭhal or Viṭhobâ of Pandharpûr, to whose worship Nâmdev was enthusiastically devoted, appears in the Granth as Bithal. I would fain quote some of Nâmdev's verses. While most are extravagant in their laudation of Viṭhobâ, others have a satirical sharpness that shows this tailor-poet to have been a man of observation and shrewdness.

But by far the most popular poet of Mâhârâshtra is Tukârâm, or, as he writes his name, Tukâ. Go where you will in the Marâṭhâ country, he is known and loved. Many of the higher castes, and nearly all the middle and lower, can quote his writings. He was not a man of learning nor of much intellectual power. There is no elaboration in his hymns; many of them are carelessly constructed; but his words have gone to the heart of his people because he himself was a man of heart, thoroughly sincere and deeply earnest. Of this poet a good deal has been written in English already. As far back as January 1849 I published in the Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society his history as given by Mahipati in the *Bhakta Lîlāmrita*. In 1867 Sir Alexander Grant wrote a paper regarding him in the *Fortnightly Review*. In 1869 an edition of his works appeared in Bombay with a "critical preface" in English, in which the chief events of his life are discussed. Still more recently an article of mine entitled "Tukârâm" has been printed in the Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society and the *Indian Antiquary*. We have thus a good deal of information regarding the poet, and also specimens of his writings already accessible in English. A large number of his hymns, now for the first time translated, lies before me.

Tukârâm earnestly inculcates devotion, especially to Viṭhobâ, as a manifestation of Krishṇa. His theological creed has no consistency.

¹ See Trumpp's translation of the Granth, pp. 489, 665, 666.

There is occasional monotheism, there is polytheism, there is pantheism; and these contradictory beliefs are sometimes strangely mixed together in one short effusion. Even on moral questions Tukârâm is occasionally astray. But the man is always thoroughly in earnest. He is seeking after God. He has often "no language but a cry," but the child-like cry goes to our hearts.

Tukârâm was born at Dehu, a village about eighteen miles west of Poona. The probable date of his birth was 1608, and in 1649 he "disappeared." Regarding that "disappearance" very extraordinary things have been said, and are still by the mass of the people believed, but we cannot enter on the question here.

XIII.

THE RISE OF THE DRAMA

IN

THE MODERN ARYAN VERNACULARS OF INDIA.

BY

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काव्यं यशसेऽर्हते व्यवहारविदे शिवेतरक्षतये

"A *Kāvya*, or poem, is (written) for the acquirement of fame, wealth, knowledge of *Vyavahāra*, or life, and for the destruction of evil."—
MAMMAṬA.

It is generally believed that the prose, and therefore the dramatic literature of the Indian vernaculars, is of recent growth, and a creation of English education. With the *Pax Britannica* came, among many other good things, prose literature, the press, and public life. Râja Râma Mohan Roy, followed by others, was the founder of the prose literature of Bengal. Lalluji Lal's *Prema-Sâgara*, a classical Hindi prose work, appeared in 1809 A.C.¹ *Harischandra* and his father, *Gopâlchandra*, alias Giridhar Dâs, and Lachhman Singh, wrote the first Hindi dramas.² The Marathi Bakkhars or memoirs were pre-English; but Marathi classical prose was a later growth, founded by the early Marathi educationalists, as found in the *Bâla Mitra*, a translation of Baguin's "Children's Friend," and in other works. Professor Dadabhai Naorojji, M.P., ex-Divan of Baroda State, and member of the British Parliament for Central Finsbury, the late Karsandâs Mulji, ex-Divan of Limdi State in Gujerat, one of the early Gujerati visitors to England, and an ardent reformer, as also the poet-patriot Narmadâshankar Lâlshankar of Surat, gave

¹ Grierson's *Vernacular Literature of Hindustan*, p. 132.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 154-155 and 124.

Gujerat a chaste, homely, spirited Gujarati prose. The last of them began to write in 1855 A.C., and a collection of his prose works entitled *Narma Gadya* appeared in 1865 A.C., a standard and a model work in Gujarati. The Government educational authorities showed their approval and appreciation of his writings by getting him to write the *New Narma Gadya*, which was subsequently published by them. Runchhodabhâi Udayarâm, the present Nâib Divan of the State of Cutch, wrote his first Gujarati dramas, *Jayakumârî Vijaya Nâṭaka* and *Lalita-duḥkha-darśak Nâṭaka*, soon after the year '50, winning for himself the title of the Gujarati Shakespeare.

The press and prose style have mutually adorned and developed each other. The literary and the political societies and other political associations are a product of this age, while these last have not a little contributed to the progress of the other two. With the foundation of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, followed by its branches elsewhere, and the like institutions, dawned the renascence of Indian literature. The *Buddhivârdhaka Sabhâ* of Kavi Narmadâshankar of Surat, and the Gujarat Vernacular Society of Kavi Dalpatrâm Dâybâhâi, C.I.E., of Ahmedabad, did yeoman service to the province of Gujarat in their cultivation and diffusion of very instructive and useful literature. The Forbes Gujarati Sabhâ of Manas Enkhram Sûryarâm Tripâthi gave excellent translations of the immortal *Râs Mâlâ* of Sir A. K. Forbes, and it should have done more real service, but it is almost dead for all practical purposes. The Government in all parts of India have given the first initiative in the creation and development of the modern vernacular literature of India, and we owe not a small debt of gratitude to them for this as well as for other benefits.

The above is all true. But recent researches have found new strata of early vernacular literature, hitherto undiscovered. Mr. Grierson was the first to introduce formally the mediæval vernacular literature of Hindustan at the seventh International Congress of Orientalists at Vienna, and he has since given us "The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan," which the Bengal Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society printed as Part I. of their Journal for 1888. The example of the learned and senior Society will be followed, it is hoped, by its sister Societies in other parts of India, especially Bombay. The Marathi has found a very zealous and patient scholar in Mr. H. A. Acworth of the Bombay municipality, who would do for the *Marathi* what Mr. G. A. Grierson has done for the *Hindustani*. I propose to carry out such a work one of these days for the *Gujerati*.

My paper on the "Neo-Vernaculars of Western India, with special reference to the Gujarati," read before the eighth International Congress of Orientalists at Christiania, should have discovered to scholars and investigators into the history and development of the vernaculars that the Gujarati too has early dramatic and prose literatures. But the paper was of a too general character to give fuller details of these branches.

In another paper of mine of last year on "Bharata Nāṭya Śāstra, or the Indian Dramatics by Bharata Muni," I have shown that the work, as it exists at present, being a production of a *Nandi Bharata*, could not have been earlier than the fourth century B.C. Professor Weber has alluded in his "History of Indian Literature" to the Nāṭa Sūtras, referred to by the great grammarian *Pāṇini*, whom Professor Bhandarkar places in the eighth century before Christ; but the learned professor doubts the existence of the drama at that time. There is no reason, however, for doing that, as there are earlier or Vedic references to the actors or *Śailūshas* in the *Vājasaneyi Yajur Veda Saṃhitā*, the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, and the *Chhândogya Upanishad*, which last describes *Nārada Muni* as having studied the arts of music and dancing, among others.¹ In the first two works, the *Śailūsha*, or Actor, with *Sūta*, *Māgadha*, *Sabhāchāra*, and others, has been described as an offering in the *Purushamedha*. The Physician, or *Bhishaj*, and the Astronomer, or *Nakshatradarśa*, too, have been similarly prescribed to be offered up as victims in the sacrifice. This probably indicates the first beginning of the arts and the sciences, as they were perhaps not established so firmly as to be objects of study and regard in the time of the two *Yajur Vedas*. The *Rig Veda* and the *Sāma Veda* have, as far as I know, no words for actor and acting, or the histrionic art; but another is the position ascribed to it in the *Chhândogya Upanishad* of the latter. It (the नृत्यगीतवाद्यशिल्पविद्या) is considered worthy enough to be placed in the liberal curriculum of the time. *Nārada* is counted by the *Bharata Nāṭya Śāstra*, too, as one of the early founders of the science. With the existence of the *Vidyā* or Science as above evidenced, the *Nāṭa Sūtras* of *Pāṇini* can be no other than the early *Bharata Sūtras*, presupposed by our present *Nāṭya Śāstra*. A writer of the notes to *Premānanda's* drama *Roshadarśikā Satya-bhāmākhyāna* mentions and quotes from an author *Ādi-Bharata*. Can he be any other than the *Nandi Bharata* of the *Bharata Nāṭya*

¹ Cf. *Vāj. Sam.* (Professor Weber's edition), xxx. 6. p. 841; *Tait. Br.*, iii. 4. 1. 2, p. 82, *Bibl. Ind. S.*, and *Chhând. Upa.*, vii. 1. 1. p. 473, Pandit Jibananda Vidyasagar's edition (*Nṛitya Gīta, Vādyā, Śilpa-Vidyā*).

Śāstra above referred to? He also quotes *Bhāsa Kavi* for the **भाषीर्नमस्त्रियावस्तु** rule. This *Bhāsa Kavi* seems to be the same that is alluded to by the poet *Kālidāsa* in his prelude to *Mālarikāg-nimitra*. This shows that *Bhāsa* was both a writer of dramatic works as well as of works or a work on dramatic science. And we have a parallel instance in the case of *Bharata Muni* himself, whose *Tripura-Dāha* is instanced by this *Nāṭya Śāstra* and other writers on *sāhitya* or rhetoric, and whose *Lakshmî Svayaṃvara Nāṭaka* is noticed by the poet *Kālidāsa* in his *Vikramorvaśī*.

Of all the nations of the world, the Greeks and the Indians made the first start and progress in drama. And they had their separate courses and developments independent of each other. While the Greek drama was the precursor of the modern European drama, the Sanskrit drama was that of the Indian vernaculars. Unlike Greek in Europe, Sanskrit continued to be the language of the Indian dramas up to very recent times, and the vernaculars of the people, whether they be the *Prākṛitas* or the *Apabhraṃśa*, or the later local dialects, were assigned a secondary and subordinate position. Professor Bhandarkar describes the modern vernaculars to have assumed "a distinctive character about the tenth century" A.C., and instances a copper-plate inscription of A.C. 1206, where the *Marathi* appears in its specific character, and the work of *Chanda* in *Hindi*.¹ But, in the matter of the drama, the vernaculars do not seem to have broken off from *Sanskrit* and *Prakrit* connections, and did not assert their independent and principal character till the sixteenth or the seventeenth century of the Christian era.²

In response to inquiries specially made by me of friends in other parts of India, I am told by Lālâ Murlidhar of Umballa, Punjab, that the *Panjabi* language has no drama. My friend, Mr. Dayârâm Gidumal Shahani, B.A., LL.B., of the Bombay Civil Service, writes to me from Hyderabad, Scinde, that "there are no dramas in *Sindhi*. Recently a young man translated *Nala* and *Damayantî* from some connected Hindi version, but I could hardly call it a drama; it is more like a story in the form of a dialogue." Syed Ali Bilgrami, B.A., LL.B., Shums-ul-Ulma, similarly favours me with the informa-

¹ Cf. his Wilson Philological Lectures, printed in Jour. Bo. Br. R. A. S., vol. xvi. No. xliii. p. 342; but Mr. Grierson mentions the earliest Hindi works to be those of Pushya Kavi. He says that I consider the earliest date of Gujerati to be about 730 A.C. (*vide* the "Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan," p. 1). I also have found a stone inscription of *Vanarāja Chāvḍā* of *Pāṭan*, dated v.s. 802 (746 A.C.). Cf. my paper on the "Neo-Vernaculars of Western India, with special reference to Gujerati."

² Cf. *infra*.

tion from Hanamkonda, in Hyderabad Territory, Deccan, as given here in his own words:—

“As regards the Urdu drama,” he observes, “I am not aware that any dramas exist in Urdu at all. The Urdu literature has been modelled on that of Persian, and the latter on the literature of Arabia, hence the total absence of all scenic literature. The only plays in the Persian language are very recent translations from the Turkish. As regards Urdu, I don’t believe there is at the present moment a single play in that language. I am, of course, leaving out of account the so-called Urdu productions of the Parsi theatre, and also the *Indra Sabhā*, which, properly speaking, is not a drama.”

Thus the principal languages of Upper India and the West and North-West, the *Panjabi*, the *Sindhi*, and the *Urdu*, as also the *Persian*, once the official language of the Mahomedan world in India, and which is still the court language of some of the Rajputana and Central India States and the Nizams in the Deccan, do not possess any original drama in the past or the present. This is probably on account of the Mahomedan religious influence, which is opposed to all scenic literature, as Syed Ali Bilgrami tells us.

Although I have received no replies about the other vernaculars, the *Bengali* and the *Urīya* do not seem to possess any dramatic literatures of their own, as far as my information goes. Babu Haraprasād Śāstri, M.A., of Calcutta, lately read a paper before the *Cumbuliatola Reading Club* on the vernacular literature of Bengal before the introduction of English education; but he nowhere mentions in it the presence of prose and drama in Bengali. He gives the date of the first Bengali poem, *Śrī Kṛishṇa Vijaya*, that took ten years to complete, as 1470 A.C. But the first Bengali poet of note and eminence of mystic *Bhakti* celebrity was *Chaitanya*, who was born in 1485 A.C.;¹ and Babu Haraprasād continues his account down to the close of the eighteenth century. The present Bengali drama, like all other vernacular dramas, is a growth of the British period. When such a senior language as the Bengali is devoid of a dramatic literature, it is not possible for the *Urīya* to have one.

The same seems to be the case with *Marathi* also. The able paper of Mr. H. A. Acworth, of the Bombay Civil Service, read before a large audience in Bombay, made no allusion to this branch of literature.

But that does not seem to be the case with *Hindi* and *Gujerati*.

¹ *Vide* the paper, pp. 6 and A.

My friend Mr. G. A. Grierson has a special note on the Hindi and the Bihari drama in his excellent work above referred to. "The Hindi drama," he remarks, "is a plant of recent growth." "It is true that some of the earlier writers wrote what they called *Nāṭakas*."¹

Niwāj, who flourished about 1650 A.D. in the Doab, and who attended the court of Rājā *Chhatra Lal*, himself an author, simply translated the *Śakuntalā* under orders from A'zam Shāh. This cannot be called an original work.² Not so the translation of the *Prabodha Chandrodaya* by Brajbāsi-dāsa, who flourished in the Doab in 1770 A.C.³

Similarly the works of the celebrated poet *Deb* (No. 140), and others, viz., the *Deb Māyā Prapancha* of the former, the *Prabhāvatī*, "written for the Maharājā of Banāras, and the *Ānanda Raghunandana*, written for Mahārāj Biswanātha Singh (No. 529) of Riwa, are wanting in the essentials of dramatic poetry."⁴ Mr. Grierson notices *Harischandra* and his father, *Gopāl Chandra*, born in 1850 and 1832 A.C. respectively, as the earliest true dramatists; but these belong to the British period.

"In Bihar," remarks Mr. Grierson, "on the contrary, a dramatic tradition has existed for nearly five centuries." And he names two plays of *Bidyapati Thakur* (1400 A.C.), the *Pārijāt Haran*, and *Rukmiṇī Svayamvara*, but he has not seen the MSS., though he has heard about them.⁵ Lāl Jhā or Kabi Lal, of Māgrani, district Darbhunga (1780 A.C.), was the author of *Pārvatī-Parinaya*, and Bhānu Nātha Jhā and Harkh Nāth Jhā, Maithila Brahmins, wrote about the beginning of the present century. But that also comes within the British period.

Thus even *Hindi*, and its near sister *Bihārī* too, have no early original drama. The regions of the *Hindi*, *Bihārī*, and *Bengali-Urīya* languages were too much influenced by the power and prestige of Sanskrit, as those of *Sindhi*, *Punjabi*, *Persian*, and *Urdu* were by the Mahomedan faith, to allow of any independent growth of the drama and prose in them. *Marathi*, equally eclipsed in this respect by the power of Sanskrit, has presented the same result. The *Marathi* poetry of *Vāmana* and *Moropant* (*Mayūra Paṇḍit*) are far more Sanskrit than that of any of the modern vernaculars. It was the rise of the Maratha power that gave it a new start, and the literature of later times were the *Bakkhars* or memoirs referred to

¹ Cf. Vern. Lit. of Hind., pp. 154, &c.

² Cf. Ibid., p. 76.

³ Cf. Ibid., p. 98.

⁴ Cf. Ibid., pp. 154 and 124; also p. 155.

⁵ Cf. Ibid., p. 155.

by Mr. Grant Duff in his History of the Marathas. But still under the Peishwas Sanskrit was far more patronised than the vernacular.

But in Gujerat the case was different. The sun of its power had set early in the fourteenth century A.C. The Jaina religion and writers had superseded and gained the mastery over the Brâhmanic faith and Sanskrit influence. Consequently *Gujerati* had a development not found in the case of the other vernaculars. We know of no translations of any Sanskrit drama in those times, as in *Hindi* and *Maithili*. The translations of the works of *Kālidāsa*, viz., *Śakuntalā*, by the Hon. Mr. Jhaverilal U. Yajnik, M.R.A.S. Bom. Br., and Mr. Dalpatrām B. Khakhar, late Educational Inspector, Cutch, and *Vikramorvaśi* and *Mālavikāgnimitra*, by Mr. Ranchhodbhai Udayarām and *Mālati-Madhava* and *Uttara-Rāma-Charita* of Bhavabhūti by Professor Manilāl N. Dvivedi, B.A., and of *Mudrā-Rākshasa* by my brother, Mr. K. H. Dhruva, B.A., Vice-Principal, Gujerat Training College, Ahmedabad, came after 1850.

The *Prabodha-Chandrodaya* had many imitations in Sanskrit also, purely sectarian, and quite secondary in their style and execution, such as *Satsanga-Vijaya* and the like. Some of these were *Prahasanas*, or burlesques and satires. But *Gujerati* struck out a new course altogether in the *Jñānodaya Nāṭaka*, referred to in my letters on the unpublished literature of Gujerāt,¹ and in my paper on the "Neo-Vernaculars of Western India." The actors in that drama are human characters rather than human beings, as in the philosophical Sanskrit drama above named. The name of the author is *Kiko Kavi*. Unfortunately some of its first and the last pages are missing. I propose very shortly to publish a translation of it in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. The language of this drama is old Gujerati, as far as we can judge of it from the present MS., which is No. 1558 of the catalogue of books and MSS. of the Gujerat Vernacular Society of Ahmedabad, presented with other books with my paper on the "Neo-Vernaculars of Western India," read before the eighth International Congress of Orientalists. From the occurrence of the *chhi* and *achhi*,² forms of the modern *chhe*, for "is," I am inclined to assign the work to the fifteenth or the sixteenth century of the Christian era. The author may be a contemporary of *Bhālāṇa*,

¹ Cf. my *Mugdhārabodha Mauktikam*, Appendix, pp. 12, &c.

² *Vasanta Vildsa*, an old Gujerati poem, written in v.s. 1508 (A.C. 1452), lately discovered by my brother, Mr. K. H. Dhruva, B.A., and published in the April to August

the translator of *Bāṇa's Kādambarī* into Gujarati, whose *Nalā-khyāna* is dated v.s. 1545 (1489 A.C.), or he may have lived a short time after him.¹

But this drama is of too rudimentary a character, and is wanting in some of the essentials of dramatic poetry. It contains the *Prastāvanā* or prelude, in which the manager and his wife, or one of the principal actors of his troupe, or the buffoon, hold a dialogue in Sanskrit introductory to the action of the drama. But there is a marked distinction in the main part of the drama, where the manager occasionally introduces characters by descriptive *Āryās* or couplets, as we find in the vernacular or *Prākṛita* interlocutory passages in the fourth act of the *Vikramorvaśī* of *Kālidāsa*, which are supposed to be later emendations. Be it what it may with the *Vikramorvaśī*, that is not in evidence before us at present, but the practice seems to be a continuation or reproduction of the system, existing in its germs in the introduction of characters at the end of the prelude by some such shift, or in the several *Nepathya* or intrascenic passages, and the *Vaitālīka*, or bard's utterances, suiting occasions and persons. The Sanskrit dramas, not necessarily requiring the presence of the *Sātradhāra* or manager at every stage, discover the method of introducing new characters by those already on the stage.

This practice seems to have been largely adopted in the plays of the *Bhavāyās*, a professional class of actors, and by the performers of the old school of Marathi dramas, whose only scenic apparatus is a red skin and a few lamps, or better or mediocre lights, and whose only action consists of the noise of the *Rākshasa* parts, and the drollery and buffoonery, sometimes degenerating to gross indecency, with the fool of the *Bhavāyās*.

The Marathi performers have these interlocutory passages in the *Āryā* metre, as in the *Jñānodaya Nāṭaka*, and the Gujarati *Bhavāyās* have one or another kind of some doggerel rhyme or song. The *Bhavāyās* name these passages *Melanīs* or *Melavanīs*,² or *introductions*, as they are used at the time of introducing characters (મેલતી વખતે).³

Thus here there is presented a new development of a local drama. The *Jñānodaya Nāṭaka* was in this respect a harbinger or prede-

(1892) numbers of the Gujarat School Paper, also contains both the forms *चि* *chhi* (v. 25, p. 113) and *चhai* *chhai* (v. 75, p. 194).

¹ Cf. *Prāchīna Kāvya Mālā*, p. 122.

² *Bhavaī Sangraha*, by Rao Saheb Mahipatram Rupram Nilcanth, C.I.E., 2nd edit., pp. 54 and 4, &c.

³ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 4.

cessor in formation of the *Bhavāis*, as they are termed at present; but while the former took a philosophical or moral turn, like the mysteries of the Middle Ages, the latter, being for the people, took the more popular and practical direction.

Like the Sanskrit dramas of old, the *Bhavāis* were performed in places of public worship or of public assemblage. The old terms *Nāṭa* and *Nāṭaka* disappeared from these popular burlesques. The *Nāṭas* are now known to be rope-dancers and other Gypsy tribes moving about the country, and living by feats of gymnastic and other bodily performances, which never go by the name of *Nāṭaka*. But the terms *Bhavāi* and *Bhavāyās* are but paraphrases of the words *Nāṭaka* and *Nāṭa*. We know from works on *Sāhitya*, as well as from *Nāṭakas*, that the *Sūtradhāra*, or manager, is addressed by his assistant or chief *Nāṭa*, as *Bhāva*, possibly a derivative of *Bhava*, a name of *Śiva*, who, as *Virūpāksha*, taking up the cause of the *Asuras* against the *Devas*, as we learn from the *Bharata Nāṭya Śāstra*, was one of the characters in the early formation of the drama.¹ The class of the *Bhāva* then would come to be known as *Bhāvās* or *Bhāvakās* (भावाः or भावकाः), as they were known in early times as the sons of *Bharata* (भरतपुत्राः). Now भावाः and भावकाः would, in *Prākṛita* or *Apabhraṃśa* and the vernacular, come to be भाद-चाः or भाव-याः *Bhāva-ās* or *Bhāva-yās*, and by interchange or transposition of the vowels in the first two letters would become *Bhavāyās* or *Bhavaiyās*,² and their performances would naturally come to be known as *Bhavāi* (भवाइ or भवाई). This class is also known as *Taragālā*, from *tarka* (*Apabhraṃśa targa* or *taraga*), meaning men of (dramatic) speculation or conceit.³

The origin of the class and of the name of the composer or composers of their plays or *Bhavāis* has not come down to us. The introductory verses for the part or *Veśa* of *Gaṇapati*, the god of benediction and wisdom (गणेशियां) mention *Raiṇayo* and *Ratai-nyo*.⁴ The name of *Asāita* occurs on p. 81 in the part of *Rāmādāsa*, and the following *chhandas* of the goddess-mother (माताजी) on the next page are ascribed to *Otama* (Sans. *Uttama*). The song or

¹ Cf. My paper on *Bharata Nāṭya Śāstra*, in passing.

² Cf. from धातर or धाता, भाया or भाजा changed to भिया and भैया, both found in the *Gujerati* even of *Premānanda*, and the latter even in *Hindustani*.

³ An old MS. of a collection of *Gujerati* proverbs (जखाणासंग्रह), appearing to be of the fourteenth or fifteenth century A.C., gives the older term for it, *Trāgālā*, in धाराला अनइ चागाला न धीरीइ। ३५। (The *Dhārālās*, or the robber class, and the *Trāgālās*, should not be trusted).

⁴ Cf. *Bhavai Sangraha*, 2nd edit., p. 1.

Garbi of the *Suttee*, in the part of Siddharāja Jayasinha of Gujerat, is the composition of one Durlabharām, son of Nāhno, a native of Surat, living in the *chok* or square of *Kaṇapītha*.¹ There are also pieces of *Bhojā Bhakta*, who was born in v.s. 1841, A.C. 1785, and who died in v.s. 1906, A.C. 1850;² and of *Dhīrā Bhakta*, who was born in v.s. 1809-10, A.C. 1753-4,³ in the part of the *Bāvā*, while the parts of *Sadhrā Jeshngi* (No. 17) and *Surā Sāmḷā* (No. 10) relate to the times of Siddharāja Jayasinha and Karaṇa, the last king of Gujerat. There are other parts which relate to later Rajput kings. But such parts as *Jāthana* (No. 2), *Kansāro*, or copper-smith (No. 3), *Miyān Bibī*, or a Mahomedan grandee and his lady (No. 4), *Lālji Maniār*, or the bangle-seller (No. 5), *Zandā-Zālanā* (No. 6), "*Kābo*" (No. 11), the "*Dhed*," or the lowest caste, living on the fringe of Hindu society (No. 13), the *Bāvās* (No. 16), and the Five Robbers (No. 18), represent the disorder and looseness in society prevailing in the Mahomedan times, and the tyranny, exactions, forced labour (*veṭh*), and wrong practices that characterised them. The Rajput Governments, too, had some share of these. As a faithful picture of those times they are very interesting.

The scenes of two of the eighteen parts, viz., *Miyān Bibī* (No. 4) and *Lālji Maniār* the bangle-seller, are placed in Ahmedabad, and there are allusions to Bombay and Surat, among other places. These might have been later additions, as these plays have never been committed to writing, but have descended from generation to generation in the class. The traditions seem to have been added to or altered, as the time and occasion, their audience or patrons, required. These, therefore, cannot afford us means for drawing any conclusion as to their age. But the play of *Chhelu-Batā* (छेल बटा), the Indian Lothario (No. 7), has clear references to the Emperors Akbar (p. 54) and Shah Aurungzeb (p. 54). The heroine of the piece, *Mohinā Rānī*, is Princess *Mohinā* of Ahmednagar or Amnagar in Northern Gujerat. The part therefore cannot be earlier than the seventeenth century A.C.

The language of the plays is generally *Gujerati*, but here and there bad *Hindustani* is interspersed, and the play of *Viko Sisodio* (No. 12) contains indifferent *Mārvādi*.

Although we know nothing of the period of their rise, we are told that the *Bhavāyās* were originally Brahmins. This class may have

¹ Vide p. 202.

² Cf. *Prāchīna Kāvya Mālā*, vol. v., Life of the Poet, pp. 2 and 5.

³ Cf. *ibid.*, vol. xxiii., Life of the Poet, p. 1.

existed earlier, as the "Collection of Proverbs" cited in a note (*supra* p. 305) alluded to them under the name of *Trágálás* or *Targálás*. But they seem to have earned their name and fame under the Mahomedans. Their home seems also to have been Vaḍanagar or Ahmedabad, in North Gujerat, from which places, by their itinerant habits, they seem to have spread over other parts of the country.

The *Bhavāi* plays are each called a *Veśa*, or a part to be played. They are still in tradition, as observed above, and Rao Saheb Mahīpatrām Ruprām Nilcanth, C.I.E., was the first to give them in a printed form in his compilation of the *Bhavāi Sangraha*, constantly referred to above. The collection of these plays seems to have been very popular, and has run through two editions, the second being published in 1879.

Even the lowest classes, the *Dhedās*, have also their *Bhavāyās*, as the common masses have their own *Bhavāyās* and *Targálás*. The *Bhavāi* was, and is still considered, a sacred performance, and it is every year, or more than once in the year, celebrated at the shrines of the goddess *Ambā Bhavānī*, in the *Ārásur* Hills in North Gujerat, and of *Bahucharāji* in *Chuvāla* in Central Gujerat. The celebrations are considered so highly creditable that even high-class Brahmins, and the highest of them, the *Nāgaras*, even perform them at those shrines. Thus the *Bhavāi* has entertained the highest to the lowest in the land throughout centuries.

Their sole aim is to give a true picture of life, and draw special attention to its weak points, in order to point a moral or create a laugh. But the *Bhavāyās* have very often pandered so much to the low tastes of the unlettered and uneducated masses, that they have failed to correct and instruct them, which their telling performances should have done. In painting the dark side they have made the pictures too nakedly attractive, and they have disgraced their plays with grossly indecent language, which the highly puritanical editor of the *Bhavāi Sangraha* had very carefully to weed out.

The first edition of *Bhavāi Sangraha* contained 15 *Veśas* or parts, and the second added three to them, *i.e.* the last, which have been referred to above as Nos. 16, 17, and 18. It is only a special treatment of the work that can do justice to these plays, which is foreign to our present purpose. Let it suffice to say that here in Gujerat, North or Central, we have a new set of dramas coming into existence and growing; but it was left to South Gujerat, of the Mahī, Narmadā, and Tāpti valleys, to give really classical dramas.

As my friend Runchhodbhāi Udayarām has been superseded in

the writing of the first drama in Gujarati, my own idea of being the first dramatist to write on the Sanskrit or classical model was anticipated more than two centuries ago by *Kavi Premānanda* and his son *Vallabha*, whom I have noticed in my paper on the "Neo-Vernaculars of Western India," read before the Congress at Christiania. About the year 1873 A.C., it occurred to me to write dramas on the Sanskrit model, but in no slavish imitation of their rules. And the first that I wrote were *Aryotkarshaka* (a *Vyāyaya*) and *Vikramodaya* (an *Aṅka*), both of which have run through two editions, and it is want of time that prevents me from taking up the third. *Jayanta-Srīṅāra* (a *Prakarāṇa*), *Sītā-Santāpa*, or *Suvarṇa-Mṛiga* or the *Golden Deer*, *Kali-Kutūhala* or *Nala-Damayantī*, *Amara-phala* or *Pīṅgaḷa-Bhartrihari*, *Suviśākha-Pahlava* or an imitation of Shakespeare's *Othello the Moor*, and other *Nāṭakas*, and *Avidyāvattī-Dāha*, a *Dima* and *Aryodaya-Bhāṇa* are partly written and still unfinished. Of these, *Avidyāvattī-Dāha* and *Jayanta-Srīṅāra* have been published in some Gujarati monthlies, while a *Vilāsikā* by name *Vasanta-Vilāsikā* is being printed in my *Kuñja Vihāra* lyrics now in the press.

But as observed before, greater minds than mine have applied themselves to the work, and have already successfully carried it out. They were *Kavi Premānanda* and his son *Vallabha*. The former devoted his seventy years of a poet's literary life to the patriotic task of elevating and enlarging Gujarati literature.¹ He had vowed not to put on a turban before the work was accomplished. He waged a regular crusade with the *Purāṇis*, and in his poems he has made some home-thrusts at them for having ruined his milder pupil, *Ratneśvara* of *Dabhoi*. The *Purāṇis*, who lived and live by retailing the *Kathās* or narrations of the *Purāṇas*, by translating them in a garbled form to their devout audiences from Sanskrit, had the whole monopoly of them. *Premānanda* himself was a *Purāṇi* of that class, and when he was relating his *Kathā* at one place, a rival disputed with him and beat him down. Hence arose his implacable wrath with him, and his vow to displace them and their calling by giving the *Kathās* in the *Prākṛita* or the language of the people. How he succeeded in this task may be judged from the fact that Sanskrit *Purāṇis* are now to be found only in nooks and corners, with the old and decrepit and some elderly females for their audience, while the new class of *Vyāsas* relating the *Kathās* in the vernacular is found in almost every town in Gujarat.

¹ *Kavi Premānanda* was born about v.s. 1700, and died after v.s. 1790. His first work, *Lakṣmaṇāharāṇa*, is dated v.s. 1720. He mentions his having taken up his *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* so early as v.s. 1717.

Premânanda had another rival in *Sâmal Kavi*, a native of Ahmedabad, but since settled at *Sihunj* in *Mâtar Parganâ* of the Kaira Collectorate. *Sâmal* had praised his patron, the headman of the village, *Patel Rakhidâs*, so highly as to compare him with *Bhoja* and *Vikrama*. But the independent spirit of *Premânanda* recoiled from such fulsome flattery. In my Christiania Congress paper I have alluded to the hot controversy about the superiority between *Sâmal* and *Vallabha*, and the present and past generations have awarded the laurel crown of *the poet* of Gujerat to *Premânanda*, who never in his poems called himself a poet or a *Kavi*. He always styled himself *Bhaṭ*, a perfect contrast to *Sâmal* and *Vallabha*. His writings show him to have been thoroughly imbued with a patriotic spirit for the elevation of his language, styling it "*Gurjara Girâ*," as opposed to "*Devâ-Girâ*" or Sanskrit.

Thanks to the exertion and researches of my friend *Rao Bahadur Hargovinddâs Dvârakâdâs*, Director of Vernacular Instruction, Baroda, and his assistant, *Śâstri Nathashanker Pujâshanker*, to whose kindness I owe the advance sheets of *Premânanda's* drama *Rosha-Darśikâ Satyabhâmâkhyâna*, to be published for the first time, thanks, then, to their exertions we possess twenty-seven poems of thirteen poets and upwards in their *Prâchîna Kāvya Quarterly* between the years 1884 and 1891. They have also given twenty-five volumes, not including the drama last referred to, in the *Prâchîna Kāvya Malâ* of our Baroda State in less than three years. Among the many beneficent acts of *H.H. Mahârâjâ Sayâji Râo Gâikwâd*, G.C.S.I., of Baroda, and his minister, *H.E. Divan Bahadur Manibhai Jasbhai*, this series will stand as an everlasting monument of their greatest glory and public spirit. Had it not been for his Highness's munificent grant for this national work, it would almost have been an impossibility. However, we have not got all our rich treasures discovered to the public view, though the sums sanctioned have all been expended. It is still hoped that his Highness's Government will finish the work they have so nobly begun. *Kavi Premânanda* and his son *Vallabha* have written many more poems and dramas than those already published and the father is said to have written the *Mahâbhârata* in Gujerati, numbering 300,000 verses. This work should surely see the light at an early date.

The patriotic devotion of *Kavi Premânanda* to the cause of Gujerati cannot be better described and proved than in his own words, translated below from his *Prastâvanâ* or prelude to the drama *Rosha-Darśikâ Satyabhâmâkhyâna* :—

“*Sûtra-dhâra* (looking at the curtain).—Enough ! What need is there of length ? Mârisha, come this way.

“*Pâripârśvika* (having entered).—*Bhâva* ! Here am I. What is your order ?

“*Sûtra-dhâra*.—Mârisha ! Here there are sitting friends, learned men, great men, and others. Before them I have decided to enact the *Rosha-Darśikâ Satyabhâmâkhyâna*, written by Premânanda, son of Kṛishṇa, in the Gurjara language. Go you and make preparations of musical instruments, &c.

“*Pâripârśvika*.—*Bhâva* ; what ! Are all trees burnt up, that the dews have settled on the *Hingolâ* (the *Ingudi* tree) ? Well, pray hear ; while there are dramas of Kâlidâsa, Bhava-bhûti, Bâṇa, Somilla, Jayadeva, and other Kavîśvaras, and they, too, in Deva-Girâ (Sanskrit), what a joke it is to enact a drama in the Gurjara language devoid of *guṇa* (merits), &c., and one composed by a new man named Premânanda ?

“*Sûtra-dhâra*.—Mârisha, because it is a new beginning, the audience, with taste, would not be seeing any fault.

“*Pâripârśvika*.—Yes, it may be all well ; but you seem to have proscribed the word ‘*Nâṭaka* !’ An ‘*Ākhyâna*,’ and that too to be performed ! ! ! Sîva ! Sîva ! I have neither heard it, nor seen it, nor known it. Be it what it may, but pray tell me that you have made a mess of the Deva-Girâ of the higher characters, and you would use the Gurjara Girâ in its stead ; but what do you say to the ‘*Bâla Bhâshâ*’ (बालभाषा) of ordinary characters ?

“*Sûtra-dhâra* (in anger).—One should not speak about what one has nothing to do with. If you have no faith in my words, that in any *Prâkṛita* language whatsoever, the word ‘*Ākhyâna*’ is to be used for ‘*Nâṭaka*,’ and the ‘*Bâla Bhâshâ*’ of the ordinary characters is to be dropt, please settle the points after consulting *Sûtra* 95 of *Prâkṛita Prabhākara*, written by the great Hemâchârya. This subject having nothing to do with this affair, you have needlessly wasted time. All right ! Just see why the *Natî* has delayed, whom I had asked to come soon.

“*Pâripârśvika* (looking at the curtain).—*Bhâva*, look, here she comes. I also live to act up to your orders. (Saying so, exit.)

“*Natî* (entering).—Āryaputra, be pleased to pardon me for my delay, as it took me time to hear the message of my friend Gurjara Girâ. What orders are there for our troupe ?

“*Sûtra-dhâra*.—Lady, if you have no objection, will you please acquaint me with the message of your friend Gurjara Girâ ?

“*Natî*.—Āryaputra, she has told me much, and you have little leisure to hear it all. Yet I give you the substance at your request. My friend has been very much pleased with the work begun by you, and she has praised you much.

“*Sûtra-dhâra*.—Yes, it may be. My dear, the minds of the audience have been entangled in the prose ; pray unblossom or unfold them in poetry.”

The extract given above tells its own tale. It shows that this was a new beginning of the poet, that the name *Nāṭaka* has been eschewed for dramas in the vernacular, and that he has given the authority of a work of Hemāchārya, not known till now, for calling it an *Ākhyāna*, and for abandoning the use of *Bālā Bhāṣā* for ordinary characters. With the *Bhavāi* formation we have seen the word *Nāṭaka* eschewed for drama. A vernacular drama pure and ennobling, in a chaste style and decent diction, and with all the dramatic prose, is found only here, and that in the seventeenth century of the Christian era. In this drama there is no means of fixing the date, as in the case of other poems of his and of other Kavis, but surely it was after v.s. 1717 or 1720 (1661 or 1664 A.C.), and long before v.s. 1790 (1734 A.C.).

We have quoted at the top of this paper a line from Mammāṭa, the author of the *Kāvya Prakāśa*, as to the four motives which prompt poets in writing poems. But in the case of Premānanda, as here observed, a higher motive than any of these four prompted him, and that was a patriotic desire to render real service to his language and literature.

The *Bharata Vākya* of the drama is equally telling and eloquent on this point. We are tempted to give it in the original with a translation—

भरतवाक्य

श्लोक .

सांगोपांग सुरंग व्यंग्य अतिशे धारी गिरा गुर्जरी
पाद पादे रसाळ भूषणवती, याची सखी ऊपरी,
जे गिर्वाण गिरा गणाय गणतां ते स्थान ए ल्यो वरी,
याचेडेष्ठ सङ्ग सखीजन यकी, ए आश पूरो हरि.

“ May the *Gurjarī Girā* put on all the *Vyangya* (i.e., *Dhvani*) profusely decorated with excellent colours (i.e. *Varṇa*) in every part. May it be sweet in every syllable (i.e. *Pāda*) or full of *Rasa*, and endowed with ornaments (*Alaṃkāras*). May she be above her friends (i.e. the other vernaculars), and whatever place is occupied in general estimation, may she occupy that place again. And may Hari fulfil my sole wish that she become the best of all her friends.”

The passage is used with a double sense in the drama, as applicable to the language as well as the heroine, *Satyabhāmā*. Hari is both *Kṛishṇa* and God. In the case of *Gujerati*, her friends are the other vernaculars; in the case of *Satyabhāmā*, they are the

other queens of Kṛishṇa. The senior of the Gujerati is the Deva Girâ or Sanskrit, while that of Satyabhâmâ is the senior Queen Rukmiṇî. The benediction is highly artistic as compared with others of its class. As to how far Premânanda has succeeded, his son Vallabha tells us that while Chanda Kavi had only one issue, the *Raso* of *Prithurâjâ*, and that in an indifferent medley of languages, his father had many an excellent one. Vallabha places Premânanda above Chanda, and justly so. The patriotism of both was their own. One stood up for his friend *Prithurâjâ*, and for his losing game; the other was advocating the cause of his mother tongue, which he won in the end. And in our review, too, we have found that the poet has given a real start to his language with respect to the drama, in which the others lagged far behind.

The patriotic efforts and struggles of Premânanda and his school of poets are not the subject of our paper. These are sure to occupy a place of honour in the history of the Gujerati language and literature. Let it suffice to say that Vallabha, worthy son of a worthier father, following in the track of Premânanda in drama-writing, also fulfilled the vow of his father, who was moved to put on a turban. I have given the names of some of the dramas of these poets in my Christiania Congress paper. Premânanda left a good estate to his heirs. But on a dispute arising as to succession, the choice lay between his works on the one hand and the remainder of his estate on the other. Vallabha selected the former while his brothers took the latter. An unbending spirit of independence and Byronian indifference breathes in every line Vallabha has written. He died poor, so much so that his obsequies could only be performed by an admirer on the security of his library of works, pledged with a banker in Baroda for a few hundred rupees. The mortgagee is now too jealous of the property, and so we have not been able to obtain all the works, whether poetic or dramatic, of these two patriot poets of Gujerat. But we hope and trust that the managers of the *Prâchîna Kāvya Mâlâ* will fare better in that respect.

We must pause now to summarise the results. (1) In the pre-English period no modern Indian vernacular had any original native drama except the Gujerati; (2) the Sindhi, the Punjabi, the Urdu, the Bengali, and Urîya, and perhaps the Marathi, had no dramas at all, while the Hindi and the Maithili had translations from Sanskrit or undramatic dialogues called *Nâtakas*, like those of Dayârâma Kavi of Gujerat; (3) in Gujerat the commencement was made with the *Jñânodaya Nâtika* and *Bhavâis*

so early as or even before the sixteenth century, B.C., on the one hand, and with the *Ākhyānas* of Premānanda and Vallabha in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries on the other; and (4) probably the drama existed earlier, as appears from Premānanda's reference to Hemāchārya's *Prākṛita Prabhākara*, Sūtra 95, which would presuppose a dramatic literature in Gujerat. Thus Gujerati is proved to be earlier than the other vernaculars in its epigraphical records, as well as in its poetry, prose, and drama. May its present and future history, like its past, be equally interesting and ennobling.

APPENDIX.

(NOTES BY R. B. ŚANKAR PANDURANG PANDIT, M.A., ON THE :
DRAMA IN THE MARATHI LANGUAGE, &C.

SINCE sending the paper by the last mail, I have received the following communication from my friend Rao Bahadur S. P. Pandit, Administrator, Porebunder State, Kāṭṭyawād :—

“ So far as I can answer your questions, I should say—

“ 1. The only drama that is purely Prakrit is the *Karpūra Mañjarī*, by *Rājāsekhara*. But this belongs to an age when the Prakrit had ceased to be a living tongue, and the modern vernaculars had already risen into good shape and become languages. The same might be said of the Prakrit passages in the Sanskrit dramas, while most of them belong to an age when the Prakrit had ceased to be quite current; at all events, the Prakrit of those passages is the literary Prakrit, and not a living popular speech. This remark applies to nearly all Prakrit literature, and this is vast.

“ 2. I consider that the drama in Marathi is very ancient. I cannot give the date, but its beginning must have been in the shape of the *Kala Sūtrī* plays, and *Gumbe Ata* in Kanarese, in which the manager must have acted as a thread-puller (*sūtra-dhāra*) to make his actors (dolls) go and move. This indeed, in my opinion, is the original form of our Sanskrit drama before Greek plays came to be known by our poets. The old form is still preserved, as all old things are in India, side by side with their transposed forms. The *Kala Sūtrī*, or mimic doll-plays, were in Marathi and Kanarese followed by the *Daśāvātāra* or real human actors, who

acted the ten Avataras, a very old form of acting. I cannot give you dates, and dramas in the present shape are about fifty years old."

Although I do not endorse all the above observations in their entirety, yet I think the theory here proposed about the rise of the drama is well worthy of consideration, as coming from so high an authority as Mr. Pandit. The mimic doll-plays are not confined to the Maratha and Kanarese country alone; but there were pullers, and their plays or their representations are more widely known. So also the *Daśavatāras*, to which I may add the *Rāsa-dharis* of the *Vraja Bhāshā* and country, and the Dussera plays, enacting scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* or the *Mahābhārata* in some courts of Rajputana.

But these scarcely deserve to be placed in the catagory of dramas, as we understand the word. Mr. Pandit's information does not differ from mine, that the Marathi drama, as a department of literature, is of recent growth, and of the English period, as is the case in all other parts of India, except Gujerat. The *Bhavāyās*, and especially their first, *Nāyaka Āśūt*, arose in the time of *Mahmud Begurra*, the Sultan of Ahmedabad, contemporary of King Mandalika and Narsimha Meheta of Junagadh, and of King Patāi Rāval of Pāvāghadha, whose inscriptions and language form the subject of another paper of mine; and this period was that of the dawn of Gujerati literature in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries A.C.

The Prakrits, the predecessors of the modern vernaculars and the successors of Sanskrit, have no original dramas of their own when they were the languages of the people. So after Sanskrit, and that after the lapse of several centuries, it was in Gujerati that the drama¹ made its first appearance.

¹ I have annexed for reference the advanced sheets of the Gujerati drama, viz., रोषदर्शिका सत्यभामाख्यान, which is being printed in the प्राचान काव्यमाला of the Baroda State, Baroda.

XIV.

THE GUJERATI LANGUAGE
OF THE FOURTEENTH—FIFTEENTH CENTURY,
V.S. 1425 (A.C. 1369) TO V.S. 1525 (A.C. 1469).

BY

H. H. DHRUVA, B.A., LL.B., M.R.A.S.,
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THREE years ago I read a paper before the Eighth International Congress of Orientalists at Christiania "On the Neo-Vernaculars of Western India, with Special Reference to the Gujarati," and published the first of my "*Prāchīna Gujarāṭi Sāhitya-Ratna-Mālā*, or Garland of Gems of Old Gujarati Literature," my letters on "The Unpublished Literature of Gujarati," contributed to the *Advocate of India*, having been published in 1887. My Congress paper mapped out the field in bold outlines, with here and there a few details, but was of too general a character to do full justice to the several periods and provinces of the language. My edition of the "*Mugdhāvabodhamauktikam*, or a Grammar for Beginners," was run through the press hastily for the Congress as I was on the point of starting for Europe, and I could not give that patient and accurate attention to it that I otherwise should have done. The imperfections and inaccuracies of the publication were so many, that I notified to the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, my intention of taking up a second edition of the work at leisure and cancelling the first, long before the criticism of Mr. N. B. Divatia, B.A., C.S., Bombay, appeared in the *Indian Antiquary* of February 1892;¹ and my letters to the Bombay daily were of too desultory and controversial

¹ An unnamed writer in the vernacular monthly, the *Gujarat School Paper*, August and September 1890, pp. 187 to 189 and 207 to 211, has similarly reviewed the work, almost in the same strain. My brother, Mr. K. H. Dhruva, B.A., also has got a learned and sympathetic review of it in another vernacular monthly, the *Buddhiprakāśa*, a paper of the Gujarat Vernacular Society of Ahmedabad, August 1891, pp. 169 to 184.

a character, as a perusal of them from the reprint in an appendix to the above-mentioned grammar will show.

I therefore owe an apology for some of the inaccuracies that have crept into them, with the fuller materials at my command, and with the greater attention I am now able to bestow on them. Yet I cannot help putting in a caveat against all the sharp things said of me and the grammar by the critic of the *Indian Antiquary*, who has been carried away by an unmerited indignation against us. If I have erred in calling the *Mugdhārabodha* a Gujarati grammar, I have erred in good company. A Gujarati Śāstri Vrajlāl Kālidāsa, a philologist of the old type, and a close student of that and other old Gujarati works, has stated in his "History of the Gujarati Language,"¹ published by the Gujarat Vernacular Society of Ahmedabad, 1866 A.C., that "a certain pupil of Devasundara Guru has written a grammar of the Gujarati language in Samvat 1450, of which I have a MS. copy, dated Samvat 1490. In this work are written sayings of the Gujarati that can be understood even by a novice, and it is therefore named *Mugdhārabodha Auktika*." It was this MS. copy, since the property of the Society, that formed the basis of my edition. Dr. Bhandarkar, too, notices a MS. of the work,² and calls it a "Thesaurus." All my attempts to get at the original MS. have hitherto failed; yet hopes have been held out to me that I shall be favoured with a loan of it for my second edition.

I must premise my discussion of this question of the nature of the work with an observation that the Sanskrit of the Jain writers is not so accurate as that of the Brahmanic. They are not in their element there, and Magadhicisms and Gujaraticisms creep silently into their Sanskrit writings. The *Prabandha Ratna Mālā*, the *Prabandha Chintāmaṇi* of Merutunga, and the *Jagaḍu-Charita*, lately noticed by Dr. Bühler in his "Indian Studies," are instances in point. Although their authors write in Sanskrit, they think in their religious or local vernacular, and their expressions and terms occur quite naturally paraphrased or translated into Sanskrit. No argument can, therefore, be based on the phrase "*Prākṛita uktīnām*" (प्राकृत उक्तीनां), v. 1 of the work. Besides that, the writer qualifies the expression by the word "*Prāyaḥ*" (प्रायः).

¹ Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar speaks about the Śāstri and his work in approving terms in his Wilson Philological Lecture thus: "A Gujarati Śāstri named Vrajlāl has written a useful little tract on the history of his vernacular." Cf. reprint in Jour. Bo. Br. R. A. S., vol. xvi. 1885, p. 251.

² Cf. his report on the search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency during 1883-84, p. 16. It is thus described: "Mugdhābodha (box 47), fols. 18, ll. 19, letters 54. A thesaurus composed in 1450 Samvat; date of MS., Samvat 1517."

The work has been described by Mr. K. H. Dhruva and divided into fourteen chapters. The last six of them are no doubt in Sanskrit, but a great part of the work is in the vernacular. Chapters 1, 2, 7, and 8 contain *Sūtras* and *Kārikās* in Sanskrit, but the explanation is in the vernacular, and chapters 3, 4, 5, 6, and 9 are wholly in the vernacular. If the work was really and solely a Sanskrit one, the instances of the several rules and the explanations of the *Sūtras* and *Kārikās* should have been in that language, and not the vernacular that they are given in. After the enumeration of the Sanskrit case terminations,¹ a regular discussion and explanation of the vernacular terminations in all their details takes place;² and these are followed by *Kṛīdantas*, or participles, as I translate them, followed by moods or voices; but there are no verbal terminations in all their usual detail.³ This was surely a glaring omission, if the work was really and solely a Sanskrit grammar.⁴ The object of the writer simply was to give as much of the Sanskrit grammar in his work as was of use for his vernacular. The *Gujerati* of the fourteenth century was by no means the *Gujerati* of the nineteenth; and so my nineteenth-century critics need not have been carried away by the writer of the work adopting the *Samjñās* (संज्ञाः),⁵ and even *Kārikās* and *Sūtras* of his senior and predecessor *Hemāchārya*. The author has specially avoided the use of the word *Sanskrit* throughout the whole of his *Auktika* or grammar.

The grammar, on the other hand, I must admit, is not wholly a *Gujerati* grammar. For the purposes of illustration of his rules about the seven *Vibhaktis* or cases, three *Uktis* or moods or voices and six *Samāsas* or compounds, he has given the *Sarvajina Sādhārāṇa Stavana* of Jayānanda,⁶ who, according to Mr. K. H. Dhruva, was born in 1380 v.s., took the vow of celibacy in 1392 v.s. at Dhārā in Mālavā, became a *Sūri* in 1420 v.s. at Paṭṭan, and died in v.s. 1441.⁷ He was a *Sūri* between *Chandra Śekhara*

¹ Vide col. 1, p. 2.

² Vide pp. 2, 3, 4.

³ Cf. pp. 4, 5, 6, 7. Those given on p. 21, col. 1, are for the present tense only. The past tense is discussed on p. 22 in its vernacular or later Sanskrit use.

⁴ Mr. K. H. Dhruva observes that as these have to be learnt from the *Śabda-Rāpāvali* and the *Dhātu-Rāpāvali*, the new learner should draw upon them for his study of this work.

⁵ Mr. K. H. Dhruva has found out that the terms शिष्ट, घुट, नामिस, &c., are taken from the grammar of *Hemāchārya*. All the *Sūtras* of Sandhi are taken bodily from the second and third *Pāda* of the first *Adhyāya* of *Siddha Hemāchandra Sabdānuśāsana*. Cf. *Buddhiprakāśa*, 1891, p. 171.

⁶ Cf. *Mugdhāvabodha*, pp. 13-14.

⁷ Cf. *Buddhiprakāśa*, 1891, pp. 183-184.

and *Devasundara* mentioned by the unnamed writer of *Mugdhāvabodha*,¹ who is supposed to be *Guṇaratna*, one of the five pupils of *Devasundara*, and the author of *Kriyā-ratna-Samuchchaya*, *Shāḍ-darśana-samuchchaya-vṛitti*, *Vichāra-niśchaya*, and an *Avachāri* or gloss on *Somatilaka's Navya-Kshettra Samāsa*.² It was, then, by way of a compliment to the *Sūri* preceding his own *Guru* or master, *Devasundara*. If the rules of the Sanskrit were to be fully illustrated, *Guṇaratna* would have and should have illustrated them by other quotations like that of the *Stavana* or *Hymn of Jayānanda*; but he has not done that.

Then, taking all the above varying pieces of evidence into consideration, one cannot be dogmatical about the work being solely and wholly a Sanskrit grammar in the Gujarati language. The author has presumably not given his own name, and he seems to have intentionally avoided calling it a Sanskrit grammar. It partakes of the character of a grammar of both the idioms, if not of both the languages, and correctly represents the transition period. In Gujarat, at least, the period of Sanskrit scholarship, grammar, and philology was closed with *Hemachandra*. The Brahmin power was overthrown, and with it the Brahmin learning, and the minds of the people were being directed into another course.

Hemachandra had already brought into prominence the vernacular that he called *Apabhraṃśa*. The name *Gujarati* was not applied to the language even at the time, three centuries afterwards, to which we refer in this paper. The poet *Narsinḥa Meheta* calls the language of his poem *Surata-Saṃgrāma Apabhraṣṭa Girā*, or the corrupt or *Apabhraṣṭa* language;³ while his contemporary, *Padmanābha*, author of *Kānhaḍade-Prabandha*, calls the language of his poem *Prākṛita*.⁴ The language was honoured and elevated in the name of the *Gūjara Girā*, two or three centuries later, by *Kavi Premānanda*, in his *Risha-darśikā-Satyabhāmākhyāna*,⁵ which he and his son *Vallabh* and their school enriched and adorned.

Yes, with *Hemachandra* the language receives a position and a status, and it enters into competition with the Sanskrit; and our present author of the *Mugdhāvabodha* gives the language greater prominence and position under the name of the *Prākṛita*, by the side of which the *Sanskṛita* is not named; and the work begun by *Hemachandra* is completed by *Premānanda*, who claims for it

¹ Cf. pp. 1 and 23, first and last verses of the work.

² *Buddhiprakāśa*, 1891, p. 184.

³ Vide *Prāchīna Kāvya Quarterly*, 1886, No. 4, p. 58.

⁴ Cf. *Buddhiprakāśa*, 1891, p. 172.

⁵ Cf. my paper on the "Rise of the Drama in the Modern Indian Vernaculars."

the same position that *Sanskrita* occupied in his *Bharata-Vākya* Benediction quoted in my other paper.

The *Mugdhāvabodha* may or may not be called a grammar of the Gujarati language, but it is surely a grammar in the Gujarati language. Mr. K. H. Dhruva compliments me for my error, which he compares to that of Columbus, who, anxious to have a view of the golden land of Ind, called the islands of the Western Hemisphere that he first caught sight of, India, inasmuch as I called the grammar a Gujarati grammar, through my devotion to my country and my language.¹ I accept the compliment, and thank him for it. The *Mugdhāvabodha* has surely proved to be those islands of the West of promise of the golden continent, and I am glad to have an occasion afforded me of opening it to my brother scholars in the field.

In search of truth, our object is not victory but discovery.² The regions that we gain we do not annex as the political conquerors would do, but we open them to other inquirers, like the scientific and geographical investigators. We may be wrong, as all pioneers are, and we may be liable to all the blame and rebuke, like Stanley, that our critics may have in store for us, but we would be thankful if they did half the work that they expect in us.

Mugdhāvabodha is sure to be the sheet-anchor of Gujarati philology—nay, all vernacular philology. It supplies us with the touchstone by which we are to test all forms coined at the several aftermints of languages. No other vernacular supplies us with such a work and of such antiquity, and in that respect the work is important and interesting. In spite of my having accepted the compliment to myself as above, let honour be given where and to whom it is due. It has been noticed above that this work was discovered and noticed by Śāstri Vrajlāl Kālidāsa so early as 1866 A.C.³ *Kavi*

¹ *Vide Buddhiprakāśa*, p. 169, footnote.

² Professor Max Müller has rightly observed, in his preface to the sixth volume of his first edition of the *Rig Veda*, with Sayana's Commentary, p. 53, that "with scholars, and with all true men of science who care for truth, the question, as I have said in another place, is never who is right and who is wrong, but what is right and what is wrong. The life of a scholar would not be worth living if, in return for many things which he has to surrender, he did not secure for himself that one inestimable privilege of owning allegiance to no person, to no party, to no school or clique, but being able at all times to speak the truth, and nothing but the truth, about all things which concern him, convinced that all who deserve the name of scholars will thank him where he has pointed out any of their mistakes, will forgive him even where he may have spoken rather freely or bluntly, and will defend him against the clamour of those who seem to think they are nothing unless they are infallible."

³ *Vide supra*, p. 316.

Bhālāṇa, author of a translation of *Bāṇa's Kāḍmbarī*, too, is another of his discoveries (the Śāstri noticing the work, and quoting it in his "History of the Gujarati Language"), although much is known about him and his works from researches made by Rao Bahadur Hargovinddas Dvarkadas, of the Baroda *Prāchīna Kāvya* series, and *Nārāyaṇa Bhārati Yasovant Bhārati* of Pattan, and myself. The next find of this period was the *Kānhadā-de Prabandha* of *Padmanābha Kavi* by Dr. Bühler, late of Gujarat, and of Vienna at present. It was published by the late editor of the Gujarat School Paper (ગુજરાત શાલાપત્ર), Mr. Navalrām Lakshmirām, an excellent Sanskrit scholar, then Principal of the Training College at Rajkot. My own real find was the *Hari Līlā Shodāśa Kālā*, a poem by *Bhīma-Kavi*, written in v.s. 1541 (1485 A.C.), a MS. of which I found with the same Mr. Navalrām Lakshmirām at Rajkot in about 1882-83 A.C. And before any of us, the late poet-patriot of Surat, *Kavi Narmadashunkur Lalshunkur*, had his private collection of old Gujarati works, some of which he has quoted in the introduction to his "Dictionary of the Gujarati Language," at which he worked the greater part of his life. The old Śāstri Vrajlāl, one of the first pioneers, probably the pioneer in the school, is still living his well-earned rest in his native village of *Malātāj* in Central Gujarat. The veteran has sent me some miscellaneous papers, from which I have been able to find very interesting old Gujarati and old Marathi pieces. I have also received from him a transcript of an old Gujarati description of the last king of Chāmpāner-Pāvāgadh, *Patāi Rāval*, dated v.s. 1525 (1469 A.C.). I draw my first inscription of the period, that from *Vāgḍod*, Pattan Division, Baroda State, dated 1425 v.s. (1369 A.C.), from the Baroda collection, now with me, and have noticed it in my paper "On the Antiquities of the Baroda State, and the Light they shed on Gujarati History," read before the Eighth International Congress of Orientalists at Christiania in 1889.

The latest find of this period is a lyric poem, by name *Vasanta-Vilāsa*, discovered by my brother, Mr. K. H. Dhruva, at Ahmedabad, which he has published in the April to August numbers of this year of the Gujarat School Paper (ગુજરાત શાલાપત્ર ૧૮૯૨). Of all the discoveries this is one of the most important and interesting after that of *Mugdhāvabodha*, by Śāstri Vrajlāl Kālidāsa, and of *Kānhadā-de Prabandha*, by Dr. J. G. Bühler, Ph.D., C.I.E., Vienna. For whatever materials we at present possess relating to the period under review, we are indebted therefore to the scholars above mentioned, the real pioneers in the field, who really deserve

the praise that the partiality of a brother, Mr. K. H. Dhruva, B.A., bestows on me.

In my paper before the last Congress "On the Neo-Vernaculars of Western India, with Special Reference to the Gujarati," I have noticed the life and times of *Narasimha Meheta*, said to be the Chaucer of Gujarati, whose *Hāra Mālā* is said to be the work of v.s. 1512 (1456 A.C.), and his contemporaries. But now, in Mr. K. H. Dhruva's *Vasanta-Vilāsa* we have an earlier work, as the date of it is *Bhādrapada Sudi 5 Thursday*, v.s. 1508 (ચીમદ્રપવિક્રમાર્કસમયાતીત સંવત ૧૫૦૮ વર્ષે મહામાંગલ્યપ્રદ ભાદ્રપદ શુદિ ૫ ગુરો અચેહ ચીગૂર્જરધરિત્યાં મહારાજાધિરાજસ્ય પાતસાહચી અહિમદસાહ કુતબદીનસ્ય વિજયરાજે ચીમદદશ્મદાવાદવાસુસ્થાને, &c.), in the glorious reign of the Emperor Pātsāh Srī Ahimad Sāh Kutbudin, at Ahmedabad. This would make the Ahmedabad lyric contemporaneous with the other lyric poetry of Narsimha Meheta of Junagadh, as contained in his *Surata-Saṃgrāma*, &c. Unfortunately this poet is not known to give the dates of the composition of his works, and so we have no means of finding their exact position. Besides, his poetry has been so popular, that it has been in the mouth of all religious Vaishṇava devotees in Gujarat. Copies of it are also to be met with of varying ages, and in these copies, as well as in the oral tradition, the language of the poet's time has not come down to us; yet, in spite of all the verbal changes in the poetry that has constantly played on the lips of the people, it has preserved some of its characteristics. It would have been an honour to the Junagadh State, and a standing monument of the now closing régime of its eminent Minister, my friend Rao Bahadur Haridas Viharidas Desai, to have carried out the work of this poet in the same way as the Baroda State has done for *Premānanda* and *Dayārām*, and others; in a critical edition of the works of the poet we would have got some materials to work upon. Still, however, Rao Bahadur Hargovinddas, of the Baroda *Prāchīna Kāvya Mālā* series, has given us some of the works of *Narsimha Meheta* in his private series. The No. 3 of 1885 of his series gives some *Padas* or songs of the poem, and No. 4 of 1886. The celebrated *Surata-Saṃgrāma*, No. 1 of 1885, is *Hāra Mālā*, which he ascribes to *Premānanda*, but which I believe to be a composition of *Narsimha Meheta*. The *Hāra Mālā* here published gives the date of its composition, Chaitra Śudi 11, v.s. 1734 (A.C. 1678). A controversy was started in an Anglo-Gujerati Bombay weekly, styled *The Gujarati*, in which I also took part, when I had collected several MSS. of the work

and collated them. One of these MSS. was found to be dated v.s. 1733, the year before the work was written by Premānanda, which was absurd. This MS. was from Neriad, and I have called it N. Another from Baroda, which I have called B., and a Gujerat Vernacular Society's MS., which I have called S., do not agree in the text or in the number of *Padas*, while S. gives two varying dates in two *Padas* that do not agree with that given in the printed edition. Rao Bahadur Hargovinddas, too, notices such disagreements in his Preface to No. 1 of 1885 (pp. 3-4). Kavi Premānanda has, moreover, not given his name to the work, and yet at the end of some *Padas* his name occurs as their author. These irregularities show that there was an original work by *Narsin̄ha Meheta* which the poet *Premānanda* had incorporated in his own, wherein he supplied the links that should have made it a regularly connected poem as a whole; and so the older MSS.—that is, those previous to v.s. 1734—might have got the old poem, and those after that date—the new compilation of the later poem. Be this as it may, we know the date of the event of the *Hāra Mālā* to be 1512 v.s.

No. 3 of 1885 of *Prāchīna Kāvya* Quarterly gives a poem, *Govinda Gamana*, or departure of *Govinda* or *Krish̄ṇa* from *Gokula* to *Mathurā*, *Akrūra* having come to call him. The *Pada*, or 31st Song of it, is very interesting. In it only some of the old Gujerati forms have been preserved in their purity. I have counted about thirty-one of them in a poem of about twenty-four long lines, and they are बोलइं, वाजइं, जोइं, होइं, दीसइं, जाइ, चठइं, कहइं, बांधइं, where there would be बोलि, &c., in the period after that, बोलअे, &c., in the period before that, and बोले at present. There are also जमजिम and तिमतिम for जेमजेम and तेमतेम of our days : अमि for अमे (we), तीं for ते, and इने for एने. All these and like forms are to be met with in the *Mugdhāvabodha* of v.s. 1450, or *Vasanta-Vilāsa* of 1508 v.s. *Surata-Saṃgrāma* seems to have been an earlier poem than the other two, and it breathes all the freshness and vigour of a rising poet conscious of his own power and strength. It is there in the last or the 71st *Pada* that the poet calls the *Gujerati*, *Apabhras̄ṭa Girā*. It describes the victory of *Rādhā* over *Krish̄ṇa*. Can it also allude to the victory of the ruler of Ahmedabad, Mahmud Begurra, over *Maṇḍalika* of the *Yādava* family of *Krish̄ṇa*, who harassed him in the *Hāra Mālā* affair? This poem, too, contains some relics of old Gujerati as preserved in its printed form; and Rao Bahadur Hargovinddas detects in them traces of *Vraja* and *Chārāṇī* dialects, which is not correct; equally

erroneous is his conclusion that the Gujarati 400 or 500 years ago was written as correctly as at present ;¹ it is not a question of correctness or incorrectness, but it is that of the proper historical forms in the genealogy of words and in the life of the language.

I have selected only a few forms in passing from the work, and I find in Pada 1, p. 1, forms as *इं* for *ए* (that), *तिने* for *तेने* (him), *दझिइं* which now would be *दझ* (by a wise man). Pada 2, p. 3, gives the forms *उरइं* and *घरइं* for modern *उरे* and *घर*. Pada 15, *हिं* for *हे* (is) p. 13. Pada 18, p. 15, *तिस* for *तेस*. Pada 70, p. 57, *हवंइ* for *हवे* (now), *सवि* for *सवे* (in *सवेजण* sans. *सर्व* all). Pada 71, p. 58, *इक* for *एक* (one).

The poetess *Mirānbāi* of *Mevād*, queen of *Kumbho Rāno*, was senior to *Narsimha Meheta*, as *Bhālana* was his junior contemporary. In my last Congress paper I have assigned the time of *Mirānbai* to between v.s. 1475 and 1500. Her *Garbis* or songs are as popular among Vaishṇava and other ladies of Gujarat as the *Padas* of *Narsimha Meheta* have been, and so they have suffered the same treatment as the others. During my visit to Rutlam in Mālavâ in 1890, I took down some songs from the mouths of the workmen in the opium factories and warehouses there, and they show in what forms they have been preserved there; and these can very well be compared with some of the *Garbis* of the princess published in the *Kāvyaḍohanas* of Kavi Dalpatram Dayabhai, C.I.E., or the *Brihat Kāvyaḍohanas* of Mr. Ichharām S. Desai, the editor of the *Gujerati*. But such popular poets or their popular songs cannot give us the real linguistic state of affairs. For these purposes the earlier we go in time the better. I was the first to discover the genitive termination *चा* and its variants, which are now peculiar to Marathi in the Gujarati of the period, and that in the poem of *Bhīma Kavi*, to give it the shorter name of *Hari Līlā* (*हरिलीला*), while carefully reading the MS. thereof at Rajkot about ten years ago, and the form has been found in all the poets and works of the time from *Padmanābha* of *Jhalor* to *Narsimha Meheta* of *Junagadh* and *Vasantavilāsa* of *Ahmedabad*. And in the case of the latter I first found them in a MS. of some of the *Padas* of *Narsimha Meheta* of about v.s. 1668. These number fourteen. I had intended to write a paper on the language of *Narsimha Meheta*'s time on the strength of these *Padas*, and two inscriptions that I would notice below, one of *Junagadh* of v.s. 1507, and the other of *Pāvāghaḍ* of v.s. 1525, but this intention was never afterwards fulfilled.

¹ Cf. pp. 4-5, Preface to No. 4 of 1886 of *Prāchīna Kāvya Quarterly*.

These fifteen Padas in the MS. of v.s. 1668 contain a larger number of older forms than those in the printed works above noticed. Pada 1 gives the forms निरखिई for निरखिये, मूने for मने. Pada 5 has got the form मूशुं, now obsolete. Pada 6 has सु, also obsolete. Pada 10 has got आपां second person, not now in general use, although some Nâgara Brahmin females of Surat use it in forms करांकां, &c. Pada 14 has similarly कांकरां.

I have alluded to Jina Kuśala Sûri Stavana in my paper read before the Congress at Christiania on the "Neo-Vernaculars of Western India." It is published at the close of *Śrīpālacharitra*, printed at Calcutta, under the patronage of *Rai Dhanpal Bahadur of Ajrin Gunje*, and edited by *Dharmādhikāri Pandit Śrī Kṛishṇa-chandra* of Benares in v.s. 1930 (1874 A.C.). The edition contains *Hinduisms* or *Bengalisms* in print; as, for instance, it gives ऐ or औ where there should be अइ or अउ. There are है and आहै where there should be हइ and आहइ or अहइ. These forms are still used in *Bundi Kota*, in *Rajputana* in the *Hārāuti*, and in the *Bengali* too, as also in the *Nâgari Gujerāti* at *Prayāg*, or *Allahabad*, and in other parts of Upper India, I have given a transcript of the *Stavana* of Jina Kuśala Sûri as an Appendix. If we were to test the language of the *Stavana* by the rules or the illustrations of the *Mugdhārabodha*, it would be found to be on all fours with them, with slight variations here and there.

The same would be the case with the transcript of three inscriptions given in the Appendix. Two of them give the *termini a quo* of our period. The first comes from North Gujerat, from a well in the *Pāṭan* Division of *Vāgḍod*. It is dated v.s. 1425, *Chaitra Sudi 13* Tuesday, at *Vāgaḍendra-grāma*. In the family of *Keśava* there was one *Purushottama*. In his family was *Vikrama*, as pious as the great *Vikrama*. He had three sons, *Dungara*, *Pālhāka*, and *Delhāṇa*. The eldest, *Dungara*, was very philanthropic. The three brothers, natives of *Vāgaḍendra*, got the well constructed; sixteen bighas of land were settled on it for repairs. The name of the wife of *Vikrama* and of the mother of the three sons was *Puñjī*. The inscription records the above grant and history.

The next inscription comes from East Gujerat, and that is from a well at *Mouje Umarvāṇ Nāhūi* in *Pāvāghaḍ*. It records the construction of the well by the last *Chauhān*, king of *Śrī Jayasimhadeva*, popularly called *Patḍi Rāval*, of whom there is a bardic poem called *Patāyaṇ*.¹ The inscription is interesting, not only for the names of the kings of the family it gives, but for its Gujerati

¹ Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*.

character and language. It mentions that the king had constructed the well for the spiritual benefit of his mother, *Śrī Fāmā Devī*, in the village of *Āyast-āmanā*. The instrumental form *तीण अंराजां* (Sanskrita *तेन राज्ञा*) is worthy of special note, as also the case in apposition construction *श्रीफामादेवीनि पुण्णनि अर्थि*¹ (modern *श्रीफामादेवीने पुण्णने अर्थे*), now getting rarer and rarer.

The third inscription, again, comes from the heart of *Saurashtra* or *Soreth*, from *Jūna-durga*, or *Junagadh* of *Maṇḍalika-Prabhu*, the persecutor of *Narsimha Meheta*. *Patāi Rāval* had incurred the wrath of *Kalikā Mātā*, as *Maṇḍalika* had that of the *Vaishṇava*, and both fell at the hands of the puissant Mahomedan ruler, *Mahmud Begurra* of *Ahmedabad*. This inscription is dated v.s. 1507 (A.C. 1451) *Māgha* 5th Thursday. The inscription, with other peculiarities, has the remarkable ancient form *हृ* for *हे*, which is as old as v.s. 802 in the *Vanarāja* inscription, or perhaps older. But the most important and interesting evidence confirmatory of the *Mugdhāvabodha Grammar* is the *Vasanta-Vilāsa*, hailing from *Ahmedabad* of the year v.s. 1508. This, taken with the *Kānhaḍade Prābandha* of v.s. 1515, and the *Hari Līlā* of *Bhīma Kavi* of v.s. 1541, would assist us well in resuscitating the language of *Narsimha Meheta* and *Maṇḍalika* of *Junagadh*, of *Bhīma* and *Bhālana* and *Mugdhāvabodha* of *Pāṭan*, of *Mahmud Begurra* and *Vasanta-Vilāsa* of *Ahmedabad* and *Patāi Rāvala* of *Pāvāgadh*, and *Padmanābha* and *Mirābāi* of *Rajputāna*. Had the works of *Bhālana*, a contemporary of *Bhīma*, been preserved in the same manner as these, his assistance would have been invaluable. The earliest MS. of his work found is dated v.s. 1672 (1616 A.C.), that of *Bāna's Kādambarī*. The earliest dated work of his is *Nalā-khyāna*, dated v.s. 1545,² four years after *Hari Līlā* in v.s. 1541, and twenty years after our third inscription above noticed of v.s. 1525.

Then to return to *Vasanta-Vilāsa*. It is written in *Duhā* or *Dohā* couplets, eighty-six in all; but the first six are missing. Two of these couplets are repeated with eight variations. Ver. 29 is almost the same as ver. 36, and ver. 51 nearly the same as ver. 54. Portions of vers. 8, 11, 21, and 82 are missing, and the readings of some are doubtful or indistinct, for which see the reprint of it in the *Gujarat School Paper*, April to August 1892. On counting and cataloguing the words in the above verses, I have found them

¹ Cf. the expression *श्रीअण्हिल वाडइ पाटणि* in the *Vanarāja* inscription in *Gujerati* at *Pāṭan*, dated v.s. 802 (746 A.C.).

² Cf. *Baroda State Prāchīna Kāvya Mālā*, vol. xi. p. 122.

about 641 in all. Of these there occur 142 inflected substantive forms and 182 inflected verbal forms, the rest being uninflected, nearly all of them. Of the latter 182, there were only three forms of the future, two for *पामिसुं* (i.e., we shall get), and one for *वामिसुं* (i.e., we shall mitigate), in vers. 46 and 53 for the first, and in 46 for the second, and 122 of the present tense, the others being participial or like forms. Of the last 122, there are two forms of the first person in *am* (अं), remnants of the Sanskrita *āmi* or *āmah* (आमि or आमः), singular and plural respectively, in *karāṁ*, *Karāṁ*, and two of the second person in *aṁ* (अं), in *karaṁ* (करं), and *vasaṁ* (वसं), in vers. 42 and 83 respectively. There are again two forms in *u* (उ), third person imperative () in *de-u* (देउ), in ver. 48; also *de-su* (देसु) in ver. 49, and *lahe-u* (लहेउ) in ver. 48 again. The remaining 116 are all forms for the third person plural and singular. The plural forms are forty in *a-iṁ* (अइं), as *bheda-iṁ* (भेदइं), *chheda-iṁ* (छेदइं), ver. 7, and *di-iṁ* (दिइं), ver. 50. But the third person singular has three variants, in the oldest, *a-ē* (अए), in *aṇanda-ē* (आणंदए), ver. 7, *bōla-ē* (बोलए), ver. 28, &c., fifteen in all; *a-i* (अइ), that are forty-six, as in *pāda-i* (पाडइ), ver. 23; the now historically interesting *chha-i* (छइ), ver. 7-5, *gā-i* (गाइ), &c., and *i* (इ), that are fifteen again, as in *chhi* (छि) in vers. 8 and 25, and *as-i* (meaning *is*), in ver. 35 and others. The larger preponderance of the forms in *a-i* (अइ) shows that they are the forms of the period, while the smaller numbers of those in *a-ē* (अए) and *i* (इ), show that the former is fast going out of use, and the latter is just coming into use. It is, therefore, remarkable that we do not find the former in any of our other references consulted, while we have observed *chhi* (छि) and the like in the printed works of Narsimha Mehta. What forms out of these are not to be met with are here found, and in them it is interesting to note that the third person of the present tense had not yet lost the morphological difference between the singular and the plural, which is rare even in the *Mugdhāvabodha*.

The substantive case forms are still more interesting. The sixty forms noted by me have all the cases represented. The accusative has only one instance in *na-iṁ* (नइं), in *mayanana-iṁ* (मयणनइं), in ver. 30, but the case is fast merging into the genitive, and the dative has no separate inflectional existence. The instrumental has six forms in *i* (इ), in *iṇaṁ-pari* (इणंपरि), in vers. 26 and 86, and in *kucha-phala bhāri* (कुचफलभारि), in ver. 52, and *vāni* (वानि), in ver. 73 among others; and in *i-hiṁ* (इहिं), in nine cases, in *āmbu-dālihiṁ* (आंबुडालिहिं), ver. 23, *yauvanamadihiṁ* (यौवनमदिहिं),

ver. 27, &c., a survival and representative of Sanskrita *bhiḥ* (भिः). The ablative, like the dative, has no inflectional representative. The locative, again, has two terminations, viz., *i* (इ), twenty-three in all, as in *svargi* (स्वर्गि), ver. 15, *jagati* (जगति), ver. 28, &c., and sometimes in (ई), as in *chhayana-panaim* (क्षयणपणई), ver. 74, and two forms in *ē* (ए), as in *pāyē* (पाये), ver. 70, and *hindoladē* (हिंडोलडे), ver. 71.

The richest in terminations of all cases is the genitive, which has five in *chā* or *chī* (चा, ची), and variants; five in *tanām* (तणूं), and variants; four in *no* (नो), and variants; three in *lā*, and variant *lu* (ला, लु), and two in *h* (ह). These tell their own tale. From the *Sūtra* संबंधिनः केर, तणौ (*kera* and *taṇa* for the genitive), these appear to be the oldest genitive vernacular terminations, and in our analysis too the latter has got a larger number than any of the others except *chā* and variants. The *chā* (चा) and variants seem to be the forms of the period. The *sa*, a survival of the *ssa* of the *Prakritas*, and *sya* of *Sanskrita*, can only be seen in *Jasu* and *Jasa* (जसु and जस), in vers. 51 and 56 respectively. Its next representative *ha* also is fast dying out, as also the other old forms *lā* and *lu*, represented more largely by *nā* and *nu* at the time, and later.

The small number of *ē* forms of the locative shows that it is first coming into use, the *i* form being the form of the time, having first succeeded the older *im* (इं).

We have only one form of neuter nominative plural in *am-im* (आइं), a representative of *Sanskrita āni* (आनि) in *bāḥu-a-dīāmim* (*bāhu-a-dīāmim*).

But the nominative in *u*, as representing the *Sanskrita S* (स) or *Visarga* and as preceding the modern *O* (ओ), occurs in a larger number, fifteen, as in *kāgalu*, ver. 47 (कागलु), *sāchau* (साचउ), ver. 71, &c.

Fifty forms are noticed of the pronouns, and the demonstrative (four instances) *ā* (आ) and *ē* (ए), also (एउ), *ē-u*, are just coming into use. The relative pronoun has nine instances in all, which contain *jam* (जं), for the neuter, *jī* (जि), in ver. 86, and *je* (जे), twice in ver. 28, and *jīm* (जीं), in ver. 53, perhaps for the feminine, and *ju* (जु) in vers. 14 and 27 for the masculine. Similarly, the third personal has the forms *tī* (ति) in vers. 15 and 19, and *tī* (ती) in ver. 76, and perhaps *tīm* (तीं) in vers. 16 and 53 for the feminine *te* (ते) in vers. 32, 38, 40, 47, 52, 68, 75, and 86 without distinction; and in addition to them their genitive forms *tāmham* (तांहां), from *tasya* (तस्य) or *tassa* (तस्स), changed to *tahha* (तह) or *tāha* (ताह) declined as a nominal base (*cf.* ver. 51). *Tēha* (तेह), ver. 55,

and *tīmha-chu* (तीहचु), ver. 66, are derivatives from the last source.

Personal pronouns have eight forms for the second person and eleven for the first. There is only one instance of *torî* (तोरी) in ver. 39 and one of *tūma* (तूम) in ver. 48, both genitive. The rest are cases of *tūm* or *tum* (तू or तुं), nominative, accusative, or genitive, as the case may be. For the first personal there is one instance of *hum* (हं) in ver. 79, one of *ahma* (अह) in ver. 43, one of *āpaṇa* (आपण) in ver. 43, three of *mūzā* (मूझा), two in ver. 45, and one ver. 46. There is one instrumental form, *ma-im* (मइ), in ver. 68; but there are four forms of *mū* (मू), which, on a comparison with *Narsimha Meheta*, too seems to be the form of the period. Of the expletives *ri* (रि), *rê* (रै), and *a* (अ), the last is the largest used, and so much so, that it sometimes gets in between the base and the termination too. It is used nearly forty-six times in the poem of *Vasanta-Vilāsa*.

The above analysis speaks for itself, and it shows the principal framework of the language. It represents the *u* or *o* (उ or ओ) form of the nominative of the old Pāli of Aśoka's inscriptions of *Shahbazgarhi* (*Kapur-di-giri*) and *Junagadh*, and not the *ê* (ए) form of the *Māgadhi* of the same. It also preserves the dental *na* (न) of the former, and it has not changed it to *ṇa* (ण) as in the latter. It has also its *ra* (र), in fact, which it has not changed to *la* (ल). Mr. Senart's contribution to the language of the Aśoka Edicts and other inscriptions, as of Nassick, &c., has thrown very interesting light on these points;¹ and so the peculiarities noted by him, and here preserved, clearly show the relationship of the language of the Junagadh Aśoka inscriptions and the *Kshattrapa* and *Andhra-bhritya* inscriptions of the Konkan with the Gujarati. I have attempted to show in my last paper on the Gujarati language of 1889 that this was but an ancient form of the Gujarati, which had a larger extent and area than the present.

In this connection I deem it my duty to correct an error or misapprehension of mine in my last paper, viz., that the language of the *Prithi Rāja Rāsau* of *Chanda Bardai* should be classed as Gujarati; for I have gone through some parts of the work published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series, and I am led to conclude that it is more a medley of *Sanskritisms*, *Prakritisms*, and the Upper India language of Delhi than a true dialect of the Rajputana of the time. It also contains an unusually large admixture of Mahomedan terms and expressions for the period to which it belonged. This is the view of

¹ Cf. *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxi. 1892, June and July numbers especially.

the poet *Vallabha*, son of *Premananda Kavi*, who had intrusted to him to write poems in the Gujarati on the model of the Hindi, and to excel this other in it. He therefore seems to have been a close Hindi scholar. He has surely surpassed in his style most of the Hindi writings, *Suradās* and *Tulsidās* only to be excepted. The view above quoted of *Vallabha* will appear in a poem shortly to come out in the Baroda State *Prachīna Kāvya Mālā* series. Through the kindness of the editors, I was able to see the passage and satisfy myself about it.

Vallabha and *Premananda*, besides being great Gujarati poets, were good linguists too, as has been evidenced from the old Gujarati passages in the *Risha-Darśikā Satyabhāmākhyāna* of the latter, some advance-sheets of which have been appended to my paper on the "Rise of the Drama in the Modern Aryan Vernaculars of India." This form of the language they have given to us in the speeches of the wife of *Sidāmā*, the *Vidūshaka* or buffoon and confidant of *Kṛishṇa*, the hero of the drama. I would append these passages too with the others mentioned above, and they also satisfy the language test of *Mugdhāvabodha* and *Vasanta-Vilāsa*.

Notwithstanding the above observations, I am still of opinion that the modern vernaculars, and of these the three principal, viz., the *Hindi*, the *Gujerati*, and the *Marathi*, were more similar and less distinguishable from each other in their earlier stages. Some of the forms in the Marathi poems of *Jñāneśvara* or *Dnyānoba*, as the *Marathas* style him, are so very like those found in *Narsimha Mehta* that they could hardly be distinguished from similar Gujarati forms. In the Appendix I propose to give some Marathi verses by a Jain monk from a MS. I have received from *Śāstri Vrajlāl* of *Malātāj* in confirmation of my present view, that this language has to be compared with that of the Gujarati of the period we are reviewing.

In my paper on the "Baroda Antiquities and the Light they Shed on Gujarati History," I have shown how the several strata of population of the country have been formed. The *Chaulukyas* of *Bârpa* of my Surat copper-plate, the *Gujerat Chaulukyas* of Dr. *Bühler*, and of my *Sankheda* plates, recently published in the *Indian Epigraphia*, and the *Râshṭrakûṭas*, formed the connecting link between *Gujerat* and *Deccan*. The *Châuḍas* and *Solankis* of *Pāṭan* had their wars with the South, and in the time of the last Gujarati king, *Karṇa Vāghelo*, a close alliance was formed with the *Yādavas* of *Devagiri* or *Darulatābād*. It was the downfall of these Hindu powers, and the consequent spread of a cyclonic wave of Mahomedan power,

that brought about the general wreck. And with the insecurity of the times and political hostilities the chain was broken, and the two people had their separate growth and development as also their languages. The Gujerat chroniclers place the fall of *Karna*, the last king of Gujerat, in v.s. 1360, and only three generations separate that period and the period of *Mugdhāvabodha* and *Vasanta-Vilāsa*, and *Narsimha Meheta*, *Mirābāi*, *Bhālana Bhīma*, and *Padma-nābha*. This was too short a time for very marked differences in the development of the languages. In the Hindi, too, the higher lights of *Suradās* and *Tulsidās* had not yet dawned, and the language was just forming, with its shading off into the Urdu. My brother has discovered a poem of that period, probably *Prabhāvatī Kathā*, if I mistake not, which seems to prove that fact.

We know of no epigraphic records, as far as my information goes, of the Hindi; and I have not been able to see the Marathi copper-plate inscription of v.s. 1128, A.C. 1206, in which the name of *Bhāskarachārya* occurs, to which Prof. Bhandarkar alludes¹ in his "Wilson Philological Lecture VII.;" but from such records before us we have been able to ascertain the form and position of the Gujerati language.

The period yet requires closer study and scrutiny, and I have been able to give but a bare outline. As a pioneer, I simply open the field; but it is for others to clear it, cultivate it, water it, and get good crops and fruit from it. And if I succeed in inducing scholars to enter the field, I would consider my labours more than amply repaid. Prof. Bhandarkar complains of the low position and slow progress of the philology of the Indian Aryan vernaculars. Mr. Grierson has introduced the Hindi to the Congress, and I have attempted to do the same for the Gujerati for the second time. The ancient literature of the languages is no doubt large, but it is sure to repay a close study. They represent a recent formation of the Indian thoughts, and the exponents of them, the words; and from these recent formations we should be able to ascend to the ancient ones, as in geological research. And it is for this reason that the study would commend itself to all true scholars; and I once more cordially invite them to embark on the enterprise, in which I wish them every success.

¹ Cf. Jour. Bo. Br. R. A. S., 1885, p. 342.

APPENDIX.

I.

The *Vāgaḍod* Inscription of v.s. 1425.

॥ जं ॥ संवत् १४२५ वर्षे चैत्रशुदि १३ भोमे अद्ये(ह) वागडेंद्रग्रामे वास्तु
 वाघेला मेलंगदे राज्य (sic) हर पालदे
 राज्य (sic) वंकिल आसा पदमसिंह पं रामा
 पं ड तलावटी साडा + + भूरतनसींह यं केल्हा यं
 देल्हा यं (?) + + कानसा यं सोमा यकुवा एवं विधं
 पं(च?)मुख + मंत्री पत्तन वास्तव्य माधवस्य प्रशंसा + इस सा + पाल्हा
 कानां स्वकीय हस्ताक्षराणि प्रयच्छति यथा यत सां + (वी?)कस सां
 डुंगरसां पाल्हाक गामनइ अर्थि पडी प्राड(?)ये सूहववाविं पुण्णनइ कारणि
 करावु. इण वावि गामुढोर सठु पाणी पिसि. सुहागदेवावी कु + लीन
वावी ठाएह वावि केडे भूमिजाव विघा १६ ए सोल विघा भूमि धणि साह
डुंगरसा पाल्हावे लई वावि भोगविइ. ए भुइणउ वाडीणउ वावि कोयो
 रखेइ विणासइ पिराइ ठुम (?) करिवउ गाम हणिवइ विरलई विणासु न
 करीई. वउ(?)ए सुहागदेवावणि जिय जइ उपजइ ते सहइ सां डुंगर
 सां पाल्हा लेवइ वावी आपणी खेडावइ. एह वावणी एह भुंयरी करण
 वार करईवा का जल हइजे शुध्विमाहि चंद्र सूर्य तपइ ताका इण वावि
 भूमि सां डुंगर सां पाल्हा णि खेडावई इहण पुत्रपौत्र परंपरा भोगवइ.
 एह अक्षविधि ज को लोपइ न पालइ तेहरे शर (Sans. शिरः) गोहत्या
 ब्रह्महत्या स्त्रीहत्या बालहत्या इ हत्या ४ एह पापि लिए.

Another Inscription in Sanskrit verse describing the family of the founder's brothers, *Dungar Sâ* and *Pâlkhâ Sâ*, closes as follows:—

वज्रभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि (sic) सगरादिभि (sic) यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि
 (sic) तस्य २ तन्फलम् (sic ?) ॥ ६ ॥ राज वंसोदिसोयावत् सरसिं पाल
 तावदेषा विरतधा (? sic ?) हापीय पयसातत् (? sic ?) ॥ ७ ॥ सां
 विक्रम भार्या पंजी त्रयोपुत्र डुंगरपाल्हा भं वापि कारिता आचंद्रार्क
 जीयात् (sic) ॥

II.

From a fragmentary Inscription at *Uparkot Junâghaḍ* of King *Maṇḍalika*, dated v.s. 1507.

९ खलि श्रीसंवत् २५०७ वर्ष माघ — — पंचमीदिने गुरु वारौ सौराष्ट्रदेशे जीर्णदुर्ग श्री (याद)ववंशे राणा श्री (मे)लगदेव सुन (रा)उल श्री महीपाल (देव)सुत श्री मंडलीक प्रसुणा

(5.) प्रथमं श्री — — गति जीव न विणासई बीजालोक जीव न विणासई । — — की मासी

(6.) — — चीडीमार सीचानका (पारा) धि आहेडा न करई। चोर न मारिवा बाबर खांट तुरक एहे द्याहडे जीव कोइ न विणासई चोदसि धाणी न पिलाइ कुंभकार पंचदिननी मांइ न — — — इं जी को

(7.) — — सई ते रा — नी आणभंग — कारक ए आ (धारा? राउल) श्रीमंडळीक ना थाथा। आ धारा संवकणइं पालिवा तेहनइ सुणा इसि जीवोठीला मूकई ए दाह तेह अम — — वक्तविणहार श्रीमंडळीकप्रभु एइ आशी

(8.) — णीइ कइ ॥ श्लोककाय

III.

An Inscription of King *Patâi Râval* of *Pâvâghaḍ* in a well at *Mouje Umaravâṇa Nâhni*, dated v.s. 1525.

खलि श्री १५२५ वर्षे माघवदि अष्टमी शनौ अनुराधा नक्षत्रे अयेह श्रीपाव-
कदुर्गे महाराज श्रीजयसिंह देव विजयराज्ये. श्रीष्टवीराज प्रमुख चह
आण वंशे धणाराजा हौआ. कुलतिलकराय श्रीहम्मोरदेवकुले राजा
श्रीरामदेव श्रीचांगदेव श्रीचाचिगदेव श्रीसोनमदेव श्रीपाल्हाणसिंह श्रीजितकर्ष
श्रीकूपराउल श्रीवीरधवल श्रीश्वराज श्रीराधवदेव श्रीचिंबकभूप श्रीगंगराजेश्वर
तत्सुत पूर्वपुरुषोद्धरण धीर शक्तिभक्त नित्यसुवर्णधेनुदानकर्ता द्विजशासन-
दाता गजदानी प्रतापी राजाधिराज श्रीजयसिंहदेव तीणअंराजां आयसी-
आमणूं ग्रामि निज जननी ओफांमांदेवो नि पुण्णिनि अर्थि कूपरचना . .
. श्रीरखु.

IV.

The Poem *Jina Kuśala Sūri Stavana*, written in v.s. 1481, or Memorial verses. जिनकुशलसूरिस्तवनं .

Doha.

रिसभजिणेंसर सो जयो मंगलकेलिनिवास
वासववंदियपथकमल त्रिजगजनपूरव आस ॥ १ ॥

ढाळ (Dhāla)

चंदकुलंबरपूनिमचंद , वंदो श्रीजिणकुशलसुणिंद
नाममंच जसुमहिमनिवास , जु सुमरइ तसु पूरवइ आस . २ .
मरुमंडल समीयाणउगाम , धरणकंचण अति अभिराम
तिहां वसइ जेल्हागरमंचि , ज्योतिश्री तसु घरणी (?) पवित्र . ३ .

जसु तेरसइं चीसइं जन्म (born v.s. 1330).

सेंतालइं सिरिसंयमरम्भ (entered Order v.s. 1346).

पाटणि सनहौतरइ जसु पाठ (ascended Guddee at *Pāṭaṇ* in v.s. 1377).

निव्यासइ तसु खर्गे वाट (died v.s. 1389).

भूमंडल सुर गइ पाया(ल) ? सचिरामर जगि इणि कलिकाल ,
प्रभुप्रतापनवि मानइ जोइ, मेंनवि नयणे दीठा कोइ . ५

निरधन लहइ धनधन सुवंन

पुत्रहीण पामइ बळ पुत्र

असुखी मानइ सुख संतान

ए रतनां गुरु करतां ध्यान ६

प्रभु सुमरण आपद सावे टलइ

त्रेयसांति सुखसंपति मिल(इ)

आधि व्याधि चिंता संताप

सवि झांडो नळ मंडइ व्याप ७

तप दोष जवि लागइ ति हां

प्रभुदरसन उत्कंठा जिहां

सेवंता सुरतरुनी झांछि

निखइ दालिद्र न्हेलइ बांछि ८

विसहर विसनिरवस नरनाह
 भूतप्रेत ग्रह विंतर राह
 प्रभुनामइ जे न करइ पीड
 भाजइ आवट भवभयबीड ९
 रोगसोग सवि जासइ दूर
 अंधकार जिम उगइ सूर
 सरब फीटी पंडित थाय
 प्रभुप्रताप दुखदुरित पलाय १०
 धनधन जिन सासन सुयोत
 जिहा अइइ भवसायरपोत
 जो सदगुरु में भेटयो आज
 सलीय रंग सङ्ग सीधा काज ११

ढाळ (*Dhālā*) again.

आज धर आंगण सुरतर फलायां
 चिंतामणि करकमले मित्तउ
 उदयउ परमानंद करइ
 आज दीह में धन्ये गिणीए
 जुग पवराग भजो पेंथुणी यो
 चंद्रगच्छ महिमा जिलौ ए १२
 कांई करो श्रुतीपतिसेवा ?
 कांई मनाववुं देवी देवा ?
 चिंता आणउ केइ मने ?
 वार वार ए कवित भणीजइ.
 योजिनकुशलसूर सब रीजइ
 सरइ काज आयास मजो १३
 संवत् चवद इकयासी वरसइं (v.s. 1481)
 सुलक वाहण पुरवर मन हरसइं
 अजिय जिणेश्वर पटिभवणे
 कीयउ कवित ए रंगल कारण
 विघनहरण बजताप निवारण
 कोइ मने संशय धरउ मने १४

जिमजिम सेवे सुरनर राया
 श्रीजिन कुशल मुनीसर पाया
 जयसागर उवझाय युण्ड
 इमजे सागरगुण अभिनन्दइ
 रिद्धि समृद्धि जे चिरनन्दइ
 मनवंदित फल मुज ऊवै ए १५
 इति श्रीजिनकुशलसूरिसवनं ॥

V.

Notes from the *Uttara-Gītā Tīkā* of one of the oldest Marāṭhī poets, *Jñāneśvara* (ज्ञानेश्वरी उत्तर गीता टीका) giving forms used similarly in some of the writings of *Kavi Narsimha Mehta* of Gujerat, and other poets of the time. (a.) Potential forms in *-ijē* (इजे) as in बोलिजे (*Adhyāya I. Ovi* 9), also in येणें वर दीधला प्रकाश ब्रह्म बोलिजे (Ib. 46), न्हणूनि निष्कळ बोलिजे एसे (Ib. 47), and ज्ञाने करुनि जाणिजे ते ज्ञेया (Ib. 53). Again there are बोलिजे in verses 61 and 67 Ib., तरिका भणिजे पुरुषवाचु verses 81, 118, 237, 104, 193, 230, 273, तेही ब्रह्माकार कीजे verses 104, 139, 272, 273, तें चौथे शून्य जाणिजे verses 104, 238, among others. There are again the forms जाइजे in तेथूनि अग्नि चका जाइजे ver. 150, लागिजे in तथा अभ्या सासी लागिजे ver. 151, देखिजे in ver. 190, and also होइजे *ibidem*. The third *Adhyāya* too contains the forms दीजे verses 68, 103, &c. The termination seems to have disappeared in later Marāṭhī, while it has long since changed to *i-yē* (इये) in modern Gujerati. And so the above forms would be बोलिये, जाणिये &c.

(b.) Past participles in *lā* (ला) or its variants, when it is either a double termination, as in दीधला from दा “to give,” meaning “given,” or single, as देखिला from *Sans. दृश्, Prākṛiṭa दिख्* or देख् “to see.” Cf. दिधली I. 25 and 94, in दिधली अनुज्ञा आपण; and देखिली in ते शारदा कैसी देखिली I. 26 and 267, also दीधले III. 7, and देखिले Ib. v. 7.

(c.) Nominative termination in *u* (उ). Cf. एकु I. 1, संकलु I. 6, युक्तु I. 6; विनायकु and पर्यंकु I. 9, अंकु I. 11, कूटखू and गृहखू I. 63, ओंकार I. 146, &c.

There are other peculiarities also common to the two languages of the time.

VI.

A quadrilingual poem from an old MS. in Sanskrit, Pârsi, Dakshî (Dakshinî? or Gujerati?), and Turki languages.

संस्कृत पारसी दक्षी तुरकी भाषामय स्तवनं

- S. तरणिबंदिरसुंदरभूषणं
 D. बरवि मूरति तूझी बज्जंबरी
 P. बिबिनचक्ष किपाक किमांक्षकुन्
 T. जगहि साहिब रऊ बडाबडा १
 S. भुवन विसृत सन्महिमोत्करं
 D. प्रगट केलिकला कलिताकलि
 P. तुंमरुदे बिपिसरपन हांतुरां
 T. सुटिदमस्किन कुजनि वाजनां २
 S. समसुशर्मा विधायकमेवहि
 D. आणिषलाहन कर्मा सुसेवकां
 P. अजसुमां किबिदेहि किभिसरां
 T. सबहि तुर बह्त बह्त ही ३
 S. दृषभलांछनचारुविराजिते
 D. पुठवि पाहत २ लेटिला
 P. अवल पीर पयगांबर तूं सदस्
 G.? अवर कोई नरतूं विना ४

इत्थंतूर्य सुभाषभ्य जिनपतिः पौरस्य नाथस्तुतः(sic) भास्वद्वः विरसस्थितः
 सुरजसः श्रीनाभिभूपांगजः स्वच्छैः श्रीजीवराजपंडितवरैः लीलायमानैर्मुदा
 सोयं श्री क्रषभो ददातु विपुलां मांगल्यमालां सदा इति संस्कृत पारसी
 गुजराति (तु?) रकी भाषा चतुष्टयमय स्तवनं

VII.

An old poem (स्तवनं) in the Marâṭhi language (दख्खणी भाषा) from the same MS.

श्री गुरुभ्यो नमः

- यांदवां शृंगार सोहद नेमिवो जिनुं
 टंकारव करणि याणि चठविला धनुं
 उदार पंच जनशंष पुरिला धनुं
 त्याचें शब्द हरिचिंति चमकिला मनुं १

हरिचिंति चिंता वसलि कर इचिं तनु
 युसराक वणझाला कुणाचा तनुं
 राज माझ इं घेईल तोचिंते वीसनुं
 तेहवां आयुध सालिं आलो देवकिनंदनुं २

शिवदेवि मुल पाऊनि भणई मुरारि
 नेमि नाथु बलतुमचा आहे उदारि
 लाउ दोनि खेलु नसिं बलपाहे भाटि
 वराड करुं नेमिचा वोबला पहाटि ३

बाईला आपुलि गोपी रषमणि सति
 बोलाविलि आलि जइसि हंसिचि गति
 देवर तुमचा दिसइं विमलमति
 त्याचा वराड करावा सम मन्मथरति ४

कस्तुरिकपुरि अंबरचंदनां योल
 कुंकुमसुगंध करति झाकिमझोल
 रंगदाषवेदेरां जईसा वो चोल
 त्यावरिगोपि मधुरि बोले वोबोल ५

देवरदेव सेवति करति नति
 गोपिवेलुवेलु सांगइ आय क विनति
 हावभाव करुनि नेमि समझावति
 उगा राहिला नेमिनाथु बोले नारति ६

मानिला वराड वराड भणिइं गोपिचा वंदु
 राजा मति चिंति झाला मुराद आनंदु
 आथकुनि हरिस झाला तेहवां गोविंदु
 उग्रसेन धरि मांगुं आला सुकुंदु ७

सुभदिनिइं मळरत घेतला घोर
 लवलव करुनि जान चाललि भोर
 राजामति वाट पाहे जईसइं घनभोर
 मोहरांचि प्रीति चंद्रचकोर ८

. सा वो योग
 पुणइ विना मागतां नमिले संयोग
 देवांचे सारिबे वो पविले भोग
 अदसीपरि जेथिं तेथिं बोलेवो लोग ९

गवांषि बैसिलि उग्रसेनांचि बालि
 गोठ करिइ सखि सपिइं अति रसालि
 यादवांचि जान तेहवां ए तां पाहिलि
 ससनेहां च लोचनें ते पाडूं लागिलि १०
 इतक्या मधि सखिए कोण तो नेमि
 माझा अवतारयाचे सविंबो रेमि
 याचि अष्टभवांचि वोनारि वोतेमि
 कोति काल आंतरेवो भटिला नेमि ११
 तेर्णाइं अवसरि नेमजि आला तोरणि
 आंत आत गोठि करइं हरण हरणि
 जिवदया पालक आले बीहावो जनिं
 करइ पुकार वेलुवेलु राषा सरणि १२
 पशुबंध कोडविले नेमजि ततषिणि
 वैराग धरुनि रथवाली आपुणि
 आयकुरि(?) राजामति पडइं धरणि
 सावचेत बोले माझा कोठीं तो धणी १३
 चकितलोचनइं पाहे जइसि हरणि
 विरह विथाइ तईसि नेमिचि धरणि
 मासे जलविना टलवलइ फरणि
 प्राणनाथ मांगइं मांगइं चलिइ चराणी १४
 मझसवइं घोरि करुनिगला पलुणि
 आता भेटेतोतरि राषु पालव धरणि
 अंतःकरणि धरिला आतां भितरमनि
 कइसिइं धरुनि जासि आतां पाहूंवा दोनि १५
 आधिइं अधिक आहे रुपिइं राजमति गोरि
 विद्याचे गुणे सोभिलि जईसि वो गौरि
 चतुरपणिइं हारि विलिदेवांचि अमरि
 लाजलि गेलि ते देवलोकां उवरि १६
 चंद्रवदनइं वो शशि गेला गगनि
 चंचलता घेतलि गेहवां घंजन वनि
 सारंग अहंकार उतारिला लोचनि
 फिरूं लागिलि हरिण हरनि ॥ १७

नाशिका उतंग सरलपणिद् पाहिलि
सुकरसि लोगे लावनिसरवरांपालि
वेणि चंचल नागीणि जइसि दिसइ फणालि
सेषनागलाजुनसिद् गेला पायालि १८

अधर परवालि रंगिद् बीषि हारी विलि
विजलचंचलतेजपुंजिद् आकुलि
भमुह्निवांकुडि कमाण चंद्रलंकालि
त्यावरि सांधिले लीचनबाण अणी आलि १९

कडिलंकिं केसरिबन डिद् तो फिरिद्
सुकंठि कोकिला कालि बरूपरी झुरद्
हंसहाथि यांचि गति चालद् मंथरि
सरसवचन अमृतभाषे त करि २०

चंपकव वरणद् आंगि रोमसुकमालि
त्यावरि नेसिलि बरवि दखणिफालि
तोडाभाष्टंगार सोहद् नाह्निं वो गादि
अंजनि आजिले नेत्र मोतीयां जालि २१

दादलावरहीं वेडि सारिखी बोले
निद्रा निशि नए गुण समरति डोले
माणुसपसु वोवाटद् भेटेवो त्याले
वेलुवेलु भणद् कोणि मेलवा माले २२

नेमिर करति आलि गिरनारि बरि
भेटिले नेमिले तेइवां हरीस भरि
आपुण पुढिद् पाडविलि वेकुंठ धरि
पठिल अहनिशि तो पावति सिरि २३

पंडितशिरोमणि वो निका श्रीगुरु
तपजपगुणमणिचा वो आगर
जीवराज शिवराज सीस सुंदर
दोनि भाउ सेवा नीतनीत शंकर २४

इति स्वयं दण्णभाषा समाप्ता ॥

VIII.

A specimen of old Gujerati from a drama of *Kavi Premānananda* (v.s. 1700 to 1790). *Roshadarśikā Satyabhāmākhyāna*: speeches of *Hīmatī*, wife of *Sīdāmā*, the *Vidūshaka* or the buffoon of the play. Act I.

(a.) *Hīmatī* and *Śrīdāmā*.

हीमती—आहा भुंडइ मइ इहिं तिहि भटकावइ. वाटर्ग किहि अनइ मइ लइ जवइ किहि? (इम कोप करइ बांयडुं सांइ खिंचइ) उंह उंह लखण किह बिंह !

(b.) *Hīmatī* and *Rukminī*.

हीमती—उंह उंह इम किम बोलइ? बला अनइ हीमते ऊंते? बाए हवइ गोबरइ गोठडइ करइ.

हीमती—हमजुं ऊंतो सरवइ; मइ बोलइ नथ जणइ, बा सुनइ तुं वरज पठावइ? गोप नथ नथ कहइ.

हीमती—उंह कनक मलइ कइ केहवइ हइ. इमइ तइ ऊं? सुनइ इंहथी तिंह अनइ तिंहथइ इंह गोप लइ जवइ. मइ पळइ मइ सय्यइ पण हथइ उलइ अवइ तिंह गोप वातलडइ करइ हसइ अनइ सुवणस जइ जवइ.

हीमती—नथ नथ.

हीमती—नथ नथ.

हीमती—उंह सुवणस जइ मइ सुषइ.

हीमती—उंह उंह इम कहइ तिंहिमइ इहइ नवि रहइ.

हीमती—जाह जाह की झोरी जाहमि घरइ जवइ (एम कही चाली जायहे).

XV.

THE WOMEN LEADERS OF THE
BUDDHIST REFORMATION.

BY

MABEL BODE.

(*Abstract*).

THE Pāli classics already edited, and in part translated, have given such proof of the value and beauty of the early Buddhistic writings, that I ventured to submit to the Indian Section of the Congress of Orientalists a paper, which, under the above title, contained an extract from a hitherto inedited Pāli text, accompanied by a literal translation. The paper, in its original form, is too long to appear in the present volume, but a short account of its contents may not be out of place.

The above-mentioned text was taken from the *Manoratha Pūraṇī* or *Wish-Fulfiller*, as the great Buddhist commentator Buddhagosha calls this, his commentary on the *Anguttara Nikaya*.

In preparing my paper, I had the use of a very careful transcript of the *Manoratha Pūraṇī*, made (for future editing) by the late Dr. Trenckner, and now in the possession of the Pāli Text Society. From the note on the title-page it appears that the transcript is founded on a Siṅhalese MS. in the India Office Library (No. 30, Phayre Collection), and with this Dr. Trenckner collated, as far as it went (*i.e.*, to the end of the third Nipāta), a Burmese MS. of the same work (No. 31, Phayre Collection). I have also had the advantage of comparing with the above transcript a third MS. (in Siṅhalese writing), which Dr. Morris was so kind as to lend me from his own collection.

It is not easy to choose a typical chapter from such a work as the *Manoratha Pūraṇī*, but, as the position of women is a subject growing in interest with the growth of our knowledge of the world's history, I selected for translation a striking chapter in the *First*

Nipāta. This chapter is the commentary on the *Etad Agga Vāggo* of the *Anguttara Nikaya*, or discourse "concerning those who are chief," in which Gotama enumerates his chief disciples. The greater number of these are men, but there are also several women. Each one is named in turn with a pregnant word of praise, and the commentator fills up with vivid pictures the slight outline afforded by these single words.

Thirteen Theris—women who had entirely renounced the world to enter the Order—are referred to by Gotama as follows:—

1. Mahāpajāpati Gotamī—"rattaññūnaṃ"—chief among those who are of great experience.
2. Khemā—"mahāpaññaṃ"—among those who are great in wisdom.
3. Uppalavannā—"iddhimantānaṃ"—among those who are gifted with the higher powers.
4. Paṭācārā—"vinayadharānaṃ"—among those who carry on the tradition of the canon law.
5. Dhammadinnā—"dhammakathikānaṃ"—among those who preach.
6. Nandā—"jhāyinaṃ"—among those who are practised in meditation.
7. Soṇā—"āraddhaviriyaṃ"—among those who are strenuous in effort.
8. Sakulā—"dibbacakkhukānaṃ"—among those who have the gift of the higher insight.
9. Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesā—"khippābhīṇṇāṃ"—among those who are swift to gain insight.
10. Bhaddā Kapilāni—"pubbenivāsaṃ anussarantīnaṃ"—among those who remember former states of existence.
11. Bhaddā Kaccānā—"mahābhīṇṇappattānaṃ"—among those who have attained to the five great gifts.
12. Kisā Gotamī—"lūkhacīvaradharānaṃ"—among those who wear the rough garment.
13. Sigāla Mātā—"saddhādhimuttānaṃ"—among those who are earnest in faith.

We have, besides this commentary, many sources from which to learn more about the Theris, who (naturally enough from the distinguished position they held) appear in the works of other writers besides Buddhagosha. A most interesting comparison may be made between his version of their lives and that given by Dham-

mapala, the commentator on the ancient book of religious verses known as the *Therigāthā*.

A few extracts from Dhammapala's work (*Paramattha Dīpani*) are given in Professor Pischel's edition of the *Therigāthā*, but a complete text of the commentary, edited by Dr. Edward Müller, is now passing through the press for the Pāli Text Society. This will enable us to put the commentators side by side, and see their agreements and their differences.

Enlarging on the passage in the *Etad Agga Vāggo*, which I have quoted, Buddhagosha's plan is to give only so much of each Theri's life as to explain the title she there receives from the Master's lips; but from these stories alone we can realise that women had their share of leadership in the great religious reform four centuries before the Christian era.

A very striking example is Dhammadinnā, who, as Buddhagosha describes her, is emphatically a woman of spirit. Her husband, himself suddenly attaining great sanctity, explains to her the unfitness of their daily life together from that time, but offers her (as "compensation," no doubt) as much treasure as she desires for her sole use and enjoyment. Dhammadinnā rejects with a fine scorn the poor part thus assigned to her. She too devotes herself to the religious life, and in due time becomes a teacher of the doctrine. The scene changes, and the holy man is soon seen humbly questioning his former wife on spiritual matters beyond the reach of his own wisdom. Dhammadinnā cuts through various knotty points with a keenness "as of one who severs the stalk of a lotus with a sword." But she does not seem to have been over-much puffed up, or to have wished to make the most of the triumph, for she sends Visākha to the Master to be further instructed. Whereupon the Master, after hearing the matter, utters a tribute of praise to the Theri, which is in itself plain evidence of the rank deemed possible for women to hold among the highest of his followers.

I have no space to give further examples or to add more to the above sketch, except an acknowledgment of the extreme kindness of Professor Rhys Davids, who encouraged me to undertake, and helped me greatly to prepare, both the text and my English rendering.

XVI.

THE WOMEN LEADERS OF THE
BUDDHIST REFORMATION,

AS ILLUSTRATED BY

DHAMMAPĀLA'S COMMENTARY ON THE THERĪ-GĀTHĀ.

BY

CAROLINE A. FOLEY, M.A.

THE collection of verses attributed to certain eminent sisters of the Buddhist Order and entitled the THERĪ-GĀTHĀ, has been for several years in the hands of Western readers of Pāli. It was edited in 1883 for the Pāli Text Society by Professor Richard Pischel of Kiel, and published in the same volume as the corresponding collection of verses by Buddhist brothers known as the THERA-GĀTHĀ, which was edited by Dr. Oldenberg. In both works the form in which they have stood for nearly twenty centuries as part of the canon of the Piṭakas was preserved—that is to say, the Gāthās or psalms appeared alone, without accompanying commentary. It is true that Dr. Pischel, in the notes at the end of his work, inserted some extracts from Dhammapāla's commentary, but they are fragmentary, and in many difficult passages altogether absent.

It may be well for those who have not inquired into the tradition of the Buddhist canon if I am a little more explicit. Like the rest of that canon, these *gāthās* or sets of verses, which are believed to be the direct utterances of some of the women who in Gotama's lifetime were the first of their sex to join his Order, were handed down orally by the Order till the year B.C. 80. But there was also handed down in like fashion the *story* of that episode or those episodes in each woman's life which were the occasion of her composing her *gāthā* or psalm. This, the *atthakathā*, it was permissible to the individual exponents in succeeding generations to tell more or less

in their own words, while the metrical *gāthā* was pronounced unchanged as the sister had composed it. *Atthakathā* and *gāthā* form together what may be technically described as an *ākhyāna*, or story in mixed prose and verse.

In the year 80 B.C. the Buddhist scriptures were committed to writing (in Pāli), and as part of them, viz., in the Sutta Piṭaka, were incorporated the Gāthās of the Therīs, detached from their explanatory *atthakathā*. These latter continued to be handed down by way of oral transmission only. In the fifth century A.D. arose a number of distinguished commentators, Buddhagosa and his successors, who re-wrote all this unwritten expository tradition (which served as a frame and explanation of the sacred books, and had been handed down in the several dialects spoken at different centres of Buddhist learning) in the Pāli language.

About a century after Buddhagosa DHAMMAPĀLA was living, according to the GANDHAVAṆSA, at Kāñcipura, the modern Congevaram, in the Madras Presidency. He undertook to translate the commentaries on the books entitled the UDĀNA, VIMĀNA-VATTHU, and PETA-VATTHU, together with the THERA-GĀTHĀ and THERĪ-GĀTHĀ, into Pāli, his entire work being entitled the PARAMATTHA-DĪPANĪ. His commentary, like other Indian works of its kind, gives not only each *ākhyāna* complete, but adds a paraphrase, in the Pāli of his own day, of the more archaic idiom in which the *gāthā* was written. He also inserts collated passages from the APADĀNA, a collection of *Vitæ Sanctorum* included in the canon. All this is clearly a great help to the modern reader, for the ancient *gāthā* sometimes embodies verses spoken at different times in the author's life, or even by different persons; and the lines are often not so much sentences as rosaries of words, each word to the ancient Buddhist being fraught with pregnant and precious import.

This portion of Dhammapāla's labours is about to become accessible to Pāli students in the edition of the commentary on the THERĪ-GĀTHĀ made by Professor Eduard Müller of Bern, now being published by the Pāli Text Society. To his kindness and that of the President of the Society I am indebted for the privilege of access to Professor Müller's manuscripts.

Dhammapāla begins his commentary with a condensed biography of the incarnations of Gotama, up to the time, in his last rebirth, when, as the Buddha, he was occupied in founding his Order for men only.

He then proceeds to tell very briefly of the first admission of women to that Order, following pretty closely the account

given in the Vinaya itself, in the last book of the CULLAVAGGA, thus :—

“On a later occasion, when the Teacher was residing at the Kūṭāgāra-hall near Vesāli, King Suddhodhana [his father], who had, while reigning, realised Arahatsip, passed away.

“Now Mahāpajāpatī the Gotamī, his widow [sister to the Buddha’s mother], formed in her heart the wish to abandon the world. And when also the five hundred Sākya ladies had listened to the Teacher delivering the Kolavāda sermon on the bank of the Rohiṇī river, they all with one consent agreed to go to Mahāpajāpatī and say, ‘We all would enter the Order under the Teacher,’ and making her their leader, they resolved to go.

“Now Mahāpajāpatī had once already asked the Teacher to admit her, and had not gained permission. She now having sent for her barber, had her hair cut off, and put on the yellow robes [of the monks]. Then, taking with her all the Sākya ladies, she went to Vesāli, and through the mouth of Ānanda asked him of the ten-fold power if she might not be admitted.”

[The CULLAVAGGA states in this connection that Gotama again refused, but yielded to the intercession of Ānanda.]

“Then Mahāpajāpatī, receiving the eight *Garudhammas*, obtained at the hands of the Teacher both the novitiate and full initiation. Moreover, all her followers were admitted to full orders. Thus fully ordained, Mahāpajāpatī came before the Teacher, and, respectfully saluting, stood beside him while he taught her the Dhamma. And when she had received a subject for meditation, she attained to Arahatsip. And the five hundred ladies also attained Arahatsip after they had heard the Nandakovāda sermon.

“Thus the Order of nuns was firmly established, and waxed in numbers in one place and another, in village, town, country, and royal city. Matrons, daughters-in-law, and maidens, hearing the wisdom of Buddha, the Law and the Order, rejoiced at his system, and feeling agitation at the prospect of continuous re-birth, asked the permission of their husbands, parents, and relatives, and joined the Order, taking the discipline to their bosom. And then, successful in virtuous works, and receiving instruction from the Teacher and the monks with energy and endeavour, they not long after realised Arahatsip. And the verses which they uttered, either in exultation or otherwise, were collected afterwards by the Synodists, and arranged in chapters according to their length. And they are called the Therī-gāthā.”

Then Dhammapāla proceeds to deal with each Therī, giving a

record, varying in length and amplitude of detail, of her previous existences, and of that last re-birth which in the West would alone rank as her biography.

The following pages are based on this unpublished Pāli text of Dhammapāla. I have translated his words quite literally, but the verses from the psalms themselves I have rendered in English verse.

Read in conjunction with the commentary, the psalms afford insight of great interest into the circumstances attending the conversion of their authors to the religious life, and the spiritual procedure whereby they were made perfect in salvation. The motives which drove these women from the world to embrace the *anagāriyā*, or homeless life, are as diverse as those revealed in the records of Christian monasticism. Across time and space a common humanity is manifest. Escape, deliverance, freedom from a situation grown intolerable, whether gradually or by a sudden crisis, such is the recurring theme. Emancipation has been won from suffering of some kind, physical, mental, or moral, as well as from the bondage of conditions which are discerned as conducing inevitably to suffering. The bereaved mother and the childless widow are released from grief and contumely, the Magdalen from remorse, the toy-wife of king or Dives from the ennui of an aimless life, the busy matron from the absorbing *μέριμναι τοῦ βίου*, the young girl from the humiliation of being sold to the suitor who could bid highest, the thoughtful woman from the ban imposed upon her intellectual development by conventional tradition. Such are the typical cases I have selected from the THERĪ-GĀTHĀ and its commentary to illustrate in what light the monastic career presented itself to Indian women in the days of Gotama Buddha.

But complementing this negative impulse to escape from pain there was a prospect of more positive interest. Taking the vows did not mean mere mortification of feeling or deadening of energies. It was a diversion of both into new channels. The Therīs are as exalted, and virtually as hedonistic, in their aspirations as any Christian saint. Of them too Matthew Arnold could have said—

“Ye like angels appear,
Radiant with ardour divine;
Beacons of hope ye appear;
Langour is not in your heart,
Weakness is not in your word,
Weariness not on your brow.”

For they, while yet they were struggling with their bonds, im-

pelled by the *vis a tergo* of goading circumstance, were reaching out, more or less intelligently, after the "gentle liberty" of a higher, wider law, by which to regulate and concentrate their lives,—viz., the *Dhamma* of contemplative and active discipline. Under its régime the Bhikkhunī in her novitiate became one of the company of disciples attending some eminent lady-apostle, and led the simple, strenuous, stimulating existence of a student and an intending missionary.

Beyond and above the stage of ardent self-discipline there was the vantage-ground of organic stability of disposition to be won by the Bhikkhunī who, like those venerable Therīs, had in her the making of an Arahāt. To the "elect lady" it was given to rise above the felt need either of freedom or of law, for she had mastered and purified emotion through attainment of that insight

"qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,"

which could discern

"Dukkham, dukkhasamuppādam, dukkhassa ca atikammam,"

(sorrow, the uprising of sorrow, and the outdoing of sorrow), together with that false joy which prevails when undiscerned sorrow is latent. Before her she saw—

"life unroll,

"A placid and continuous whole—

That general life which does not cease,

Whose secret is not joy, but peace."

Whether philosophic attainment was within the possibilities of her nature or not, the essential medium for it the Indian woman found provided in the monastic life. On entering it, she, like her younger Christian sisters, laid down all social prestige, all domestic success, as a mother, wife, daughter, queen, or housekeeper, and gained the austerer joys of an asexual rational being, walking with wise men in recognised intellectual equality on higher levels of thought, in communion with the mind that was in the Buddhas of all time, and realising in due perspective her relations, actual, past, and potential, to the universe of phenomena, as they in their essential impermanence grew into being and dissolved again.

The Therī Somā, for example, claims this equality when Māra, chief of evil spirits, taunts her with the incapacity of her sex to compass the wisdom of the wisest among men.

Somā, says the commentary,¹ was born as the daughter of the chaplain of King Bimbisāra at Rājagaha. She was converted by the Buddha at the gate of Rājagaha, and thereafter taking the vows and doing the Buddha's behests, with insight and virtuous works, became an Arahāt.

And dwelling thus in the happiness of freedom at Sāvātthi, she entered one day the Andha grove to take siesta, and sat down beneath the shade of a tree. Now Māra, alone, and wishing to disturb her, came up to her, invisible of form, and standing in the air, spoke these words:—

“That vantage-point of knowledge unto which
The sages may attain is far to seek,
And woman cannot with her feeble wit
Achieve the distant heights, or hope to bridge
With her small intellect the gulf between.
For who shall measure with two-finger rule
The weary length of way which leads to Truth?”

The commentary pauses here to paraphrase, explaining that “women from the age of seven or eight are always cooking rice and saying, ‘Now the rice is boiled,’ but do not really know anything. They know only, when the rice they have prepared is cooked, how to lift it out with a spoon and squeeze it with two fingers, and this is why a two-finger intellect² is spoken of.”

Now when she heard this, the Therī rebuked Māra, saying—

“How should our woman's nature hinder us?
And what to us are attributes of sex,
Whose hearts are wholly set, whose feet mount up
Unflinching to those cool heights of Truth,
In growing knowledge of the Arhat way?

On every hand the love of pleasure yields,
Borne down by knowledge and the sense of Law,
And the thick gloom of ignorance is rent
In twain. Do thou know this, O Evil One!
And learn the limits of thy power, O Death!”³

In Somā's case there is no indication of the monastic life being embraced as a relief from painful circumstances, and in this respect she stands almost alone. Different is the case of ANOPAMĀ, another daughter of wealthy parents.

¹ Ed. Müller, xxxvi.

² An Italian would use the identical idiom: *una mente lunga di due dita*.

³ For the versification of this *gāthā*, as well as of those attributed to Anopamā, the Paṭācārās, and Sundarī, I am indebted to H. Morgan-Browne, Esq.

Anopamā, says Dhammapāla,¹ was born under this dispensation, as the daughter of a wealthy citizen called Majjha. And because of the perfection of her beauty she was called "Anopamā," the Peerless. When she came of age, many sons of wealthy citizens and great nobles of the court sent messengers to her father, saying, "Give thy daughter Anopamā to me, and I will give thee this and that."

She hearing this, the thought arose in her—for that the promise of saintship was in her—"What have I to do with the life of the home?" and she went to the Teacher. Hearing from him the Law, she perfected knowledge . . . attaining insight and the fruition of the Third Path. She asked the Teacher for orders, and he, taking her to the nuns, ordained her. And on the seventh day realising Arahatsip, she thereafter reflected on her attainment, and waxing inspired, said—

"Daughter of Treas'rer Majjha's prosp'rous house,
Rich, beautiful, and famous, I was born
To vast possessions and to lofty rank.
Nor lacked I suitors; many came and wooed;
The sons of kings and merchant princes came
With costly gifts, all eager for my hand,
And messengers were sent from many a land
With power to treat and bargain for my hand,
And saying to my father, 'Give to us
Thy child Anopamā, and we will give
Eightfold the price which thou hast ask'd for her.'

But I had seen the Buddha, the All-wise,
The One supreme. In lowliness I sat
And worshipped at his feet. He, Gotama,
Out of his boundless pity, saw me there,
And taught me as I worshipped all the Law.

Then resting on my couch in quiet thought,
I touched, through him, the Anagāmi-Fruit,
Where death is death indeed, nor comes re-birth.

Then cutting off the glory of my hair,
I entered on the lonely paths of life,
And wandered forth to lose the sense of home.
'Tis now the seventh night since first the weight
Of earthly things was lifted from my heart."

¹ Ed. Müller, liv.

We will proceed to consider some accounts of mothers and wives.

The Therīs who, in the short *gāthās* assigned to them, exult most keenly in their "freedom," are two who were the wives of poor men, one a strawplaiter or basketmaker, the other only described as a crook-backed Brahmin. One Therī, the wife of the latter, is called MUTTĀ ("free"), the other is only known as "Sumaṅgala's mother," her son having become distinguished as a Thera. The revolt in both cases was equally from the society of the husband and from household cares, especially the task of grinding corn or what not. The *gāthā* of Muttā is to this effect :¹—

"Oh ! free indeed ! oh ! gloriously free
Am I in freedom from three crooked things,—
From pestle and mortar, and my crook-backed lord.
Yea, I am free from re-birth and from death,
And all that bound mine eyes is hurled away."

KHEMĀ and SUJĀTĀ,² on the other hand, wives, the one of King Bimbisāra, a supporter of the Buddha, the other of a wealthy young citizen, leave affectionate husbands and a life of luxury to take the vows. The latter gladly encounters Gotama as she is leaving her pleasure-grounds to return to the town. Khemā avoids the Teacher's presence, conscious that she will not escape condemnation for being engrossed with her own great beauty.

Khemā, it is written,³ was born under this dispensation in the kingdom of Magadha, at the town of Sāgala, as one of the royal family. She was sent to be the wife of King Bimbisāra while the Teacher was staying at the Bamboo Grove. (This monastery was a present from the king.) Intoxicated with her own loveliness, she thought, "He will declare there is sin in beauty," and she would not go to see the Teacher. Now Bimbisāra, wishing that she would, instructed his men to speak in praise of the Bamboo Grove before her, in order to create in her the desire to see it. She thereupon asked the king : "Sire, may we see the Bamboo Grove ?" And he, not choosing that she should come away without having seen the Teacher, instructed his men that they should conduct the queen by force to see him of the tenfold power. Now, when she had spent the heat of the day in the grove without seeing the Teacher, she sought to go. Then the king's men brought her against her will unto the Teacher's presence. The Teacher, seeing her approach, projected by supernatural power the shape of a divinely beautiful woman standing behind him and fanning him. And Queen Khemā, as she

¹ Ed. Müller, xi.

² Ibid. liii.

³ Ibid. lii.

looked, thought, "Verily the Blessed One has around him women as lovely as goddesses. I am not fit even to wait upon such. Behold, I am undone by my own wicked and baseless ideas." Such conclusions she drew, gazing spellbound at the woman.

Now, as she looked, the Teacher, by power of will, made that woman pass from youth to middle age, and then to old age, broken-toothed, grey-haired, and wrinkled, until she fell into a heap on the floor, her fan in her hand. Then Khemā thought, by virtue of her resolve [*i.e.*, made in a former birth], "Has such a body come to be so utter a wreck? Why, then, so will my body too!" And the Teacher, discerning the change in her heart, said—

"They who are slaves to lust drift down the stream,
Like to a spider gliding down the web
He of himself has wrought. But the released,
Who all the bonds of sin have snapt in twain,
No more on life intent, forsake the world,
And all desire of sense put far away."¹

She thereupon became an Arahāt, and in the Apadāna it is added, "by her husband's consent."² Her, the Blessed One, as he sat in the midst of a great congregation at the Great Jeta Grove Monastery, called foremost of all his women disciples in wisdom.

To her one day, as she was taking siesta under a tree, Māra, the Evil One, drew near in the form of a youth, tempting her through the senses, and saying—

MĀRA.

"Thou'rt fair and life is young, beautiful Khemā!
I am young, even I too—Come, O my fairest!
Give me, while in our ear fivefold harmonies
Murmur melodious, give me to taste of love's sweetness.

KHEMĀ.

Through this body vile, foul seat of disease and corruption,
Loathing I feel and oppression; cravings of lust are uprooted.
Cruel desires of the Skandhas cut like daggers and jav'lines.
Speak not to me of delighting in aught of sensuous pleasure;
Verily all such vanities now no more may delight me.

¹ Dhammapada, st. 347.

² In nearly every instance of a wife or daughter leaving her home to join the Order, the commentator mentions that permission had been given by the head of the family.

On every hand the love of pleasure yields,
 Borne down by knowledge and the sense of law,
 And the thick gloom of ignorance is rent
 In twain. Do thou know this, O Evil One,
 And learn the limits of thy power, O Death !

Lo ! ye, who blindly worship constellations of heaven,
 Ye who, nourishing fire in cool grove, wait upon Agni,
 Ignorant are ye all, ye foolish and young, of the Real,
 Heedless of truths that are able to keep your hearts undefiled.
 Lo ! as for me, I worship the All-wise, the One among mortals,
 Utterly free from all sorrow, doer of Buddha's commandments."

With these narratives might be contrasted, did space permit, the story and psalm of CĀPĀ, whose love for the husband she had annoyed was so strong, that when he left her to embrace once more the career of a mendicant monk, this time under the Buddha, she abandoned her child, her home, and people, and herself sought admission to Gotama's Order, caring only to follow her husband's example.¹

But it is Rachel "weeping for her children because they were not" that constitutes more than does the widow, as such, the type of utter despair among these mothers, and it is to her that Gotama, or his elect followers administer specific consolation. The story of KISAGOTAMĪ, who, grief-distraught, bore about her dead child, praying for medicine to be given him, and whom the Blessed One bade fetch a little white mustard from any house wherein no one had ever died, is sufficiently known. Her we meet with in these monastic records as a highly-honoured Therī, ascetic in her neglect of comforts, strenuous in philosophic study, and appointed by Gotama as lady-superintendent of the convent grove at the Jetavana. To the Blessed One, who had healed her sorrows by showing her that "there hath no [trouble] overtaken you save such as is common to men," she was devoted heart and soul, singing of him as her *kalyāṇamitta*—her precious friend.²

The stoic consolations of Buddhism take a slightly different aspect in the case of the many bereaved mothers who went in their grief to the eminent PAṬĀCĀRĀ, a sister who herself had known the sorrows of bereavement to the uttermost. They were in number no less than 500, and the same message was given to all.

"These,³ bearing sons and living the household life, doing the duties of the same caste, all lost their sons, and were smitten with

¹ Ed. Müller, lxviii.

² Ibid. lxiii.

³ Ibid. l.

the grief of the childless. And they gat them to the elder Lady Paṭācārā, and saluting her, they sat down and told her the cause of all their sorrow. The Therī healed their sorrows, saying—

“The way by which men come we cannot know,
 Nor can we know the path by which they go.
 Why mournest then for him who came to thee,
 Lamenting through thy tears, ‘My son, my son!’
 Seeing thou knowest not the way he came,
 Nor yet the manner of his leaving thee?
 Weep not! for such is here the life of man.
 Unaskèd he came hither from the void,
 Unbidden went he hence to other worlds.
 Lo! ask thyself again whence came thy son
 To bide on earth this little breathing-space.
 By one way come and by another gone,
 As man to die and pass to other births.
 By one way come and by another gone—
 Thou knowest not these things—What mean these tears?”

By these stanzas she taught them the truth, and they, hearing the truth, were moved in heart, and by the Therī were admitted to orders, and applying themselves with zeal to study and to works, they not long after attained Arahatship.

Now these new Arahats, beholding the standpoint they had gained through that inspired utterance, repeated it, and added—

“Lo! from my heart the hidden shaft is gone,
 The shaft that nestled there she hath removed,
 And that consuming grief for my dead child,
 Which poisoned all the life of me, is dead.
 My heart is whole and all my yearning stayed.
 Lo! I for refuge to the Buddha go,
 The only wise—the Order and the Law.”

These verses they uttered severally, and they are known as the five hundred Paṭācārās.

Thus could Buddhism in the mouth of one woman avail to lift many afflicted mothers above the four walls of domestic perspective to a more cosmic standpoint. Hence “in Nature’s infinite book of secrecy” they could the better see things as in themselves they really are, *i.e.*, in their relation to the whole, and confess serenely to ignorance where seeing even by a Therī was not attainable.

More orphaned than either bereaved mother or abandoned wife would be the Magdalens who had awaked to a consciousness of sin.

Of the three who are amongst the number of the Therī psalmists, VIMALĀ is the most interesting example.

She in this present dispensation, writes Dhammapāla,¹ was born at Vesālī, as the daughter of a woman who made her livelihood by her beauty. And when she was come to womanhood . . . [living after the fashion of her mother] . . . her heart was set to work evil. And one day, seeing the elder, Mahāmoggallāna, going his rounds in Vesālī for food, her heart being in the bonds of lust, she went to his dwelling-place, and strove by her allurements to beguile him from virtue. Some say she was set on to do this by unbelievers. The elder rebuked her for her wicked conduct and admonished her.

And when he had made an end of exhortation, her heart was touched, and her sense of shame returned to her. Laying hold of faith, she became a disciple, and afterwards was admitted by the Therīs; whereupon, devoted and strenuous to succeed, she not long after attained Arahatsip. Then it was that, reflecting on the past, she uttered these lines in exultation :—

“How was I once puff’d up, incens’d with the bloom of my beauty,
Vain of my perfect form, my fame and success ’midst the people,
Fill’d with the pride of my youth, unknowing the truth and unheeding!
Lo! I made my body, bravely arrayed, deftly painted,
Speak for me to the lads, whilst I at the door of the harlot
Stood like a crafty hunter weaving his snares, ever watchful.
Yea, I bared without shame my body and wealth of adorning,
Manifold wiles I wrought, devouring the virtue of many.

To-day with shaven head and yellow robe
I go forth on my daily round for food,
And resting in the quiet solitary shade,
I gain at length that AVITAKKA sphere,
Where reas’ning into intuition melts.
Now all the Yoga bonds² that fetter gods
And men are wholly rent and cast away,
The cause of all impurity cast out,
And all around is liberty and peace.”

Such are some of the psalms of the Therīs, and such the brief biographies introducing them, now about to become accessible to

¹ Ed. Müller, xxxix.

² *Sabbe yogā samucchinnā*. The four Yogas, or kinds of attachment, to which not only men but gods were prone, are *Kāmayoga*, *Bhavayoga*, *Diṭṭhiyoga*, and *Avijjayoga*, i.e., the bonds of lust, becoming (desire of future life), wrong views and ignorance. *Yoga* stands either for the subjective tendency, or for the object by which mind and heart are bound. The standard passage on the Yogas is *Anguttara*, iv. 10.

students, and in time to all English readers. By the light of these slight personal records we are better able to tell whether the "coming out" into the homeless life was a step of active initiative, breaking forth from a groove which had become repugnant or painful, or only a drifting into a new channel, when the sides of the old way had been so broken down or worn away, that the new departure was really that of the line of least resistance. The former cases seem to me the most interesting—in which the woman surmounts the grooves of habit and circumstance, when to yield to both gives infinitely the least thought, trouble, and dislocation.

In practically every case the new departure had, as its proximate cause, the impact of a personal influence, magnetic, inspiring, persuasive, to which, in the fulness of time, the predisposition, developed through ages of re-birth, made its matured response. Often that teacher was a woman, and her mission of mercy is warmly acknowledged when the ransomed sister utters her psalm of triumph. But oftener, in the case of these, the eldest daughters of the Buddhist communion, it was the Buddha himself who led them to the higher life or confirmed them in it. He remains ever the supreme influence, and on him are poured epithets of devotion and adoration. He was the Eternal Conqueror, Lord of the World, Guardian of the World, Tamer of men, the All-wise, the Supreme among men, the Welcome One, full of compassion, free from corruption, without fear, Mighty Hero, and so forth.

Never do we find, however, that voluptuous self-surrender to the image of a Beloved Person which is so prominent a feature in the ecstatic devotions of at least the later Christian woman-saints. Christ to the Santa Teresas, the St. Catherines—even to the Northern St. Anna-Emmerich and others—is the Heavenly Bridegroom, who appears in a vision to embrace, and with whom the tenderest expressions of love are exchanged :

"Unseen, untouched, unheard, unknown,
 You take possession of your bride ;
 I lose myself to live alone
 In you, who once were crucified
 For me, that now would die in you,
 As in the sun a drop of dew."¹

The utmost length a Therī presumes to go is to call her Saviour her spiritual friend, as Kisagotamī does in her song, or herself his daughter, a privilege claimed by the beautiful heiress SUNDARĪ.²

¹ Mathilde Blind, "The Mystic's Vision."

² Ed. Müller, lxix.

She, grieving for her brother's death, resolves to renounce the world, imitating her afflicted father, and, overcoming her mother's objection and gaining her blessing, she leaves her great inheritance at Benares to join the Order.

Thereafter gaining permission from her lady superior to go and profess her loyalty to the Buddha, she arrived at Sāvatti, and, "filled with a glory of joy and delight at his presence," said as to herself—

"See, Sundarī, the Teacher fair in hue,
His countenance as fine gold, clear and bright;
Him who hath Wisdom's secret, and hath made
All things subservient to his master-mind,
Taming the untam'd, never tasting fear."

Then to Gotama—

"And see, O Master, Sundarī, who comes
To tell thee of emancipation won,
And of the right no more to be re-born,
Who hath herself from passion freed, and from
The Upadhis conditional to birth.
Accomplished now is her appointed task,
And she from taint of sin is purified."

And the Blessed One asked her: "Whence comest thou, Sundarī?"
And she—

"Lo! from Benares am I come to thee,—
I, Sundarī, thy pupil, worship thee
And call thee Hero. Nay, thy child am I,
Thy only daughter, issue of thy mouth,
E'en of the wisdom of thy blessed word.
Accomplished now is my appointed task,
And I from taint of sin am purified."

Then said the Blessed One—

"All hail, dear lady! thence not far for thee the path,
For thou hast conquered self, and comest now
To worship wisdom at the Master's feet.
Thou too art freed from passion, and hast lost
The fetters binding down to birth again.
Thou too hast done on earth thy destined task,
And from all taint of sin art purified."

Gotama's method, in fact, was not to place a heavenly instead of an earthly prop under the weak and tottering soul. In setting the

heart at liberty from the bondage to one or two relations by the instrumentality of larger intellectual and moral standpoints, he educated, as such stoic methods must do, the inner resources and self-reliance of each disciple, flinging them back upon themselves for salvation, even while he gathered them into the "refuge" of himself, the Dhamma, and the Order, and telling them

"The aids to noble life are all within."

And this he did even when it seemed most harsh.

PAṬĀCĀRĀ,¹ the comforter and guide of many more than those 500 mothers, lost her reason when young on being bereaved of her two little boys, her husband, and her parents by a rapid succession of accidents. She wandered about unheeding that her garments had fallen from her, walking ever in circles, as though seeking her lost ones, and pelted at and jeered at by the unthinking. Gotama and his disciples passed by one day, and they said to him, "Suffer not that little mad woman to come here." "Forbid her not," answered the Blessed One; and as she drew near on her listless round unconscious of their presence, he stood still and said, "My sister (a title of respect—*bhaginī*) recover thou thy reason!" And she, by the mystic power of the Buddha, recovered her reason . . . and greatly shamed at her wretched plight . . . prostrated herself at his feet, saying, "Master, be thou my protection!" telling him of all her misery. . . .

The Teacher answered her: "Paṭācārā, think not thou art come unto one able to be a refuge unto thee. For even as thou art shedding tears for the death of thy sons and thy kinsfolk, so hast thou, in the course of transmigration that hath not beginning nor ending, shed tears for death of sons and kinsfolk more plentiful than are the waters of the four great oceans." And he spoke the verse—

"Less are the waters of the oceans four
Than all the waste of waters shed in tears
By heart of man who mourneth touched by grief.
Why dost thou waste thy life brooding in woe?"

And at the close of the stanza her sorrow abated. And seeing that her sorrow had abated in her, he said: "O Paṭācārā, to one passing to another world neither child nor kinsman is a protection or help or refuge. Neither can they be so here. Therefore, let him who is wise first make pure his own conduct, then follow out that path which leads to Nirvāṇa." Thus he taught her, and said—

¹ Ed. Müller, xlvii.

"Sons are not for a protection, nor father, nor any kinsmen;
For one overtaken by death protection is not in relations.
Seeing what this may mean, the wise man, by virtue directed,
Swiftly arises and makes plain the way that leads to Nirvāṇa."¹

Thus he taught her the Dhamma, and she being convinced, asked to be admitted to the Order. For these elect ladies, instead of being repelled by the austerity of Gotama's consolations, swallowed the tonic draught and grew strong. Some administered it themselves. DANTIĀ,² during her siesta on the mountain-side, sees an elephant-rider bid his beast present a foot that he may mount thereby, and she, using as a basic idea (*ārammaṇam*) the thought—

Disvā adantaṃ damitaṃ manussānaṃ vasaṇṇaṃ gataṃ,
"Seeing the untamed tamed, subdued to the will of his masters,"³

set herself to win self-mastery and became an Arahāt.

Yet the Therī who had attained to—

"Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control,"

was, as I said before, no wooden-hearted creature *sans entrailles*. She may no doubt have been somewhat below, or above, that poet's vision of—

"A creature not too bright or good
For human nature's daily food,"

yet she bore all "the vast orphanage of nature" in her bosom—men and beasts and spirits. She, if she observed the Silas—the precepts of holy conduct—with sincerity, was bound to let her heart brood over the whole world "with thoughts of love, pity, and sympathy, far-reaching, grown great, and beyond measure."⁴ All men were her children—"only in the Lord," as the Christian would say, or she, as a good Buddhist, "only in the hope of freedom."

PAṬĀCĀRĀ⁵ and her following of women-disciples see one day, as they sit in the lodge at their daily meal, a weary wretched woman approaching, potsherd in hand, begging for alms. It is CANDĀ, reft of all her kin by infectious disease, a homeless, childless widow.

"And the sisters, seeing her afflicted and hunger-stricken, were moved with compassionate and loving impulse, and entreated her kindly, satisfying her with the store of food there was for hospitable use. And she, gladdened at the beauty of their conduct, approached

¹ Dhammapada, 288, 289.

² Ed. Müller, xxxii.

³ Ibid. xl.

⁴ Tevijja Sutta.

⁵ Ed. Müller, xlix.

the Therī, doing reverence and sitting down beside her." Then Paṭācārā taught her the "Dhamma of the Therīs," with the usual result; and Candā afterwards gave utterance to her gratitude.

So far from leading a life of cloistered, futile dreaming, the duty of spreading the gospel of the Dhamma devolved upon every Therī.¹ These women were all, in their way, saviours and good shepherds of the heedless and the lost, and, as Hallam would have said, "practised all the stratagems of itinerancy." And such was the eloquence of one at least, namely, of SUKKĀ,² as she taught, walking to and fro on her shady terrace, all who came out of the city to hear her, that the Dryad in the tree at the end of the terrace was filled with impetuous enthusiasm at her wisdom, and, quitting her cool shrine, went straight to Rājagaha, and wandered through the streets and squares, impressing upon the citizens the glorious opportunity they were letting pass unheeded, and crying—

SUKKĀ'S *Gāthā*.

"What would ye men of Rājagaha have?
 What have ye done? that mute and idle here
 Ye lie about, like men bemused with wine,
 Nor wait upon Sukkā, while she reveals
 The precious truths of the Ambrosial Way!
 The wise in heart, methinks, were fain to quaff
 That nectar irresistible, that fount
 That never drieth up, with eager thirst,
 E'en as the Wayfarer³ sucks up the cloud.

And when the people heard, they forthwith with joyful eagerness went forth to Sukkā, and would not make an end of listening to her.

Now, when the Therī finished her appointed span of life, and was about to pass away, she bore witness to the truth of her salvation, and to herself, as to another person, said these words—

¹ There is no clear evidence, I believe, that a self-contained enclosed building, or set of buildings, forming what we understand by a monastery or convent, existed in those times. All that there seems to have been by way of accommodation in this or that *vanam* or grove was, in the first place, a paved floor surmounted by a roof, borne not on walls, but on wooden columns, constituting together the hall or Sālā, and a private apartment—sleeping chamber and study—for the use of Gotama. The cottages, cells, or cabins for the shelter of each brother or sister were probably grouped round this central erection, but of storied house or outer wall we do not hear.

² Ed. Müller, xxxiv.

³ *Addhagū*—(?) the sun.

O child of light,¹ by light of truth set free
 From cravings dire, firm, self-possessed, serene,
 Bear to this end thy last incarnate frame,
 For thou hast conquered Satan and his hosts."

Such, in some of its aspects, was the life and work of the elect ladies whom men called Therīs, and who had won the serene standpoint of the Arahāt. They had lost much, willing or unwilling—they had lost their world. But to them it was given "in exchange," to be reckoned each as an incarnate human intelligence, partaking with other such—elect men and women—in the communion of (literally) catholic truths, in the light of universal insight, in infinite aspiration, in the widest application of the gospel of Fraternity, in the larger love of the spiritual parents of mankind.

¹ *Sukkā* = bright, radiant, lustrous.

XVII.

BUDDHAGHOSA'S VISUDDHI-MAGGA.

BY

HENRY C. WARREN.

ONE of the old languages of India, and contemporary with classical Sanskrit, is that which goes by the name of Pāli. In this language are written the sacred books of the Buddhists; and though there are Buddhist works in other languages, yet the Pāli literature, as it has been preserved in Ceylon and Burmah, is the most authoritative record we have of the Buddhist religion and of the history of the Buddhist Church.

The Buddhist literature consists of three main divisions, of which the first and foremost is, of course, the Tripitaka or Buddhist scriptures; the second is formed by the commentaries on the scriptures, while the third comprises a variety of works such as grammars, histories, &c.

According to the Mahāvamsa and other works of the third division, the commentaries or works of the second division have had a curious history, having been first translated by the Buddhist missionary Mahinda about 300 B.C. into Singhalese, and then back into Pāli by Buddhaghosa in the beginning of the fifth century A.D.; and it is this second Pāli version which we now have, the original Pāli commentaries and Mahinda's Singhalese translations of them having all disappeared.

It is to a work of the commentary class that I now call your attention—a work by the above-mentioned Buddhaghosa, who was a most prolific author and commentator. Not very much is known of Buddhaghosa's life beyond the circumstances related in the Mahāvamsa concerning his conversion to Buddhism and the beginning of his career as a commentator. It is there said that he was of the Brahman caste, and a trained disputant of the Vedic religion; and, as was the wont in those days by such as wished to acquire fame and a following, he went about from place to place seeking

with whom he might debate. Naturally it was at a Buddhist monastery that he found his Waterloo. A Buddhist elder named Revata answered all his propositions, and submitted one in his turn taken from the third division of the Buddhist scriptures which was of so paradoxical a nature that it is not strange Buddhaghosa was obliged to acknowledge himself worsted. Buddhaghosa then sought and obtained admission to the Buddhist Order, and, according to the account, it was to the profundity of his eloquence or voice that his name of Buddhaghosa, "Having the voice of the Buddha," was due. Buddhaghosa then began his career as a Buddhist writer, composing the *Ñāṇodaya*, and beginning work as a commentator. The helps at his disposal being insufficient, Revata told him that the original commentaries were no longer extant on the continent of India, but could be found in the Island of Ceylon in the form of Singhalese translations made hundreds of years before by the above-mentioned Mahinda, the son of the great Asoka. Buddhaghosa, therefore, went to Ceylon, and asked the priests of the Mahāvihāra, or Great Monastery, at Anurādhapura for permission to use their manuscripts; but they desired a proof of his competence as a Buddhist scholar before granting their consent. Giving him a couple of stanzas from their scriptures, they asked him to see what he could make out of them. On these two stanzas Buddhaghosa composed an extensive work called the *Visuddhi-Magga*, and having satisfied the priests, he made good use of their manuscripts by translating their commentaries back into Pāli, the language in which they were originally composed. But it is with this *Visuddhi-Magga* we have now to do, an original work as to its scope and method, but evidently the work of a born commentator, and consisting largely of commentary matter.

The *Visuddhi-Magga* is a very methodical work, built on a definite plan, and to this plan it faithfully adheres. It does not appear to me so given to digressions as many other Oriental works. The reason for its large size is because of the extensive scale on which the plan is carried out. The details of the scheme are elaborately worked out and discussed from many points of view, and authorities from the scriptures abundantly adduced in support of the various propositions advanced. As many of these quotations are from works not yet printed, I have not been able to verify them, *e.g.*, those from the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* and the *Niddesa*. The nature of the work is indicated in its title, "*Visuddhi-Magga*," in English, "Way of Purity," or, more freely, "The Way of Salvation."

Buddhaghosa takes *Sīla*, or Conduct, as the basis, the *sine quā non* of a religious life. By *Sīla* he means the code of morality and the ascetic practices suitable for a member of the Buddhist Order, and the first two chapters are devoted to its consideration. The remaining twenty-one chapters of the work are devoted to the consideration of Meditation, or *Samādhi*.

Samādhi is divided by Buddhaghosa into two divisions, *Lokiya-Samādhi* and *Lokuttara-Samādhi*. *Lokiya-Samādhi* is treated in chapters iii.—xiii. inclusive. By its assistance one can induce trance and attain to various magical or supernatural powers. It is still, however, only *Lokiya-Samādhi*, that is, *Samādhi* pertaining to the world, pertaining not merely to this life, but to existence in general. It enables one to attain a higher or lower heaven according to the particular trance induced, but does not grant immunity from transmigration. Forty different subjects of meditation, called *Kammaṭṭhānas*, are given, and among these men of every turn of mind can find one adapted to their particular mental characteristics. There are two grades of *Lokiya-Samādhi*, both salutary, but the higher, called *Appanā*, resulting in some one of the four *Jhānas* or trances. The treatment of *Lokiya-Samādhi* consists in showing the method to be employed in making use of any one of these forty different *Kammaṭṭhānas*. *Lokiya-Samādhi*, however, can be practised by the unconverted, and, in fact, the Buddha before his attainment of Buddhahood had learned it under *Ālāra Kālāma* and *Uddaka Rāmaputta*.

But as the object of the Buddha was to attain release from existence, the *Lokiya-Samādhi* was unsatisfactory; he therefore turned from his teachers and discovered the *Lokuttara-Samādhi*, which Buddhaghosa elaborates in the third and last grand division of the *Visuddhi-Magga*, chapters xiv.—xxiii., under the head of *Paññā* (Knowledge or Wisdom). *Lokuttara-Samādhi* differs from *Lokiya-Samādhi* in being devoted to the attainment of *Nirvāṇa*, whereas *Lokiya-Samādhi* only leads to heaven. In *Paññā* the human being is analysed, and found to be a mutually dependent collection of parts, no one of which has any permanent existence. The human being is like the government of a country, which is self-perpetuating and conditioned by its past, but constantly changing in its *personnel*. It is the object of *Paññā* to discover the bonds which keep the human being together and perpetuate existence after death and to destroy them. The analysis of the human being is what forms the subject of chapters xiv.—xvii. In chapters xviii. and xix. the natural inference is drawn that there is no Self or Ego or

immortal principle to the sentient being. This knowledge is called Ñātapariññā, which may be translated "Analytical Knowledge." Chapter xx. is devoted to Tīraṇapariññā, or "Discriminating Knowledge." In it one is warned of a number of by-paths that might be mistaken for the way to salvation. The meditations of chapter xxi. are called the Vuṭṭhānagāminī Paṭipadā, or "Turning away Procedure," as through them one turns away from existence and turns (chapter xxii.) to the Four Paths that bring one to Nirvāṇa in a greater or less length of time, at the farthest at the end of the seventh existence. The last chapter is devoted to the blessings of Paññā, among which is mentioned Nirodhasamāpatti, or "Trance of Cessation," being, I suppose, as near an approach to Nirvāṇa as can be attained by a priest before death. This, in brief, is the plan of salvation as outlined by Buddhaghosa, and this little analysis will perhaps be found useful in understanding the table of contents.

Although there is considerable poetry in the Visuddhi-Magga, some of it quoted and some of Buddhaghosa's own composition, and although in analysing the human being Buddhaghosa goes into a great many anatomical and physiological details, curious as showing the ideas of the ancient Hindus on these subjects, and a long account of world-cycles is given, and other matters of miscellaneous interest discussed, yet the Visuddhi-Magga is mainly important as a masterly exposition of the Buddhist system of religion as it lay scattered through the sacred books; and it no doubt had a powerful influence on the welfare of the Church in unifying its system of belief, so that it could be grasped as a consistent whole.

[Mr. Warren's paper will be printed *in extenso* in the Journal of the Pali Text Society.—ED.]

XVIII.

UN PROJET DE CARTOGRAPHIE HISTORIQUE DE L'INDE,

PAR

M. SYLVAIN LÉVI.

MALGRÉ les beaux travaux de d'Anville, de Lassen, de Vivien de St. Martin, de Yule, de Cunningham, la géographie scientifique de l'Inde ancienne est encore à créer. Les matériaux pourtant ne manquent pas ; ils pécheraient plutôt par surabondance. La littérature et l'épigraphie de l'Inde prodiguent les noms de peuples, de villes, de rivières, de montagnes ; les historiens d'Alexandre, les géographes grecs et latins ainsi que les pèlerins chinois et les Arabes ont recueilli et nous ont transmis un trésor prodigieux d'informations sur le climat, le sol, les divisions politiques, le système orographique et hydrographique de ces contrées prestigieuses. Les difficultés se présentent lorsqu'il s'agit de classer et de coordonner ces documents épars ; l'apparente abondance se change alors en chaos inextricable. Les indications les plus positives, les plus susceptibles de précision, les mieux préservées de l'erreur par leur nature même ne sont plus que des pierres d'achoppement : les distances, l'orientation sont en désaccord avec les autres données, contredisent les vraisemblances et égarent les recherches. Les divergences des interprètes sur les questions essentielles trahissent l'incertitude des discussions et l'absence d'une méthode rationnelle. Leur commune erreur consiste à expliquer les Purânas, Plin, Ptolémée par une comparaison directe avec les plus exactes notions de la géographie moderne, comme si, pour reposer sur les mêmes données naturelles, les notions géographiques de deux périodes éloignées devaient coïncider, au moins par à peu près. La géographie, avant de devenir une science exacte, est et reste longtemps une science historique fondée sur des témoignages d'une valeur inégale ou incertaine, parfois sans contrôle possible, et assujettie dans l'élaboration des matériaux aux préjugés religieux, aux caprices de la mode, aux fantaisies de

l'imagination ; ses erreurs ne sont qu'une application particulière des principes d'erreur propres à chaque époque, grossie par l'héritage du passé. Pour la comprendre et l'interpréter, il faut la suivre dans ses transformations, discerner le progrès continu sous les fluctuations apparentes, reconnaître dans chaque période la part des traditions et l'amorce de l'avenir.

La géographie indigène est le lien commun de tous les systèmes ; la doctrine indienne marque de son empreinte les Indika de Mégasthène et les Mémoires de Hiouen-Thsang ; la basse époque de la latinité en porte les traces manifestes dans Honorius. Ptolémée et les Arabes travaillent sur des informations venues en droite ligne ou par intermédiaire des natifs. Ptolémée à son tour rattache indirectement à cette tradition le développement de l'Occident chrétien ; accepté comme une infaillible autorité par le moyen-âge, son crédit n'est pas ébranlé par les récits véridiques ou merveilleux des rares voyageurs ; l'Inde se dédouble pour satisfaire à la fois Ptolémée et Marco-Polo. Mais le voyage de Gama lance l'Europe entière à la découverte et à l'exploitation de l'Inde : Portugais, Hollandais, Danois, Anglais, Français s'y précipitent. En même temps la Réforme éveille l'esprit critique et enseigne les droits de l'observation contre la tradition ; Castaldi, Ortelius, Mercator étudient et consultent Ptolémée, mais n'hésitent pas à rompre avec lui. Enfin la révolution cartésienne vient faire table rase du passé. Les Samson, les Delisle annoncent la géographie scientifique, qui prend conscience de ses forces et de ses procédés avec d'Anville.

Ce mouvement des connaissances qui s'étend sur une durée de seize siècles s'exprime directement aux yeux dans les documents cartographiques. L'Inde d'abord massive peu à peu s'étire, s'allonge vers le midi, s'effile à l'extrémité ; les côtes se creusent en estuaires ou se fendent en deltas ; des ports nouveaux s'y échelonnent, amorcent des lignes de noms qui pénètrent dans l'intérieur et jalonnent les routes de caravanes ; les fleuves remontent leur cours et s'enrichissent d'affluents nouveaux ; le vaste continent se partage en états, en provinces, indiqués d'abord par un simple nom, délimités ensuite par des frontières précises. Enfin par une série constante de corrections presque insensibles, le contour et les traits prennent leur aspect définitif ; l'époque approche où les collaborateurs de l'Indian Survey pourront entreprendre sur des bases solides leur œuvre grandiose.

Mais l'examen des cartes n'a pas seulement l'avantage de marquer au regard le progrès des connaissances géographiques, si on entend sous cette désignation l'étude de la terre et des phéno-

mènes terrestres en dehors de l'activité humaine. La vie de l'Inde s'inscrit en traits précis sur les cartes de l'Inde, et ses multiples manifestations que la philologie isole pour les analyser s'y pénètrent, s'y combinent, s'y confondent comme dans la réalité. L'œil y embrasse d'un seul regard l'état économique, l'état politique, l'état linguistique et dans une certaine mesure l'état religieux de chaque époque. La multiplication des noms sur le littoral signale l'accroissement des relations maritimes et la direction du mouvement commercial; les lignes de pénétration à l'intérieur laissent suivre les marchandises jusqu'à leur origine et tracent les grandes routes. L'importance respective des royaumes se mesure à des signes variés, mais certains: l'étendue du territoire, le nombre des villes et souvent le caractère même de la gravure; les révolutions politiques se reflètent dans les modifications de frontières, les changements de capitales et l'apparition de divisions ou de désignations nouvelles. La forme graphique des noms dit la langue ou le dialecte en usage et limite, mieux qu'un tracé arbitraire, chacune des aires linguistiques; il n'est pas jusqu'aux variations de la transcription qui ne soient instructives; elles portent en quelque façon le drapeau des importateurs occidentaux. Enfin l'onomastique locale nous enseigne, à l'insu même de nos informateurs, le culte et le dieu en faveur.

Cette rapide énumération de motifs suffirait à justifier l'étude de la cartographie indienne. Il s'en dégage pourtant un autre profit plus considérable encore et d'une portée générale pour l'indianisme. La vie extérieure de l'Inde s'y affirme et s'impose à l'attention; à suivre ainsi, par des témoignages indiscutables et nets, les constantes relations de l'Inde avec le monde hellénique, avec la Chine, avec les Arabes, avec l'Occident chrétien, on se sent prémuni contre l'isolement factice autant qu'inexplicable où l'enferme un préjugé trop accrédité; la lumière répandue sur les temps historiques rejaillit sur la période nébuleuse des légendes, l'Inde prend sa place dans le mouvement universel de la civilisation, et si l'orgueil brahmanique souffre de ce contact profane, le génie indien gagne en dignité humaine. Dégagé des brumes impalpables où l'emprisonnait la littérature, l'indianisme atteint la vie réelle et sent sous les magnifiques fantômes d'une poétique trop noble l'activité journalière, les sentiments passagers, les passions éphémères, le cœur et le cerveau des milliards d'individus qui ont collaboré pendant de longs siècles à la formation de la civilisation indienne.

Je me propose de reproduire par la photographie les documents cartographiques qui intéressent l'Inde depuis Ptolémée jusqu'à 'Andville. Le Directeur de l'Enseignement supérieur et la Faculté

des Lettres de Paris ont bien voulu encourager ce projet et m'offrir pour le réaliser un secours efficace. Des occupations absorbantes, les difficultés techniques de l'exécution, la dispersion des matériaux m'empêchent d'en espérer l'achèvement à bref délai. Je souhaite de joindre aux cartes la reproduction des illustrations qui depuis le bon Cosmas accompagnent souvent les relations de voyages, images naïves, pittoresques et parfois exactes encore. J'ai l'honneur de soumettre au Congrès un petit nombre de reproductions, essais mal venus dans un art difficile ; si, en dépit de leurs imperfections, le Congrès les juge dignes d'intérêt, son approbation sera le plus actif des encouragements à mon entreprise, et je compte qu'avant peu d'autres spécimens, choisis et groupés avec méthode, exécutés avec succès sauront justifier son suffrage.

XIX.

NOTES ON SOME OLD TOWNS IN PEGU.

BY

R. F. ST. ANDREW ST. JOHN, M.A., M.R.A.S.

IN the year 1882, the late Dr. Forchhammer, Professor of Pali at Rangoon College, was deputed to make an archæological survey of Burma, and some of his notes have been printed and published by the Government of Burma, copies being sent to the Record Department of the India Office, with a number of photographs, which are, unfortunately, very poor.

The chief notes are on—

1. The city of Aracan.
2. The Mahā Muni Pagoda, Aracan.
3. The Shwe Dagôn Pagoda, Rangoon.
4. The Kyouk-Koo or Rock-bridge Monastery of Pagan.
5. A list of objects of antiquarian interest in British Burma.

In all of these there is a large amount of interesting matter, but I do not think that the Government of Burma should let the subject drop, and consider that all has been done that need be done. These reports merely show that there is room for further inquiry and exploration by means of excavation.

On looking through the lists for the Irrawaddy and Pegu Divisions, there are one or two places which seem to have escaped notice.

TARÔKMAW.

This place is a few miles south of Prome, and in the Burmese language means "Chinese promontory." The Burmese say it was so called because a Chinese army penetrated to this point in A.D. 1284. The Peguans say the name means "Mango-tree point." Colonel Yule in his "Mission to the Court of Ava," chap. viii., mentions "Tugma metropolis" as a city of the "Aurea regio,"

suggesting that it is Tagoung. As the sea in those early days reached almost to Prome, I would suggest that the word Tugma refers to some old place of which Tarôkmaw is the present representative. There used to be an old wall there, but it may have fallen into the Irrawaddy.

THARAWADI OR SARASWATI.

On the east of the Irrawaddy, half-way between Prome and Rangoon, near the Pegu hills, is an old town of which very little is known.

When Assistant-Commissioner there in 1868, I surveyed it, and made a plan which is now lost. The peculiarity of the place is, that instead of being a parallelogram, it is most irregular in shape, and one or two sides are broken up into angles—a circumstance not met with elsewhere as far as I know.

One of the gates is known as “Mi-oung-zin” gate, and the tale is that when the gate-posts were being erected, the Brahmans ordered that the first person who came by should be sacrificed. The first person who came was a girl named Mi Oung-zin, and she was thrust into the hole and filled in. Such things have been done before now, even, it is said, in Copenhagen (*vide* Marryat’s “Jutland,” chap. x. p. 160).

Another curious thing is the canal running to it from the “Myit-makha,” an old branch of the Irrawaddy, called the “Thobo ditch.” Tho-bo in Burmese means “sheep-convey,” and the story is that a foreigner arrived bringing a shipload of sheep, and it was necessary to dig a canal to get the ship up to the town.

It is needless to say that this story is absurd, and invented to explain a name no longer understood. Possibly it is the ditch of an earthwork between the country of the Pyoos and Muns.

PANCONIA.

An old traveller, possibly Nicholas Conti, in A.D. 1444, mentions a town of this name. There is a silted up channel below Henzadah, and on it, to the west of Danubyoo, there is said to have been a town called “Paing-so-noung.” As *co* often represents the Burmese or Peguan *tso*, it looks as if this town was meant, and it ought to be hunted up.

COSMIN.

This town is mentioned by Cæsar Frederick in 1563 and Ralph Fitch in 1586. It was a town on the waterway from Negrais to Pegu, and the fashion is to say that it means Bassein, the Pali name of which was *Kusimanagara*, corrupted into *Kuthein*.

I doubt this very much. In the first place, there is a map made by a person named Wood in 1795, alluded to by Colonel Yule in his "Mission to the Court of Ava," which shows Cosmin on a channel to the eastward of the Bassein river.

Bassein does not lie in the direct road from Negrais to Pegu, and would be much out of the way.

Fitch says the houses of Cosmin were built on high posts for fear of the tigers. As all houses in the lower part of Burma are built on posts, these must have been remarkably high, and in a walled town like Bassein, with little jungle round it, it is not likely that these precautions would be necessary.

Just where Wood places Cosmin there is a creek called "Labut-kulā," which in the Mun (Peguan) language means "foreigners'-creek,"—a creek in which the tide rises at both ends, meeting in the middle.

Labut-kulā is one of these, and about the middle are the remains of an old town surrounded by dense jungle, which ought to be thoroughly explored.

TAKKALA.

The Kalyani inscription at Pegu set up by King Dhammaceti states that the missionaries Sona and Uttara landed at a place called Goḷamattika nagara (even at that time, A.D. 1480), because it contained houses made of earth after the manner of the Goḷa people (Goḷamanussa ghāranam viya mattika gharānaṁ bahulatāya goḷamattika nagaram ti yāvajjatanā voharanti). Dr. Forchhammer identifies this place with a village named Taik-kulah, on the east side of the Salween, by means of a Burmese translation of a Talaing (Mun) manuscript, which says Goḷa or Guḷa mattika nagara is the same as Taik-kulā. Because this name is spelt with *l*, he thinks that it was a settlement of the Gaudas of Gour, in Bengal.

In default of proof that a people called Goḷa or Goda made a settlement at this spot, I am inclined to think either that the phrase means people who used *golas*, i.e., storehouses made of *wattle and daub* or brick, or that the word was coined to represent the word *kulā*.

That Takkalā or Taik-kulā was a seaport at one time is possible, but it must have been in very early times; for Cæsar Frederick, who went from Martaban to Pegu in 1565 A.D., gives a full description of the difficulty of passing up the Sittang estuary owing to the bore or "*Macareo*."¹ He mentions neither Takkala nor Thatôn. In 1544 Martaban was the chief town of that part, and a flourishing seaport, and appears to have been so from A.D. 1287, when the Shan chief Waru or Wagaru established a new dynasty.

THATÔN OR SADDHAMMA NAGARA.

This town is situated to the east of the Sittang estuary, at the foot of a range of hills about 800 feet high, at a point where there is a gorge leading to the east.

Tradition asserts that it was founded in the third or fourth century of our era by people from Kalinka who were Buddhists. The Kalinka people were said to have colonised Java and Bali in the first century. A list of fifty-nine kings is given, ending in Manuha or Manohari.

Burmese chronicles state that about A.D. 1050, Anuraddhā (or Anoarathā) of Pagan wanted a copy of the three Piṭakas, which was in the possession of Manuha. Manuha refusing to give a copy, Anoarathā laid siege to the town, and having captured it, carried off Manuha, his people, a religious relic, &c., to Pagan.

At Pagan there is still a building called the palace of Manuha, touched upon by Dr. Forchhammer in his description of the Kyouk-koo temple. The description of this palace has yet to come, and it is to be hoped will throw further light on the history of Thatôn. It has always been thought that Thatôn was Suvanna-bhumi, to which Sona and Uttara were sent in the third century B.C.; but the inscriptions of Pegu state otherwise, and point to a place near Taik-kulā.

After the above-mentioned destruction of Thatôn, no kings ever made it their capital, and it would appear that the whole of Lower Burma was subject to the Burmese until A.D. 1287, when Wagaru the Shan set up at Martaban.

In the year 1869 I was Assistant-Magistrate at Thatôn, and made a survey of it. The walls were very perfect, except at one point to the south-west, where the old bed of the Sittang estuary must have impinged on them. There was a high rampart and ditch, then an open space of 150 feet, then a lower wall and ditch. On the west and south are additional earthworks, also at the north-west and north-

¹ *Macareo*, the breaker, is a Portuguese word.

east angles. In the level plain towards the Sittang are traces of a bund or mole. The main walls, which measure from north to south about 8000 by 4000 feet from east to west, were faced with blocks of stone or laterite.

About the centre was the antepuram or Nan-daw-gôn, the walls of which measured from north to south 1080 by 1150 feet from east to west. The interior of the town, therefore, contained about 940 acres, of which $28\frac{1}{2}$ acres were antepuram. The stone for facing the walls probably came from the eastern ditch, which is cut through solid laterite at the foot of the hill. In the antepuram no remains were visible, and I was disappointed to find so few remains of pagodas, as it had always been supposed that the huge buildings of Pagan were copies of those seen by Anóarathā in Thatôn. After reading M. Mouhot's description of the ruins of Ongcor in Cambodia, the idea came across me that the place which Anóarathā destroyed was Ongcor, and that Thatôn, being an outlying province of that kingdom, was looked at in after times as the real place.

The same idea seems to have also struck Dr. Forchhammer, for at p. 25 of his prize essay he says: "From the sixth to eleventh centuries the political history of the Talaings is a blank. During this period the ancient kingdom of Khmer or Cambodia attained to its fullest power. It extended from the Gulf of Martaban to Tonquin. The kings who ruled over Khmer from A.D. 548 to the eleventh century (the date of Anóarathā) favoured Brahmanism to the suppression of Buddhism. . . . The country of the Talaings was then, no doubt, a dependency of the same kingdom."

If Anóarathā did not destroy Ongcor and the kingdom of Khmer, it would appear that Thatôn was under a petty Buddhist prince, who would not give up his sacred books at any price.

The principal pagodas were situated to the south of the antepuram, and of a form not common in Burma, viz., a square base. The lower base of the principal one measured $104 \times 104 \times 18$ feet, and on the top of this was another block measuring $70 \times 70 \times 16\frac{1}{2}$ feet. On this there was a third block $48 \times 48 \times 12$ feet, surmounted by a round stupa, the height of the whole being about 85 feet. As the stupa had been rebuilt, it is doubtful if it originally measured 38 feet.

The second story, which is accessible by four flights of steps, was decorated with recesses 4 inches deep, measuring $2\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ feet, containing terra-cotta entablatures in a very mutilated condition. As these are not mentioned by Dr. Forchhammer, I fear they no longer exist. They depicted stories in the greater Játakas.

In the bushes I discovered inscribed stones, which have been pronounced by Dr. Forchhammer to be in a character more closely connected with the Vengi of the fourth century A.D. than any other in Burma, and also some stone figures of Vishnu which I had dragged out and set up in front of the court-house. These are also mentioned by Dr. Forchhammer.

As the Doctor says at page 11 of his note No. II., "More light is required to dispel the darkness which involves the early history of Thatôn:" and not only of Thatôn, but other places in Burma. This can only be obtained by careful research by an officer appointed specially for the work, and it is to be hoped that the Government of India, at the instance of the Burmese Local Government, will either appoint some such officer, or direct officers who may be on the spot to make surveys and inquiries. A study of the Mun language should be encouraged. It is a language that is fast becoming dead, but is eminently useful to the philologist and antiquary."

There are other old towns where investigations may be made, but it is of little use sending men simply to examine the surface.¹

¹ A detailed account of Thatôn was given by me in the *Phoenix*, 1872.

XX.

A SUMMARY

OF THE

PRINCIPAL FACTS AND ARGUMENTS IN
THE ORION,

OR RESEARCHES INTO THE ANTIQUITY OF THE VEDAS.

BY

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THE first three chapters of the Essay review the evidence that has been adduced to prove that the

VERNAL EQUINOX WAS IN THE KRITTIKAS

at the time of the Taittiriya Sanhita, and it is shown that the above position of the equinox may be fully established by direct and indirect statements contained in the Taittiriya Sanhita itself. In the second chapter of the Essay an attempt is made to prove (mainly on the authority of the Shatapatha Brâhmana ii. 1. 3. 1-3) that in very old times the year in the Vedic calendar began with the vernal equinox, and that the sacrificial system is coeval with this primitive calendar. When the beginning of the year was altered to the winter solstice, the old year-beginning was still retained side by side with the new one. When the vernal equinox was in the Krittikas, that asterism therefore began the year from the equinox (Taitt. San. iv. 4. 10; Taitt. Br. i. 1. 2. 1), while the solstitial year began from the month of Mâgha, as stated in the Taittiriya Sanhita vii. 4. 8 (also Tândya Brâhmana v. 9), interpreted and explained by Jaimini in his Mimansa Darshana vi. 5. 30-37, and Shabara on the same. If Jaimini's interpretation is accepted, we have here a strong corroborative evidence of the equinoctial year then beginning with the Krittikas; for if the winter solstice occurred in the month of Mâgha, the equinox must be in the Krit-

tikas, and *vice versâ*. It has also been shown that it is more reasonable to interpret the Krittikas to mean the asterism of that name than a divisional portion of the Zodiac.

But the main point of the Essay is to prove that in the days of the Rigveda Sanhita the

VERNAL EQUINOX WAS IN MRIGASHIRAS (ORION),

and the conclusion is based on the following grounds:—

I. The statement in the Taittiriya Sanhita vii. 4. 8, that the Phâlguni full-moon was the month or the beginning of the year. There are similar statements in the Shatapatha Brâhmana (vi. 2. 2. 18), the Taittiriya Brâhmana (i. 1. 2, 8), the Sâmkhyâyana Brâhmana (iv. 4 and v. 7), and the Gopatha Brâhmana (i. 19). In all these passages we are told that the Phâlguni full-moon *night* was the *first night* of the year. What does this mean? It cannot but mean that the *winter solstice once occurred on the Phâlguni full-moon day*, for the following reasons:—

1. That the Mâghi and Phâlguni nights being mentioned together in the Taittiriya Sanhita, it is natural to interpret Phâlguni as referring to the winter solstice according to context.

2. We cannot accept Sâyana's interpretation that the Phâlguni full-moon was called the new year's night because it occurred in the Vasanta (spring) season. For, *first*, as a matter of fact, it *could not* have occurred in the Vasanta; and, *secondly*, because it does not satisfactorily account for the fact why the Phâlguni full-moon was called *the new year's night*. Any day in the Vasanta season might on this principle be so described, and it would be a clear misuse of words to describe any day in the Vasanta as a new year's day.

II. If the winter solstice occurred on the Phâlguni full-moon, the vernal equinox must coincide with Mrigashiras or Orion. There is evidence to show that it did. The word *Agrahâyani*, according to Amara (i. 3. 23), is a synonym for Mrigashiras. The word is also found in Panini iv. 2, 22. The word literally means "beginning the year." But the question is what began the year? whether the full-moon occurring in the vicinity of Orion, or the constellation itself? The latter view is shown to be the correct one on the following grounds:—

1. If we suppose that the full-moon or the month began the year, there are grammatical difficulties in deriving the name *âgrahâyani* for the asterism of Mrigashiras.

2. If the full-moon began the year, it must have begun it either

(a) at the winter solstice or (b) at the vernal equinox, as these *two* are the only *known* ancient year-beginnings. In the first case, the vernal equinox must be placed 27° behind Revati—a position which it has not yet attained; and we are thus led to the theory of the libration of the equinoxes, which is now abandoned as mathematically incorrect. We cannot therefore accept the first interpretation. As regards the second, it gives us 19,000 B.C. as the probable time when the position could have been true; and we cannot accept this as probable, especially when there is no evidence of continuity or the existence of the intermediate periods.

It is therefore necessary to hold that the *constellation* was the real year-beginning at the vernal equinox, and that the name for the month *āgrahāyanika* is a derivative name. The occurrence of winter solstice on the full-moon day in Phālguna is thus fully corroborated by the vernal equinox coinciding with Orion.

III. If the Phālguni full-moon began the year at the winter solstice, the summer solstice must fall on the full-moon in Bhādrapada. There is evidence to show that it did. The summer solstice begins the southern passage of the sun, and is called the *ayana* of the *pitris*. The first month or fortnight in this *ayana* is thus pre-eminently the month or the fortnight of the *pitris*, or the *fravashis*, or the manes. The Hindus up to this day regard the dark half of Bhādrapada as the fortnight of the manes; and so do the Parsees, whose year commenced with the summer solstice, and the first month of the year was dedicated to the manes (*vide* Dr. Geiger's "Civil. of East. Iranians," vol. i. p. 153).

IV. There are several Parsee, Greek, German, and Vedic traditions which are *simply* and *naturally* explained on the supposition that the vernal equinox was in Orion when these traditions were formed. When the vernal equinox was in Orion, that constellation, together with the Milky Way and Canis, was, so to speak, the boundary of heaven and hell, the Devaloka and Yamaloka, which, in Vedic works, mean the hemispheres north and south of the equator. We can therefore now easily understand:—

1. How heaven and hell are separated by a river according to the Parsee, the Greek, and the Indian traditions. The river is no other than the Milky Way, which is actually so called in the later Hindu literature. The *Chinvat* bridge of the Parsees may be supposed to be constructed on this river.

2. How the four-eyed or three-headed dogs came to be *at the gates of hell* to guard the way to Yama's regions (Rig. x. 14. 11). These are the constellations of Canis Major and Canis Minor.

3. How Shunásirau, in Rig. iv. 57. 5, are said to make milk in heaven, and how Saramâ vomited milk when kicked by Indra.

4. How and why Vritra is said to appear in the form of an antelope (Rig. i. 33. 12; v. 34. 2), and how his *head* is said to be cut off (Rig. iv. 18. 9; viii. 6. 7). The legend is based upon the *form* of the constellation of Mrigashiras (antelope's head).

5. How Namuchi was killed by the watery foam (Milky Way) by Indra (Rig. 8. 14. 13), and how the gates of heaven were cleared by killing him (Rig. x. 74. 7). Dr. Haug ("Essays on Parsees," p. 217) records a tradition that the Parsee Dasturs regard the Milky Way as the *vazra* of Mithra, while in later Hindu literature (Sâhitya Darpana, 10) stars are spoken of as the foam of the ocean of the sky.

6. How Prajâpati (Orion) was killed or sacrificed himself at the beginning of the year (Taitt. Br. iii. 9. 22. 1).

7. Why at the *end* of the *old* and the *beginning* of the *new* year ancient Germans performed mummeries in which two persons disguised as stag and hind were the principal performers. It is really a relic of the time when Orion, the hunter, commenced the year.

8. How the dog (Canis Major) awakened the rays of the sun at the beginning of the year (Rig. i. 161. 13). This explains the origin of *dog-days*. They were once the new year's days.

9. How Indrâni let loose her dog at the ear of Vrishakapi in the form of an antelope, and how Vrishakapi's head was said to be cut off for spoiling the sacrifices (Rig. x. 86. 4 and 5).

All these legends and traditions can now be very easily explained.

V. But the Greeks have not only retained the Aryan traditions, but even the name of the constellation (Orion) may be shown to be of Aryan origin. Plutarch says that the Greeks did not borrow it from the Egyptians. Orion is therefore *either* a transformation of *âgrayana*, the original of *âgrahâyana*, or it is similarly derived from *oros*, a limit, a boundary, and *aion*, an age. *Orion* therefore was the limit of the age or the year; or, in other words, it began a new year in old days. No satisfactory, or rather no derivation of the word has yet been suggested. Plutarch mentions that the Greeks retained their old names for Orion, Canis, and Ursa (Arktos), and we can now identify all these with *âgrayana*, *shvan*, and *rikshas* in the Vedic works.

VI. Not only the name, but even the attributes and accompaniments of Orion (staff, belt, and lion's skin) are fully preserved in the Vedic ceremonials, especially that of the thread ceremony performed by every Brahman. The belt of Orion is the same as the

aiwyaonghana of the Parsees and the *yajnopavita* or the *mekhalà* of the Brahmans.

VII. *Above all*, there are *express* texts in the Rigveda which state that the year, or the Uttarâyana or Devayâna, or the passage of the sun north of the equator, began in those days when the sun was in Canis or Orion, *i.e.*, Shvan or Mrigashiras of the Vedas.

1. In Rig. i. 163. 13, it is said that "the dog will awaken the rays of the sun when the year is complete." This means that when the sun is to the south of the equator, it is the night of the *devas*, and his rays sleep during the period. When the sun comes over to the north of the equator, the dog, Canis, will awaken him. In other words, the dog commenced the year at the vernal equinox.

2. In Rig. x. 86, 22, the sun, in the form of Vrishakapi, is thus addressed by Indra: "O mighty Vrishakapi! when rising upwards, you would come to (our) house, where would (your) sinning Mriga (antelope) be? where the pleasing (Mriga) would go?" This means that when the sun goes to the house of Indra, the sun's *Mriga* (antelope) would be invisible. In other words, the sun being then in Orion (Mriga), the constellation of Orion would be invisible (Taitt. Br. i. 5. 2. 1); and this at the time when the sun is about to enter the house of Indra, *i.e.*, about to go to the north of the equator. The passage is fully discussed in chap. vii.

3. In Rig. i. 105. 11, the sun is said "to ward off the dog out of his way, as the animal was crossing the eternal waters." Is not this a description of the heliacal rising of the Dog-star at the beginning of the Devayâna—the terminus of the "eternal waters"?

There are other passages, but as they are not so explicit, they are not given in the Essay. But those given above are enough to support the statement in the Taittiriya Sanhita, and no less than *five* Brâhmanas that the Phâlguni full-moon began the year at the winter solstice, and, as a necessary consequence, the vernal equinox was in Orion. No better interpretation of the passages in the Sanhita and Brâhmanas here referred to is as yet suggested. We should therefore be perfectly justified in holding that the Taittiriya Sanhita and the Brâhmanas record a *real tradition* of the solstitial year once beginning with the full-moon in Phâlguna. The passages in the Rigveda Sanhita supply us with a record of *actual observations* to the same effect.

From all these facts, texts, traditional coincidences, and arguments it follows that:—

When many of the hymns in the Rigveda were sung, the solstitial

year began with the full-moon in *Phâlguna* and the vernal equinox was in *Orion* or *Mrigashiras*.

And this gives us about 4000 B.C. as the approximate period when these hymns were sung. The Greeks and the Parsees separated after this, and before the vernal equinox was in the *Krittikas*, as they have retained no tradition about the latter period. The period thus determined is consistent with the opinions entertained by ancient and modern scholars in India and Europe about the age of Zoroaster, Homeric poems, and the *Vedas*. It shows that many of the hymns now preserved in the *Rigveda* can be traced back, as observed by Professor Weber, to the time when the Greeks and the Parsees and the Indians lived together.

PRE-ORION PERIOD.

Traces of still remoter antiquity can, however, be found in the Vedic works. If the statement in the *Taittiriya Sanhita* about the *Phâlguni* full-moon is to be interpreted to mean that the solstitial year once began on that day, the statement about the *Chitra* full-moon must also be similarly interpreted. *Krittikas* and *Mâgha*, *Mrigashiras* and *Phâlguna*, and *Punarvasu* and *Chaitra* thus become the correlative pairs of year-beginnings in old times, the former in each case denoting the equinoctial beginning, and the latter the solstitial one. There is, however, not as much corroborative evidence to establish the third case as we have in the second.

The only corroborative evidence available is:—

1. That all the sacrifices are ordained to be commenced by offerings to *Aditi*, the presiding deity of the asterism of *Punarvasu* (*Taitt. Sanhit.* vi. 1. 5. 1; *Ait. Br.* i. 7; *Vaj. San.* 4. 19).

2. The *Abhijit* day falls four days before the central or the *Vishuvan* day in a *satra*. (See Dr. Haug's translation of the *Ait. Br.*, p. 279.) If this is understood to mean the day when the sun is in the asterism of *Abhijit*, then the vernal equinox must then be in *Punarvasu*.

3. The representation of the asterismal *Prajâpati* in the *Taittiriya Brâhmana* i. 5. 2. 2, with *Chitra* as his head, can now be easily explained like a similar representation of *Brahman* in the Zodiacal signs by *Bâdarâyana* ("India: what it can teach us," p. 324). If the latter representation was conceived after the *Rashis* were introduced and came into use, then it is natural to suppose that a similar representation in asterisms of *Prajâpati*, or the god of time, was made in old days when the *Nakshatra* system was organised.

These three facts, joined with the statement in the Taittiriya Sanhita that the Chitra full-moon once began the year, show that the Aryans framed and used a calendar long before the vernal equinox was in Orion. It was in the early part of this period that the year was first made to commence with the vernal equinox, and sacrifices established on that system. In the latter part of the period the year-beginning seems to have been altered to the winter solstice in Chaitra, and the two systems have since then continued to exist side by side.

There is almost a *continuous* record of the precession of the equinoxes from this period up to the present day in the Indian literature. From Punarvasu to Mrigashiras (Orion) in the Rigveda; from Orion to Rohini as preserved in the legend of Prajâpati running over to his daughter and killed by Rudra (Ait. Br. iii. 33); from Rohini to Krittikas in the Taittiriya Sanhita; from Krittikas to Bharani in the Vedanga Jyotisha; and finally, from Bharani to Ashwini in the Surya Siddhanta and other works.

The conclusion which we may draw from a consideration of all these facts is that the oldest periods of the Aryan civilisation must be rearranged somewhat as under:—

I. *The Pre-Orion Period*, 6000–4000 B.C.—The primitive calendar was first framed at this time, and a sacrificial system based upon it. The solstitial year was established in the latter part of the period. The finished hymns of the later period did not exist at this time. The vernal equinox was in Punarvasu.

II. *The Orion Period*, 4000–2500 B.C.—That is, from the time when the vernal equinox was near the right shoulder of Orion (Ardrâ) to the time when the equinox was in the Krittikas. This was pre-eminently the period of the hymns. The Greeks and the Parsees left the Indians during the latter part of this period.

III. *The Krittika Period*, 2500–1400 B.C.—When the Taittiriya Sanhita and several Brâhmanas were compiled. We can now explain why the hymns had become unintelligible in these days. The vernal equinox was in Krittikas, but the tradition of the Phâlguni full-moon being the new year's night was retained. It was probably during this period that the Sanhitas were compiled in their present form.

IV. *The Pre-Buddhistic Period*, 1400–500 B.C.—This is the period of Sûtrâs, ceremonial, grammatical, philosophical, &c.

Such are the conclusions which can be fairly and reasonably deduced from the astronomical facts, references, and allusions contained in the Vedic works, and the linguistic evidence does not

conflict with them. For we must place a considerable period between the Rigveda hymns and the time of the Brâhmanas, when those hymns had become unintelligible. The linguistic method does not, however, give us any specific *point* of time, while the astronomical references and observations supply us with definite facts indicating definite time. Taking these points as the centres or starting-points of the different periods, we have to see if the durations assigned to them are or are not probable on the linguistic grounds. Thus used, the two methods will be found to harmonise.

XXI.

DISCOVERY

OF THE EXACT SITE OF

ASOKA'S CLASSIC CAPITAL OF PĀTALIPUTRA

(THE *PALIBOTHA* OF THE GREEKS),

AND

DESCRIPTION OF THE SUPERFICIAL REMAINS.

BY

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(*Abstract.*)

IN this paper, Surgeon-Major Waddell, taking Hwen-Thsang as his guide, identifies the site of King Asoka's palace, supposed by the earlier authorities to have been swept away by the Ganges many centuries ago. While on a visit to Patna, he took the opportunity of exploring its neighbourhood, and was surprised to find the site of Pātaliputra practically entire, the chief landmarks of Asoka's palaces, monasteries, and monuments, as described by the Chinese travellers and pilgrims, Hwen-Thsang and Fa-hian, remaining. The locality of these remains is the neck of land between the old Son and the Ganges, at the confluence of these rivers. Here stood the capital of the Magadhan kings, till it was deserted about five or six centuries from Asoka's time (*circa* B.C. 250). Hwen-Thsang, about 635 A.D., found the city and its buildings a mass of crumbling ruins, and "long deserted," and he notes "the *sangharāmas* (monasteries), Deva temples, and *stupas* which lie in ruins may be counted by hundreds: there are only two or three remaining entire." This state of desolation continued down to Sher Shah's time in 1541 A.D., and at Sher Shah's visit, although still retaining the name of Patana or "*the city*," it seems to have been an unimportant village when he

decided to make it his capital. Sher Shah clearly foresaw that Patna would become a great town, and therefore he ordered a fort to be built *on the old site*. Bihar from that time was deserted, while Patna became one of the largest cities of the province,¹ and since Akbar's time the largest. The most striking Buddhist feature in the neighbourhood of Patna was the *Bhikna Pahāri*, or "Hill of the Mendicant Monk." This was visited by Dr. Waddell, who found it to be an artificial hill of brick debris, over forty feet high, and about a mile in circuit, and now crowned by the residence of the Nawāb Sahib of Patna. The most interesting point about it is that at the north-eastern base of the "Hill of the Mendicant Monk" is the shrine of the *Bhikna Kuṇwār*, or "The Mendicant Prince." The object here worshipped under the title of Bhikna Kuṇwār is the image of a many-peaked hill, with a pathway leading up from the base along a ledge, and climbing a steep valley to a recess (in which the cave was situated). This is clearly the facsimile in miniature of the historic hermitage-hill built by Asoka for Prince Mahendra, who afterwards became the Buddhist apostle of Ceylon. The Prince's hermitage is worshipped under his name by the semi-aborigines of the country—the Dosādhs, Ahīrs, and Goālas—with offerings of flowers, fruits, milk, sweetmeats, and silken thread, in the same manner as the remote ancestors of the present generation of worshippers paid homage to the mendicant Prince Mahendra in Asoka's day. The higher caste Hindus in the neighbourhood pay the Dosādhs to make offerings on their behalf.

The history of this image, so far as can now be ascertained from the hereditary Dosādḥ priest in charge of it, is that it existed on the top of the mound of Bhikna Pahāri, to which it gave its name, from time immemorial until about 113 years ago, *i.e.*, about 1780 A.D., when the ancestor of the present Nawāb Sahib began building his house upon the hill and close to the image. According to the tradition, the building fell down several times, and could not be completed until the Mohammedan noble besought the priest, the great-grandfather of the present one, to remove the image, and accompanied the request with a present of money. It was then removed to the site where it now is.

The image is about four and a half feet high and made of clay. As it is quite in the open and unprotected by any roof, it is partially eroded and washed away during the rains. It is therefore repaired after each rainy season. Its present shape is that which has been handed down hereditarily in the priest's family as the orthodox shape ;

¹ Cf. *Tarikh-i-Sher-Shahi*, Elliot's trans., iv. 478. London, 1867.

but why this particular shape was given it, the priest is unable to say. The survival of this image with a well-preserved form during all these centuries is a most curious fact in the history of idol-worship, especially when it is remembered that the image is made of perishable plastic material requiring constant renewal, and *the worshippers as well as their priests are quite unaware that the object which they worship is a hill!*

Having thus fixed with certainty the position of Mahendra's hermitage-hill, the rest of the identifications followed with comparative ease and certainty; for Mahendra's hill lay to the north of Asoka's palace and the city monuments, so that the sites of the latter must have remained practically uninjured by Gangetic action. *Bara Pahāri*, or the "great hill," and *Chhota Pahāri*, which in direction and distance answered generally to Hwen-Thsang's description of Upagupta's hermitage-hill and the five stupas, were successively identified by Dr. Waddell. On the way thither he sighted two great stupa-like mounds and other brick mounds, which, on closer inspection, seemed to be the remains of Asoka's palace and hill, and what seemed to be *the actual stone containing the footprints*, the base of a small Asoka pillar, an Asoka image, the great beam palisade and moats noted by the Greek historians.

The superficial appearance of these remains admits of the identification almost beyond doubt of some of the remains; although the real nature of most of these mounds can only be revealed by actual excavation.

The particular sites described are the Raja's (? Nanda's and Chandragupta's) palace, where sculptured stones and statues are frequently found on digging below the surface; Asoka's palace, probably where the village of Sandalpur now stands; the first Asoka relic stupa; the vihara of Buddha's footprints, defaced by the iconoclast Hindu king Sasanka, regarding whom and his lost capital some information is given in an appendix. Regarding this stone a curious tradition exists in the neighbourhood, that no matter where it is taken to, this stone always comes back to its old place. In Dr. Waddell's opinion the stone he saw was the actual and original stone of the footprint of Buddha as seen and described by Fabian and Hwen-Thsang in the fifth and seventh centuries A.D.

Among the most interesting identifications was that of Upagupta's hermitage-hill, erected for Upagupta, the fourth patriarch of the early Buddhist Church. All that is left of it is a high brick mound, now known as *Chhota Pahāri*, or "the little hill." Traces of the old wooden walls of Pātaliputra, as reported by Megasthenes in the fourth century

B.C., still exist. The villagers in digging wells came upon beams 10 to 15 feet below the present surface. These beams are of sal wood (*Shorea robusta*), of immense girth, and in an upright position, and the wood is in an excellent state of preservation. A part of the lines of Asoka's city walls could be traced where they border a moat called *Mahārāj Khanda*, or the "Emperor's cuttings," and there should be no difficulty in tracing these ramparts for several miles. Many of the stones of Asoka's buildings are being constantly carried off and used in building mosques and in various other ways, while some are broken up for road-metal. Notwithstanding this, it is surprising that so many of the stones are still extant. Wherever Dr. Waddell went during his short visit in Patna, he found fragments of these old sculptured stones, and there can be no doubt that were a good search made, numerous sculptures would be found.

In conclusion, Dr. Waddell notes that the magnificence of Asoka's monuments elsewhere throughout India leads us to expect great things from properly conducted excavations at his palaces and capital, apart from foreign coins and other objects likely to be found. Of these we have an instance in the Mātri statue, a very fine sculptured pillar in the very old style as seen in the Barhut sculptures, and in the same highly polished hard sandstone of the Asoka epoch, having two female figures, one on either side, carved in bold relief. Cattle now use the sculpture as a rubbing-post. Two other statues of yakkas or genii found here are now in the Indian Museum at Calcutta. They date almost to Asoka's time, and are certainly among the oldest statues found in India.

[We regret that want of space prevents us from printing the whole of Dr. Waddell's important paper. This has been printed in full, with maps and illustrations, in Calcutta. Ed.]

SECTION II.

ARYAN.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

BY

PROFESSOR E. B. COWELL,

President of the Āryan Section.

I HEARTILY congratulate my brethren in Sanskrit studies on our meeting here to commence the actual work of our Āryan Section this morning. We have had to surmount some difficulties and obstacles, but they have all been happily overcome, and we now meet to cheer one another's countenances "as iron sharpeneth iron," and to encourage each other by mutual sympathy and help. May I venture to put my greeting in the form of a Sanskrit sloka?

पुरा प्रशान्ता ऋषयः समागमन् .
वनेषु शान्तेषु कथार्द्रमानसाः ।
भवन्त एवं त्वधुना समागता
अदृष्टदोषान्नगरे समाकुले ॥
तथापि मन्ये रमनीयतारसो
भ्युदेति चित्तेषु विपर्ययादपि ।
तथा हि विद्युद्गगणे गतप्रभे
तमःसु मूर्धत्सु विराजतेतराम् ॥

Purâ prasâmtâ rishayah samâgaman
Vaneshu sânteshu kathârdramânasâh,

Bhavanta evam tvadhunâ samâgatâ,
Adrishtadoshân nagare samâkule.

Tathâpi manye ramanîyatâraso
'bhyudeti kitteshu viparyayâd api;

Tathâ hi vidyud gagane gataprabhe
Tamahsu mûrkhat su virâgatetarâm.

Calm in calm woods the ancient Rishis sate,
 Soothing their souls with friendship's converse high—
 While we, my honoured friends, by evil fate,
 Meet where the city's ceaseless din rolls by.
 Yet contrast brings new harmonies to light,
 And stirs the soul to sympathies profound;
 The lightning never shines so keenly bright
 As when the darkness gathers deepest round.

When we thus meet, a little band of real workers and sympathisers in the cause of Sanskrit literature and its kindred subjects, we can hardly help, I think, a feeling of pride as we remember how much has been already achieved, in spite of the difficulties of the task, by the long and earnest co-operation of the scholars of different countries patiently directing their several efforts to one common object. Much indeed remains to do, but much has been done.

Two things, for instance, especially suggest themselves to my mind, as they are more immediately connected with the subject which I have chosen for these few introductory remarks—I mean the settlement of the commencement of the Gupta era in A.D. 318 or 319; and the identification of the Mâlava era with the old Samvat. These two recent discoveries give us a firm standing ground amidst the uncertainties of Hindu chronology; and such discoveries are due to our European method of research, turned to the solution of these apparently hopeless Eastern problems. For it was these very questions of chronology and history which at first seemed to present such an insuperable difficulty to the Sanskrit student. The long series of Hindu thinkers and writers had gone on, generation after generation, for 3000 years, and yet no individual link of the chain could be definitely associated with any known historical event. The rise of Buddhism, the Greek and Scythian conquests, the Arab and Moghul invasions seemed to have left no more traces in the contemporary literature than if they had happened in another continent. In fact, as far as posterity is concerned, the *chefs-d'œuvre* of Sanskrit literature might have been all composed in the depths of quiet forests and hermitages, where no rumour of external wars or changes of dynasty could come in to ruffle the calm temperament of the poet or the philosopher. We can plant the great writers of all other nations in the midst of their historical surroundings; Horace and Virgil, Dante and Petrarch, Chaucer and Shakespeare reflect to us the varied influences of their times, and we naturally turn to the contemporary history to understand the full meaning of their works; it is only in ancient India that the poem

or the philosophy is left without any such contemporary explanation. Sanskrit literature seems to come to us as an *aranya-ruditam*, a "far-off cry in the waste" of time, but with no recognised personality in the speaker. We hear the message, but the sender of the message is at best only a name.

I have often thought that an instructive contrast as well as parallel might be drawn, by one who had the necessary knowledge, between the literature of the Talmud and that of the Sanskrit Pûrva Mîmâmsâ. There are, of course, some interesting resemblances; each represents a long series of studies and discussions carried on by an aristocracy of learned men, who devoted their lives to the interpretation of a sacred text which embodied their ritual and social laws as well as their religious belief. Hence naturally the most striking common characteristic of both literatures is the din of disputation which seems to deafen us when we open a page of either. Sanskrit scholars will recollect the passage in the *Harshakarita* which describes the king as wandering in the Vindhya forests, where he finds seated on the rocks and reclining under the trees the partisans of some twenty philosophical sects, all listening to their accepted tenets and zealously defending them. Any one who has looked into the Talmud will recognise the same atmosphere of disputation and argument. I will not dwell on the minor parallels, but it is singular to remember how the continual debates between the followers of Guru Prabhâkara and Bhatta Kumârila find their analogy in the never-ending Talmudic discussions between the school of Hillel and that of Shammai; and, again, the thirteen rules of interpretation of Rabbi Ishmael-ben-Elisha are paralleled by the well-known Mîmâmsâ canon of the respective value of the different proofs that one thing is subordinate to another—*i.e.*, the order of the *pramânas* for determining *vinîyoga-vidhis*; and many such common features might easily be produced.

But there is one great difference between the two literatures which strikes the most casual reader. The discussions of the Hindu Mîmâmsâ are carried on between anonymous disputants; a perpetual *nanu* and *iti cen na* are all that remains of the once sturdy and self-asserting logicians, and though the retort may be keen and the logical pitfall well prepared, it is a land of echoes and shadows, not a battlefield of real combatants, each of whom is associated with a definite personality of his own. But in the Talmud every opinion and objection is labelled with its author's name and testimonial: "Rabbi Yehuda said in the name of Rabbi Samuel," or "Rabbi Yochanan said in the name of Simon-ben-Yochai," or

"Rabbi Yehuda said that Rab said," &c. And these different names can be located in their several centuries, and we can thus arrive at something like a literary chronology and history.

Now in Indian literature we can only accomplish this by tedious and patient comparison and inference. Little by little we are building up our facts, toilsomely won by watchful investigation; we are gradually advancing, step by step. One day I feel sure we shall be able to map out the history of ancient India in broad, definite outlines, century by century. We shall never know those stirring individual details which rivet us in other histories, because these can only be supplied by the contemporary witness, who himself chronicles what he has seen, or tells it to the subsequent chronicler. But we shall be able, by means of the inscriptions and Prasastis, to gain a clear view of the general sequence of events, and I have no doubt that we shall find new and unthought of reflections of these events in the contemporary literature. No one can escape from the influence of his own time—not even a Kâlidâsa or Kumârila or Sankara Âkârya. I believe that, when we know more of the events of each century, we shall find unconscious references to them even in those very books which now seem to us so isolated and dateless, just as modern criticism has discovered a faint contemporary allusion even in the Greek romance of Xenophon of Ephesus, which might have seemed as dateless as the Kumâra Sambhava. So the reference to Diñ-nâga in the Meghadûta, and the quotation from the *Ritusamhâra* which Professor Kielhorn discovered in Vatsabhata's Prasasti may be only specimens of many similar allusions which now lurk unnoticed in well-known books. Professor Bühler has shown us, by his brilliant paper, how these inscriptions can open a new chapter in Indian literary history. Let us take courage from past successes and look hopefully for future triumphs. Literary chronology and history are but one corner of the great field of Indian antiquity, but every part is of use for the whole; every detail won from oblivion helps to fill up that complete picture of the old Indian world which we are all trying to restore.

Professor COWELL read a paper on the Buddha-karita or poetical Life of Buddha, of which he had nearly completed an edition for the "Analecta Oxoniensia." The paper will appear with some additional matter in the forthcoming preface to the volume. The main object of the paper was to illustrate the real position of the author, Asvaghosha, in the history of Sanskrit literature. He seems to have flourished in the first or second century of our era. The

poem was translated into Chinese early in the fifth century, and it is also mentioned as one of Asvaghosha's works by I-tsing, the Chinese traveller, who visited India in 673.

Professor Cowell endeavoured to prove that certain episodes in the poem had been imitated by Kâlidâsa in his *Raghuvamśa* and *Kumâra-sambhava*, as well as by subsequent poets, and that its style necessarily implied an acquaintance with the laws of Hindu rhetoric. Consequently it was of great importance, as tending to establish Professor Bühler's views as to the successful cultivation in India of artificial poetry and rhetoric in the early centuries of our era. If Kâlidâsa may be called the Hindu Virgil, Asvaghosha may claim the title of the Hindu Ennius.

II.

LA NATURE PRIMITIVE D'ADITI.

PAR LE

PROFESSEUR PH. COLINET.

ADITI est revêtue dans le Rig-Véda d'attributs très élevés ; avec les Âdityas, ses fils, elle se trouve au sommet du panthéon védique. Ce fait a été reconnu et exposé depuis longtemps par M. von Roth dans un article intitulé *Die höchsten Götter der arischen Völker*, (Z. D. M. G. vi.).

D'un autre côté, Aditi n'occupe que très peu de place dans le recueil sacré : aucun hymne ne lui appartient en entier ; il faut l'étudier dans une centaine environ d'invocations détachées. Son caractère n'en a pas été moins bien décrit par M. Müller, et surtout par M. Hillebrandt dans sa monographie *Ueber die Göttin Aditi*.

Et cependant Aditi reste, à certains égards, une énigme à laquelle on peut être tenté d'apporter une solution nouvelle. La difficulté ne consiste pas tant à saisir les traits variés, disparates même qui composent son caractère, mais à trouver la notion centrale, primitive qui les relie entre eux, et à lui assigner, avec ses fils, aussi mystérieux qu'elle même à certains égards, une place dans le naturalisme védique. C'est sous ce rapport que les solutions données jusqu'à ce jour paraissent insuffisantes ; celle que nous proposons ici est une hypothèse nouvelle, mais basée sur les matériaux rassemblés par nos prédécesseurs, dont nous commençons par reconnaître nos obligations à cet égard.

I.

L'étymologie a joué un grand rôle dans l'interprétation du mot et du personnage d'Aditi. On connaît l'analyse proposée par M. Roth, et admise comme certaine par Bergaigne : *aditi* serait dérivé de la racine *dā*, lier, d'où **diti* lien, *aditi* sans liens. Cette dérivation serait confirmée par l'emploi du mot comme adjectif ou comme nom commun, pour exprimer diverses notions tirées du sens étymologique.

Aditi ne serait elle-même que la personnification de cette entité abstraite ou de la lumière empyréenne conçue, d'une manière abstraite, comme le principe éternel ou impérissable ; elle serait du reste une création propre à l'Inde, postérieure à ses fils, qui ont, eux, leurs analogues chez d'autres peuples indo-européens.

Certes l'étymologie de M. Roth, envisagée en elle-même, est parfaitement plausible. Cependant elle ne s'impose pas comme une certitude. Tout d'abord le mot *diti*, lien, n'existe pas, quoiqu'il se tire très régulièrement de la racine *dā*, lier. Mais cette racine elle-même est quelque peu suspecte d'après Whitney (*Die Wurzeln*, &c.). La comparaison du grec *δέω* ne suffit pas à la garantir : car celle-ci pourrait bien être en réalité une altération de *des*, d'après des dérivés comme *δεσμός*. La nuance de cette racine est du reste presque toujours tellement spéciale que nous n'hésitons guère à nous rallier à l'opinion de M. Pischel (*Ved. Stud.*, ii. 103), qui rapproche *dāmpati* de *δεσπότης*. Dans ce cas nous aurions affaire à ces racines parallèles *des* : *dem* : *dems*.

Toute cette discussion dépendrait alors des phénomènes du développement des racines, phénomène dont l'existence est aussi certaine que l'explication en est obscure pour le moment : cela n'empêche qu'on puisse et qu'on doive tenir compte de ces faits, les plus importants peut-être de ceux qui méritent de préoccuper l'attention à la fois du linguiste et du philologue. Malgré les doutes que font naître ces considérations, on pourrait admettre la dérivation proposée, sans se croire obligé pour cela de partir d'un sens abstrait primitif, que ce soit l'éternité de Roth, ou la liberté de Bergaigne, ou *die Unvergänglichkeit* de Hillebrandt ; on pourrait en effet prendre *āditi* comme une épithète détachée de *devī āditis* ; ceci suffit pour faire tomber les conclusions qu'on a cru pouvoir tirer de l'étymologie du mot.

Le sens appellatif du mot *āditi*, que les considérations étymologiques ne suffisent pas à établir, d'après ce qui précède, ne se démontre pas davantage par les procédés de l'exégèse philologique proprement dite. A ce point de vue, nous croyons pouvoir partir de ce principe, qu'un sens admis comme certain dans quelques passages ne peut-être abandonné, à moins que des raisons positives n'en imposent un nouveau ; nous n'entendons parler ici que du sens direct, littéral, faisant abstraction de la traduction proprement dite, dont les principes nous paraissent plus compliqués.

De l'aveu de tous, le mot *āditi* est employé dans le Rig-Véda comme nom propre dans la grande majorité des cas. Dans d'autres, le même mot est employé dans divers sens appellatifs, d'après la plupart des védicants ; mais dans le détail on varie beau-

coup, et sur le sens précis et sur l'étendue de l'emploi du mot comme adjectif ou nom commun. Bergaigne dans ses *Etudes sur le Lexique du Rig-Véda*, veut conserver partout le nom propre excepté dans deux ou trois passages où il hésite entre le nom propre et le sens étymologique, en attribuant à *āditi* ce qu'il appelle un sens concret, lequel revient en somme au sens étymologique. L'examen de cette question verbale nous éloignerait trop de l'objet spécial de ce travail et nous nous contentons de formuler la conclusion de la discussion détaillée qui paraîtra prochainement dans le *Muséon*.¹ A notre avis, *āditi* est toujours nom propre dans le sens direct ; d'autre part, ce nom propre est employé maintes fois avec allusion à certains caractères de la déesse, ou avec allusion à un sens étymologique vrai ou supposé : le sens final, voulu par l'auteur—et qu'on devrait éventuellement admettre dans une traduction—est très souvent conforme aux interprétations des illustres savants qui ont débrouillé le chaos védique, et dont les erreurs mêmes sont souvent instructives pour leurs successeurs.

L'étymologie et l'exégèse philologique ne fournissent donc sur l'histoire du mot *āditi* aucun renseignement qui doive nous empêcher de chercher dans les mythologies indo-européennes des traces de l'idée qu'elle représente.

Aditi, d'après M. Roth, personnifie l'éternité ou le principe éternel concrétisé dans la lumière empyréenne (Art. cité, p. 68) ; pour M. Hillebrandt elle est *die Unvergänglichkeit des Tageslichtes* (o. c., p. 20). Nous aussi, nous voyons dans Aditi la lumière empyréenne, mais nous nous éloignons du point de vue particulier de ces deux savants, sur la manière dont les Âryas védiques auraient conçu cette substance.

Envisagée comme déesse de la lumière suprême, Aditi trouve des analogies d'abord dans l'Eran. L'Avesta connaît une divinité féminine, Ahurāni, dont les rapports avec Ahura Mazdā doivent avoir été très étroits, quoique les textes nous laissent dans une grande obscurité sur la nature de ces rapports. Justi (*Handbuch d. Zend-sprache*), traduisant *ahurāni ahurahé*, l'appelle fille d'Ahura, un génie aquatique (cf. De Harlez, *Avesta, Yaçna*, 65 et 67). Elle personnifie les eaux célestes, et était identique à Ardvī Čūra Anāhita, summa excelsa immaculata (dea) de Harlez (*Avesta*², cxiii.). Celle-ci apparaît comme l'eau céleste, source de toutes les eaux terrestres (au *Yaçna*, 64, et au *Yesht*, 5). Les mêmes traits sont sans doute applicables à Ahurāni, qui (au *Yaçna*, 67, 14 et 15) vient à la tête des eaux de la mer Vourukasha et de toutes les eaux terrestres.

¹ Une "Etude sur le mot Aditi" a paru dans le *Muséon*, x. 1.

Ardvī Çūra n'est cependant pas une divinité du monde de l'empyrée ; elle habite la région des étoiles, la plus rapprochée de la terre (Darmesteter, *The Zend-Avesta*, ii. 73, note). Il n'en est pas moins digne de remarque qu'elle est rattachée à une région lumineuse. De plus, elle n'envoie pas seulement des eaux sur la terre, mais aussi dans la région au dessus du soleil (*Yesht*, v. 91), qui est tout juste la région de la lumière infinie.

Cette dernière circonstance semble montrer que les Eraniens ne regardaient pas le monde empyréen comme étranger aux eaux : on sait que le Rig-Véda y place la source ou le principe des eaux aussi bien que de la lumière. Le nom d'Ahurāni, qui indique un rapport intime avec le dieu de l'empyrée, favorise cette opinion. La place qui est assignée à Ardvī Çūra dans la région des étoiles n'est pas un obstacle à cette vue ; la division de l'univers signalée par M. Darmesteter, terre, étoiles, lune, soleil, lumière infinie, est bien peu naturelle si on la regarde comme une division locale ; à ce point de vue les étoiles devaient être placées après le soleil et la lune. Les attributs d'éclat et de majesté donnés à Ardvī Çūra (*Yesht*, v. 9) le mont Hukairya, dont elle découle et qui est fait d'or (*Yesht*, v. 97), l'invocation faite à Ahurāni pour lui demander "le monde meilleur des justes, brillant de toute splendeur" (*Yaçna*, 67, 11) : tout cela tend à montrer une liaison intime entre la lumière et la divinité des eaux supérieures. Un dernier indice en faveur de ce rapprochement se trouve dans un passage du Bundeheşh signalé par A. Kuhn (*Die Herabkunft des Feuers*, p. 110), où il est dit que le Hom blanc croît auprès de l'arbre Jaṭ-bés, dans la source Arduisur. Kuhn compare avec raison ce Hom blanc à l'arbre d'immortalité, au-dessus duquel demeurent les dieux immortels d'après le Rig-Véda, i. 164, 22. Or l'*amṛta* est un des noms par lesquels les Hindous ont désigné la nature, la substance du ciel suprême (cf. mon *Nature du Monde Supérieur Muséon*, ix. 171).

La Grèce connaît une divinité féminine de l'empyrée, la compagne de Zeus. Zeus, dit M. Decharme, ne séjourne pas au ciel visible ; l'éther est sa demeure ; c'est là qu'il habite au milieu de la lumière éternelle (*Mythologie de la Grèce Antique*, 16). A côté de lui apparaît à Dodone, une divinité qui lui est étroitement unie, Διώνη, dont le culte paraît postérieur aux temps homériques (Decharme, o. c., p. 49). Malgré cette date tardive du culte, il serait bien difficile de ne pas attribuer à cette déesse une origine beaucoup plus ancienne. Διώνη, en effet, est un féminin correspondant à Ζεύς-Διός, analogue aux féminins Ahurāni, Varuṇāni, etc., de l'Avesta et du Rig-Véda. Ces formations remontent sans doute

à une haute antiquité, car dans les langues où nous la rencontrons, elles forment des féminins désignant des déesses qui correspondent à des dieux très anciens, dont elles empruntent ainsi le nom. M. de Harlez cite pour l'avestique cinq mots en *āni*, *ēni*, qui ne sont pas tous des féminins (*Avesta*, cxiii.); chez Leumann (*K. Z.*, xxxii. 308), on en trouve quelques exemples post-védiques : ailleurs elle a disparu.—Dione est une divinité de la nature humide et de la fécondité génératrice. Elle est présentée comme fille d'Océan et de Thétys, et comme mère d'Aphrodite (Decharme, *o. c.*, p. 49).

Ordinairement Zeus apparaît comme l'époux de *Ἥρα*, qui lui est entièrement coordonnée. Reine du ciel, elle partage ses attributs modifiés dans le sens de sa nature de femme. Héra préside à l'hymen ; elle est le type de l'épouse chaste et accomplie ; elle veille sur les mères qui se trouvent dans les douleurs de l'enfantement—On a soutenu l'opinion, et M. Decharme s'y rallie, que le culte de Héra était originaire de l'Asie, d'où il aurait passé, par Samos, dans toute la Grèce. Précisant sa pensée, le même auteur ajoute (p. 70) : " Il est difficile de ne pas admettre la parenté de la déesse samienne avec l'Héra hellénique d'une part, avec la grande déesse asiatique de l'autre. C'est à cette dernière opinion que nous préférons nous rallier. Une raison de reporter le personnage de Héra jusqu'aux sources mêmes de la mythologie indo-européenne se trouve dans son nom, qu'on rapproche d'une manière très plausible du sanscrit *svār*, qui désigne la lumière, et en particulier la lumière empyréenne ; un développement de cette racine est devenu chez les Slaves, un nom de la divinité suprême, *Svarog*.

Les mythologies éranienne et grecque possèdent donc une divinité féminine qui, pour le nom, se rattache étroitement au dieu de l'empyrée. Ahurāni est, il est vrai, la divinité des eaux dont l'Avesta ne place pas formellement la source dans le ciel suprême ; Dionè partage ce caractère aquatique jusqu'à un certain point. Mais nous avons tâché de montrer qu'au moins dans l'Eran il existe des relations entre la lumière et les eaux supérieures, indépendamment même du nom de la déesse ; on doit se rappeler en particulier le *hom blanc*, un des noms du breuvage d'immortalité ; celui-ci se trouve dans la source Arduisur, qui n'est point différente d'Ahurāni. On pourrait donc admettre que la théorie védique qui identifie les eaux et la lumière dans leur source empyréenne, était aussi connue dans l'Eran. Etant donnés l'analogie d'Ahurāni et de Dionè comme divinités aquatiques ou d'origine aquatique, et la relation identique de leurs noms avec les noms des dieux qu'elles accompagnent, on peut croire qu'à l'époque indo-européenne, l'idée d'une origine commune

à ces deux substances existait déjà. Malgré tout, on doit avouer qu'une autre explication est également plausible. Le dieu suprême des Indo-Européens personnifiait peut-être aussi bien le ciel visible, le siège des nuages, que l'empyrée; Ahurāni et Διώνη pourraient représenter l'élément céleste féminin envisagé de cette manière. Mais la première explication deviendra plus probable, si nous parvenons à montrer qu'Aditi est le représentant védique de ces déesses étroitement unies à la divinité du ciel suprême.

Avant d'aborder ce sujet, il reste à signaler la Juno des Romains, dont le nom renferme deux fois le suffixe qui forme également Ahurāni et Dionè, et le nom des déesses védiques Varuṇāni et Indrāṇī. Ce qui a été dit plus haut des formes avestiques en *āni*, *ēni*, permet de regarder ces formations comme des adjectifs; on devrait alors sous-entendre un substantif comme dans le nom de la femme des Açvins, *Açvinī rāj*, la splendeur açvinienne; cette dernière correspond, pour le sens, au nom de Hèra, si on le prend comme l'équivalent de *Svār*.

II.

Un des traits du personnage d'Aditi, d'après M. Hillebrandt, c'est qu'elle représente le côté féminin du ciel. Cette notion est née, d'après lui, de la combinaison du caractère féminin d'Aditi, de la désignation du ciel comme une vache, ainsi que de l'identification du ciel avec Aditi (*o. c.*, p. 42). Pour nous, nous regardons cette notion comme le noyau primitif et central, dont dérivent tous les caractères de la déesse: en d'autres termes, Aditi serait le réflexe indien de Hèra, la personnification d'une entité étroitement unie au ciel-dieu ou au dieu du ciel, la divinité suprême des Indo-Européens.

Nous échappons ainsi d'abord au grave inconvénient encouru par ceux qui regardent Aditi comme une formation secondaire. Aditi, en effet, est une divinité qui partage, avec ses fils, les attributs les plus transcendants; d'autre part, rien dans les textes ne porte à croire qu'elle soit le produit de spéculations individuelles et passagères: malgré le peu de place qu'elle occupe dans les hymnes, sa présence s'y fait sentir souvent, et presque toujours d'une manière identique; les passages cosmogoniques où elle apparaît dans le dixième livre sont assez concordants pour qu'on puisse refuser d'y voir le résultat de la fantaisie; enfin, elle a conservé une place dans la mythologie postérieure. Quelle différence avec des entités comme Prajāpati, Viçvakarman, p. e., qui portent clairement au front la marque de leur origine spéculative, et qu'on pourrait, au moins dans

le Rig-Véda, appeler des personnages de rencontre. On concevrait aisément qu'Aditi se fût élevée à la hauteur qu'elle occupe dans la nuit des temps prévédiques, et que son culte fût à son déclin à l'époque même où furent composés les hymnes : c'est ainsi que nous voyons Varuna descendre du rang suprême, et remplacé par d'autres divinités ; on s'expliquerait difficilement, au contraire, qu'on eût élaboré une conception aussi élevée pour lui accorder ensuite une place aussi exigüe. L'exemple de Brahmanaspati est très instructif à cet égard. Ce dieu est évidemment une création indienne, placée très haut par les serviteurs du *bráhman* ; mais aussi que d'hymnes nombreux lui sont consacrés, et comme on s'applique à faire passer sur sa tête les prérogatives les plus célébrées du grand dieu national, du dieu des guerriers Âryas.

Tous les caractères d'Aditi, si soigneusement décrits par M. Hillebrandt, s'expliquent sans difficulté si l'on admet qu'elle représente à l'origine la *lumière empyréenne dans son union avec le ciel suprême ou le dieu du ciel suprême*. Elle est alors la déesse de la lumière impérissable, dont l'Aurore est la face brillante : on lui demandera son don lumineux ; c'est à elle qu'on s'adressera pour obtenir la naissance dans le monde suprême, où l'on reverra son père et sa mère : c'est ainsi que nous interprétons le passage R.V. i. 24, 1 et 2, *Ko no mahyaí áditaye púnah dāt pitāram ca dr̥ṣeyaṁ ca mātāram ca*, en le comparant à Ath.—V.—vi. 120, 3, *yātrā suhárdaḥ . . . svargé tātṛa paçyema pitārau ca putrān*. Ce monde est avant tout le monde de la lumière suprême, le monde d'Aditi. Aditi s'appellera aussi *Uruvraja*, *Uruvyāc*, comme déesse du monde qui s'étend au loin. Épouse du dieu que les Indo-Européens appelaient le Père, du dieu qui nourrit et aussi qui commande et veille aux lois du monde moral, on l'invoquera pour obtenir l'innocence et l'abondance de tous biens. Différente en cela de Varuna, qui dans le Rig-Véda représente l'antique Ciel-Père, elle ne punit jamais : il n'est jamais question de sa colère ; elle est la mère toujours propice. Son nom de vache est un simple symbole, qui la présente comme une source féconde de bienfaits toujours nouveaux. Quant à son identification avec divers objets relatifs au sacrifice, on pourra se contenter d'y voir le résultat des innombrables spéculations qui servaient aux brahmanes à rapprocher les choses les plus disparates. Parmi ces rapprochements il en est un cependant qui semble plus constant : c'est celui d'Aditi et de la terre, qui repose sur des analogies réelles. Comme Aditi, la terre est la déesse de la fécondité ; comme Aditi, elle est surtout l'épouse de Dyaus, non du Dyaus-empyrée, mais du ciel visible.

Mais le caractère le plus frappant d'Aditi, au point de vue des textes et de notre thèse, c'est celui de mère des Âdityas. Ceux-ci sont les dieux de l'empyrée, les dieux de la lumière éternelle et impérissable : c'est l'opinion bien établie par M. Roth dans l'article déjà cité plusieurs fois. Indépendamment même des textes apportés par M. Hillebrandt, cette circonstance suffirait à nous faire voir dans Aditi, leur mère, une déesse de nature lumineuse. Cette dépendance et cette similitude de nature se trouvent clairement exprimées dans le vers i. 136, 3 : "*Jyôtiṣmatim āditim dhārayātkṣhitim svārvatim ā sacete divé dive jagrvāmsā divé dive — jyôtiṣmat kṣhatrām āṣāte ādityā.*" . . . C'est donc par leur union avec Aditi que les deux Âdityas acquièrent leur domaine lumineux. Aditi apparaît ici comme une personnification du lieu, *dyukshām sādānam* (*ibid.* 2), occupé par les Âdityas ; mais nous ne voulons pas presser à ce point des textes où les idées sont rendues par des images que les rishis ne matérialisaient peut-être pas à ce point ; ces textes nous amènent du reste à une conclusion plus importante.

L'antique Ciel-Père n'apparaît plus dans le Rig-Véda comme le dieu suprême : il a fallu les patientes recherches et les déductions ingénieuses de M. von Bradke, précédé par M. Müller et M. Bréal, pour établir d'une manière positive que le règne de Varuna et des Âdityas a succédé à celui de la divinité maintenue ailleurs sous son propre nom, comme *Ζεύς πατήρ* ou Jupiter. Dans l'Inde, Dyaus n'est que le ciel visible ; il a cédé sa foudre à Indra, mais sa royauté universelle et pacifique a passé avec ses attributs les plus élevés à Varuna et aux autres fils d'Aditi, *qui sont aussi ses fils*. Telle est la conclusion à laquelle est arrivé M. von Bradke (*Dyaus Asura*, p. 112), les devas Varuna etc. sont les fils du Père-Ciel—*div*—les divins. Ici notre hypothèse se dégage des faits comme une déduction presque nécessaire : Dyaus-empyrée a été le père des devas Âdityas ; Aditi est encore leur mère. *Aditi est l'épouse de l'antique Dyaus-empyrée, disparu du monde védique* ; elle correspond à Junon, Héra ou Dionè et à Ahurāni devenue plus tard la déesse des eaux célestes, semblable en cela au successeur de Dyaus dans l'Inde transformé en dieu de l'océan ! Hâtons-nous d'ajouter que le terme d'épouse ne doit pas être pris ici dans le sens anthropomorphique absolu, comme en Grèce ou en Italie : il s'agit seulement d'une personnification conçue comme étroitement unie à Dyaus. Ou pourrait objecter que le Rig-Véda ne contient aucune confirmation positive de cette conclusion. Le fait est vrai, mais il ne pouvait en être autrement. Le Dyaus indo-européen personnifiait sans doute non-seulement le ciel-empyrée, mais encore le ciel visible, ou, si l'on veut, il était le régent suprême

de l'un et de l'autre : nous n'avons aucune raison positive de préférer l'une ou l'autre de ces alternatives. Lorsque dans l'Inde il fut devenu exclusivement le ciel visible, il avait perdu par le fait même le caractère qui l'unissait à Aditi. Comme ciel matériel, il avait du reste une autre contre-partie féminine, à savoir la terre ; cette circonstance doit avoir contribué beaucoup à faire oublier ses relations avec Aditi.

On admet généralement aujourd'hui qu'Aditi est postérieure à ses fils ; ceux-ci d'origine très ancienne n'auraient été rattachés que plus tard à l'entité d'origine abstraite qui leur fut donnée comme mère. Cette opinion introduit inutilement à notre avis une contradiction dans le caractère des Âdityas et de Varuna en particulier. Celui-ci est en effet la figure la plus élevée parmi les dieux du Rig-Véda ; les hymnes qui le célèbrent rappellent maintes fois les invocations sublimes des Psaumes ; d'un autre côté, il est essentiellement un dieu fils, il est Âditya, fils d'Aditi. Ce trait lui est attribué constamment ; on insiste même sur la dépendance de son être à l'égard de sa mère Aditi (i. 24, voir plus haut). Cette contradiction s'explique difficilement, si cette filiation est un caractère adventice. On comprend qu'on conserve des caractères anciens en contradiction avec de nouveaux traits acquis ; mais on ne comprend guère qu'on les crée en y insistant à ce point. Si Varuna, comme fils d'Aditi, est ancien, si cette relation est primitive, il s'ensuit que la mère elle-même est très ancienne et que le fils n'a pas toujours occupé la place éminente qu'il tient dans le panthéon védique. Nous arrivons ainsi, par une autre voie, à la même conclusion que M. von Bradke sur ce point, et en même temps nous renforçons d'un nouvel argument notre opinion sur la nature primitive d'Aditi.

L'absence de toute mention du couple Dyaus-Aditi ne doit pas surprendre après ce qui a été dit déjà de la transformation du premier, et de son union avec la terre. Il est possible qu'il en reste quelque trace dans les textes x. 63, 3 (*yébhyo mātā mādhumat pīnvate pdyah pīyūsham dyaus āditīr ādribarhāh*), et v. 59, 8 (*mīmātu dyaūr āditih*). Ces passages sont trop isolés et trop obscurs pour qu'on puisse en tirer quelque donnée positive.

Par contre, les hymnes nous mettent en présence d'un autre couple, *Aditi-Daksha*, qui à première vue constitue une grave objection contre notre thèse. La première réponse qui se présente, c'est que Daksha n'apparaît comme épouse d'Aditi que dans quatre passages du dixième livre qu'on peut voir chez Muir, *S. T.*, v. 48 et suiv. Ailleurs Daksha est énuméré en compagnie des autres Âdityas, où son nom, qui signifie *intelligence*, ne présente rien d'anormal en présence des

noms *bhāga*, *ām̐ṣa*, qui ont le même caractère abstrait. L'union d'Aditi et de Daksha pourrait être mise tout simplement sur le compte des spéculations cosmogoniques, déjà fréquentes dans les derniers temps védiques. Daksha aurait donc été tout simplement l'un des Âdityas, à qui son nom aurait valu plus tard une position exceptionnelle.

Telle est l'opinion admise ; toutefois les faits permettent une autre explication, très problématique il est vrai, mais qui apporterait une nouvelle confirmation de notre opinion sur l'origine d'Aditi. À ce point de vue, du reste, cette nouvelle explication n'est pas indispensable ; observons d'abord que, sur les quatre passages dixième livre dont il a été question, il en est trois (5, 7 ; 64, 5 ; 90, 5), où l'union de Daksha et d'Aditi n'est mentionnée qu'incidence ; cette circonstance les rend moins suspects de n'être qu'une spéculation individuelle : l'idée est présentée comme admise. En dehors de ces passages, Daksha apparaît comme nom propre dans ii. 27, 1 : *Ḡṛnōtu mītro aryamā bhāgo nas turijātō Varuṇo Dāksho ām̐ṣaḥ*, et dans i. 89, 3 : *hūmahe . . . bhāgam mītrām āditim dāksham āsridham*—Du second passage considéré à part, on pourrait être tenté de conclure que Daksha n'est pas l'un des Âdityas, mais plutôt l'époux d'Aditi. Quant au premier qui débute par *ādityébhaḥ rājabhaḥ* il met formellement Daksha au nombre des Âdityas, et ce n'est point sans quelque violence qu'on pourrait, en taxant le poète d'erreur ou de langage négligé, se résoudre en faveur de l'indication moins précise du premier passage. Ailleurs le mot Daksha est nom commun, et il n'est aucun passage où on ne puisse l'expliquer ainsi. Néanmoins comme le mot a deux sens bien établis, il est arrivé que les interprètes ont hésité : c'est ainsi que les expressions *dākshapitr* et *dākshasya sūnū*, appliquées à Mitra-Varuna, ont été rendues tantôt comme fils de l'intelligence tantôt comme fils de Daksha. Daksha a été traduit comme nom propre par Ludwig dans v. 66, 4 : *Dākshasya pūrbhīḥ*, die Scharen des Daksha. Mais le sens reconnu de *pūr* est celui de forteresse, qu'il est possible de maintenir ici. Mitra-Varuna sont sages, *kāvya*, par les forteresses, les moyens de défense que leur fournissent leur intelligence. Il est vrai que la métaphore est très extraordinaire, et on est tenté de voir dans les *pūrbhir dākshasya* une expression mal comprise ou détournée de son sens, et ayant signifié réellement *les forteresses de Daksha*, le dieu inaccessible, à l'abri de toute attaque.

Il se pourrait donc, mais les textes ne permettent pas de conclure avec quelque probabilité positive, que Daksha soit beaucoup plus ancien comme époux d'Aditi qu'on ne l'a cru jusqu'ici. On devrait alors y voir un héritier de la paternité de Dyaus, ou, plus naturellement, Dyaus lui-même sous un autre nom.

D'ailleurs le nom de Daksha est-il bien le même mot que *dáksha*, intelligence ? Au point de vue du Rig-Véda lui-même, c'est-à-dire des auteurs qui l'ont employé, on peut répondre d'une manière affirmative ; mais en s'occupant de l'origine même du mot, on est tenté de rapprocher *dakshi*, *dákshu*, *dakshús*, qui sont des épithètes d'Agni, avec le sens de *brûlant*, comme le prouve le *pāda* qui donne ici *dh* comme initiale. Un dérivé *dáksha*, de la même racine, serait également possible, et aurait été confondu avec *dáksha*, intelligence, au point que le souvenir du *dh* initial se serait complètement perdu. Il ne serait pas impossible non plus qu'on eût affaire à une autre racine avec initiale *d*, nasalisée dans le *damh* du Dāthupāṭha et donnant l'intensif *dandah*, rapporté ordinairement à *dah* ; ce *damh* serait représenté par le goth *tuggl*, constellation. C'est ici aussi qu'on aimerait de placer le Lithuanien *dangūs*, ciel, si *dengiù*, couvrir, n'invitait plutôt à voir ici la voûte qui recouvre le ciel visible. *Dáksha* serait au contraire le brûlant ou plutôt l'igné, car c'est dans ce concept que se réunissent les notions de *brûler* et de *briller*. Mais toutes ces données sont trop problématiques pour qu'il nous soit permis de les présenter comme base d'une hypothèse bien sérieuse. Il est clair seulement que *dáksha*, quelle que soit l'origine qu'on lui assigne, n'est pas un obstacle à notre opinion sur l'union primitive de Dyaus et d'Aditi.

III.

Il reste à considérer certaines données de la religion védique et des religions postérieures de l'Inde qui plaident en faveur de l'origine assignée à Aditi. C'est d'abord le personnage de Puramdhi qui a une certaine analogie avec Aditi. Puramdhi est la personnification assez vague de la nature bienfaisante des dieux, auquel elle reste étroitement unie. Cette divinité, qui se retrouve dans l'Avesta, appartient donc à l'époque indo-éranienne. C'est un appui indirect pour notre thèse, à un double titre. D'abord, elle recule jusqu'à cette époque l'origine, que nous croyons plus ancienne encore, des divinités féminines qui personnifient les attributs des dieux. En second lieu, elle montre que notre hypothèse n'a rien d'étrange au point de vue du Rig-Véda lui-même. Sans doute, Puramdhi n'apparaît pas comme l'épouse d'un dieu déterminé ; mais ceci n'est qu'un côté accessoire de la conception ; le caractère d'épouse au degré d'anthropomorphisme où le montre la Grèce, n'est pas primitif ; la maternité d'Aditi dans le Rig-Véda présente elle-même quelque chose d'immatériel, qui ne rappelle la génération terrestre

qu'à titre d'analogie. Toutes les mythologies indo-européennes connaissent des divinités féminines ; dans le Rig-Véda elles tiennent peu de place en dehors d'Ushas. En revanche, les hymnes sont pénétrés d'un symbolisme très développé, reposant sur la dualité d'un principe mâle et femelle. Bergaigne dans sa *Religion Védique* a poursuivi partout les traces de ces spéculations souvent bizarres. Ce fait important trouve une explication toute naturelle si l'on place, à l'origine même de la religion des rishis, une conception dont ces étranges spéculations ne seraient que l'application dévoyée. La dualité d'un principe mâle et femelle et l'origine des choses par leur union s'affirme avec force dans les spéculations philosophiques qui émaillent la littérature rituelle. L'homme des premiers âges védiques, et même celui du l'époque indo-européenne, aura sans doute raisonné de la même manière ; le couple Dyaus-Aditi est donc probablement le prototype mythique des cosmogonies postérieures qui elles-mêmes ont contribué à la formation des philosophies classiques, où le monde apparaît comme le résultat de l'union de *Purusha-Prakṛti* ou de *Brahma-Māyā*.

Les Çaktis des religions sectaires méritent aussi l'attention. Il est à remarquer que *Çakti* et surtout *Çacī*, *çacīvat*, se disent tout spécialement d'Indra, dont la femme s'appellera plus tard *çacī*. *Çakti* et *çacī* désignent proprement la puissance, le secours puissant des dieux. Voici donc encore une personnification d'un attribut divin analogue à Puramdhi, à l'*Açvinī rāj* et à Aditi, dans notre théorie. M. Geldner prétend même qu'elle est accomplie déjà dans le Rig-Véda (*Vedische Studien*, ii. 1), mais les passages qu'il allègue ne le prouvent pas. Les Çaktis à côté d'analogies réelles présentent cependant des traits qui les distinguent profondément d'Aditi. La Çakti de Çiva est une déesse cruelle et impudique, tandis qu'Aditi est par excellence la déesse de la clémence et de l'innocence. Mais cela n'empêche qu'elle présente, à l'égard de son époux, ce caractère d'union étroite, de reflexe féminin, que nous réclamons pour Aditi vis-à-vis de Dyaus-empyrée. Il suffit, du reste, de comparer les hymnes védiques adressés à Vishnu, avec le culte rendu à ce dieu dans les temps postérieurs, pour être frappé d'une différence tout aussi profonde. Il n'est pas même certain que les temps védiques ne connussent rien d'analogue aux cultes immoraux des âges suivants. Il y a longtemps qu'on a remarqué le soin des rishis à élaguer ou à interpréter les choses qui ne convenaient pas à leurs tendances généralement nobles et élevées (cf. A. Barth, *The Religions of India*, p. 28 et suiv.).

En résumé, Aditi est le contre-partie féminine du Dyaus prévédique,

le dieu du monde empyréen, auquel elle est étroitement unie. De là les caractères de déesse de la lumière, de mère des dévas, de déesse de l'innocence morale ; sa nature féminine la rendait propre aussi à personnifier plus spécialement la clémence et la bienfaisance divines. Son origine remonte à l'époque indo-européenne.

Ainsi envisagée, Aditi occupe à bon droit, avec ses fils, la place la plus élevée parmi les dieux védiques. De même, et plus encore que les Âdityas, elle est dominée, dans les préoccupations des rishis, par des divinités de nature et d'origine inférieure. Cette circonstance s'expliquera désormais pour la mère comme pour les fils ; tous sont d'anciennes divinités rejetées peu à peu à l'arrière-plan par d'autres figures, plus propres peut-être à représenter un nouvel idéal. Les dévas eux-mêmes, Varuna et les autres, ont remplacé leur père Dyaus, dont le domaine s'est restreint au ciel visible ; leur mère, Aditi, l'épouse de Dyaus, a gardé son rang, pendant que le souvenir de son union disparaissait en même temps que Dyaus perdait les qualités qui leur était communes pour devenir exclusivement l'époux de la terre, ce complément naturel du ciel visible. Cependant les dévas, les diviens, les fils de Dyaus recueillaient la part la plus noble de l'héritage paternel, tout en restant les fils d'Aditi, qui leur communique leur nature éthérée (i. 136, 3). Il n'est pas impossible que Daksha, dont le nom pourrait signifier l'*igné*, soit primitivement Dyaus-empyrée lui-même, caché sous un autre nom.

Dès lors, la comparaison avec les divinités féminines des autres mythologies s'impose ; on se rappelle immédiatement les déesses qui jouent auprès de Zeus et de Jupiter un rôle d'épouse, qui n'est que la transformation anthropomorphique d'une conception antique, beaucoup plus large. Ahurāni elle-même—*ahurāni ahurahe*—que son nom rattache étroitement à Ahura Mazdā, le représentant éranien de l'*Asura dyaus pitar* (Von Bradke, *o. c.*, p. 80 et suiv.), est probablement identique dans son origine avec Aditi. Quoiqu'elle représente dans l'Avesta, les eaux célestes, bien des indices permettent de lui assigner des rapports avec la lumière. D'après le Rig-Véda, la source des eaux et de lumière se trouvait également dans l'empyrée, ou plutôt la substance empyréenne était le principe de l'une et de l'autre. Cette conception est si naturelle ; d'un autre côté les deux religions présentent, sinon en elles-mêmes, du moins dans leurs origines, tant d'analogies même de détail, que malgré l'absence de preuves assez positives, il ne sera pas téméraire de voir dans le personnage même d'Ahurāni une donnée suffisante pour admettre l'existence probable de cette théorie physique à l'époque indo-éraniennne.

APPENDICE.

Toute cette discussion est restée indépendante de considérations étymologiques; on a fait remarquer seulement que l'étymologie courante n'est pas incompatible avec l'origine que nous attribuons à cette divinité. Aditi peut être l'épithète détachée d'une expression comme *devī ādītis*, la déesse sans limites, ou encore en imaginant une désignation analogue à l'*açvīnī rāj* ou à la *varunānī*, une *divānī adītis*. Cette dernière expression formée de deux adjectifs paraît peu vraisemblable. A notre point de vue, il doit être permis, en présence d'une étymologie qui n'est pas évidente, de chercher pour le mot *āditi* des éléments d'une couleur moins indienne. Il n'est pas téméraire, croyons-nous, de songer, comme racine d'*āditi*, à *dī*, briller, précédé d'une voyelle prothétique, c'est à dire une voyelle dont l'origine est provisoirement inexpliquée. On sait que ces voyelles sont surtout nombreuses en grec; le sanscrit ne les ignore pas entièrement, comme le montre *aritra*, ἄριτρος, comparé avec les mots congénères des autres langues. Si le sanscrit avait laissé tomber la voyelle initiale, la forme grecque aurait été regardée comme affectée de la voyelle prothétique. Parfois cette dernière langue montre des formes doubles comme ἐθέλειν et θέλειν. Il ne serait pas impossible que le sanscrit offrît ici un doublet analogue dans *āditi-diti* de la racine *dī*. Celle-ci se montre dans *sudītī*, *sudīditi*, avec les mêmes sens que *div* dans *didyūt*, *dyūti*. Quelque obscures que soient les relations des racines *dī*, *div*, identiques pour le sens et qui ont des analogues dans *si*, *siv*, *mīv*, *mū*, dans *kāmamūta*, et autres (cf. Persson¹), il est fort naturel d'admettre qu'on a affaire ici à des suffixes très anciens *i* et *u*, simples ou diversement combinés: les essais qu'on a faits pour faire sortir ces formes d'une racine unique, par l'évolution phonétique, ne paraissent pas avoir atteint leur but. Si *i* et *u* sont suffixes, on n'échappe pas à la nécessité d'admettre pour ces racines un état plus ancien, où la consonne initiale était précédée, au moins dans quelques-unes, d'une voyelle généralement perdue sous l'influence du manque d'accent, et de la tendance marquée des langues indo-européennes au monosyllabisme des racines. Dans notre cas, on aurait *Vd* (voyelle + *d*) < (*V*) *dī*, (*V*) *div*.—(*V*) *dī* aurait donné en sanscrit *āditi-diti*: ce dernier, spécialisé dans le sens de richesse comme le latin *dis-dītis* (cf. Bréal, *Dict. Etym. Latin.*); ce *dis* ne devrait plus être regardé comme une contraction de *dives*, *divit*,

¹ Studien zur Lehre von der Wurzelweiterung und Wurzelvariation, p. 156.

que le Rig-Véda connaît aussi, avec le sens primitif de brillant, dans *divít*—(V) *div* aurait donné *dyuti*, analogue à *áditi-díti* et *dyut* analogue à *dīt* (*dīs*). *Aditi* serait donc la splendeur de *Dyaus*, *divānī aditis*; cette expression ne serait pas tautologique en prenant **divānī* comme dérivé du nom propre *dyaus-div*. Ce sont là sans doute des conjectures et même des conjectures plus ou moins hasardées, qui nous ramènent à la période de formation même de la langue indo-européennes où tout est encore bien obscur. Néanmoins, et malgré le risque de s'égarer, on ne voudra pas sans doute proscrire toute tentative destinée à y faire entrer un peu de lumière, en formulant des hypothèses qui ne manquent pas d'un certain fondement, et qu'on tient du reste à l'écart du domaine philologique proprement dit.

III.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SÛTRAS OF ÂŚVALÂYANA AND ŚÂÑKHÂYANA AND THE ŚÂKALA AND BÂSH- KALA ŚÂKHÂS OF THE RĪKSAMHITÂ.

BY

R. G. BHANDARKAR.

A MANUSCRIPT of a work entitled *Anukramanikâdadhundhâ* was purchased by me for the Government Collection about two years ago. It was bought by my agent from a Brahman of the Śâñkhâyana school, living at a village called Brahmapol, about two miles from Jaypur, along with other Vedic works belonging to that school. It consists of the Sarvânukrama in a tabulated form. In each line we have first the number of the hymn, then the first *pâda* of the first verse, and afterwards follow in order the numbers of the *vargas* and of the verses of which the hymn is composed, the name of the Rishi, the deity, and the metre. The next hymn is treated similarly in the next line. When the particulars referring to a hymn cannot be completely given in a single line, we have more than one, *i.e.*, a paragraph. The Sûktas are numbered continuously from 1 to 1017, and the end of an *Adhyâya* is simply marked with the letters *Adhya*. The Vâlakhilyas come between hymns 668 and 669, *i.e.*, after viii. 48, and are numbered from 1 to 10. The manuscript was transcribed on Sunday the 7th of the dark fortnight of Bhâdrapada in the Samvat year 1796, and is thus a hundred and fifty years old.

This tabulated Anukramaṇi agrees in all respects with the Sarvânukrama of Kâtyâyana, as I have found from a comparison of parts here and there with the statements at the top of the hymns in Professor Max Müller's edition, and with the original Sarvânukrama. The number of verses in vii. 21 is, however, given as nine, because it would appear, at first sight, the tenth is the same as the last verse of the previous hymn. In other places, however, where the same verse occurs at the end of two successive hymns, it is not left out of account; so that there is probably a mistake here. The number of

hymns, 1017, is the same as that given in the Anuvâkânukramaṇi, indexed in the Sarvânukrama, and found in the Vulgate. But our Dhuṇḍhû differs from the last in omitting one of the eleven Vâla-khilya hymns, viz., that beginning with *yam ritvijo* (viii. 58); but agrees with the Sarvânukrama. For this also omits the hymn, and an anonymous commentary on the work existing in one of my recent collections of manuscripts agrees with the text, as it contains no reference to it.

The author of the Bhâshya on the Charaṇavyûha, often noticed by scholars, says that the omission of viii. 58 constitutes the distinction between the Śāṅkhâyana and Āśvalâyana Śâkhâs. At the same time, he notices the insertion of two of the three verses composing the hymn into x. 88, but only as a *Khila*, and, consequently, not to be counted. The work before me does not notice the insertion, probably just on this account, assigning to the hymn nineteen verses, which it has in the Vulgate. It will thus appear that the statement of the commentator as to the omission of viii. 58 in the Śāṅkhâyana Saṁhitâ is confirmed by my manuscript; and the Sarvânukrama agreeing with both, seems to follow the text used by the school of Śāṅkhâyana, rather than that used by Āśvalâyana's school.

But the statement of the commentator and this conclusion are contested by Professor Oldenberg, and the grounds are these:—In the Upâkaraṇa ceremony, usually called Śrâvaṇi by us, after the name of the month in which it is performed, oblations are thrown into the fire after the repetition of the first and last verses of each Maṇḍala. In the Śāṅkhâyana Gṛihya Sûtra the last verse that is directed to be repeated is “tach chhamyor âvriṇîmahe,” &c., which, therefore, must have been the last verse of the tenth Maṇḍala of the Saṁhitâ followed by Śāṅkhâyana. Similarly in another place in the Sûtra, the teacher's having taught to the pupil the whole of the Veda ending with śamyor Bârhaspatya is spoken of. Śamyor Bârhaspatya here means, according to Vinâyaka, the commentator on the Sûtra, the second verse, “tach chhamyor,” &c., occurring at the end of the last hymn, and not that same verse occurring in the middle. Now, on the evidence of a Kârikâ quoted in a Prayoga or manual of domestic rites noticed by Professor Weber in his first Berlin Catalogue (p. 314), it is concluded that the Bâshkala Saṁhitâ of the Rigveda ended with the verse “tach chhamyor,” &c., and since Śāṅkhâyana prescribes that verse for the last oblation, that this is the Saṁhitâ which Śāṅkhâyana followed, and that his Sûtra was written for those who accepted the Bâshkala Saṁhitâ.

To determine this point, it is necessary to trace the source of the

information contained in the Kârikâ noticed by the two scholars, and to bring together the statements of subsequent writers based on that source. The Kârikâ occurs in the work entitled Âśvalâyana Grihya Kârikâ, attributed to Kumârila. Whether this writer is the same as Kumârila the great Mimâṃsaka is a point which I, at least, do not consider to be settled. There is a copy of it in the Government Collection of 1883-84, made by me; it bears the number 509. The collection A. of 1881-82, also made by me, contains two copies of a Bhâshya on the Kârikâs, Nos. 176 and 177. No. 176 is an excellent manuscript, and contains the original as well as the commentary. The author of the latter does not give his name; and though the name Nârâyaṇa does occur in one place, still it is written in such a manner that it remains doubtful whether it is meant as the name of the commentator. In the introduction we are told, "First of all, Nârâyaṇa, the author of the Vṛitti, composed his work, as it was difficult for persons of little learning, who had simply a smattering of a part of the sacred lore, to perform the various ceremonies prescribed by Âśvalâyana with the help of the Sûtra alone. Taking that Vṛitti as a basis, and considering the views of Jayanta and others which are in conformity with the Sûtra, the author of the Kârikâ composed the Kârikâ, setting forth the procedure in order. Still, some people neglecting this Kârikâ, though of use to carry one through the rites, on account of the difficulty arising from its brevity, and regarding a Paddhati (manual) alone to be useful in this respect, perform the rites for themselves, and cause others to perform them [in accordance with it]. Therefore, on account of the impossibility of removing doubts by a mere Paddhati as to what is first and what is last, whether a thing exists or does not exist in the whole body of the rites prescribed in the Grihya Sûtra, some one, through the favour of the deity presiding over the ceremonial, having sat at the feet of a master the like of whom is not to be found, of the name of Vuppa-devabhaṭṭa, residing in the city of Kalamba, and belonging to the Âśvâlâyana school of the Rîgveda, for receiving instruction in the interpretation of the Kârikâ, is now expounding the whole Kârikâ for removing doubts concerning the body of rites that are performed, making use of what was taught to him by his master." ¹

1 तत्रादावाश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्रमात्रेणैवाल्पव्युत्तिमतामध्ययनेकदेशस्पर्शनां तदुक्ततत्तत्कर्मनिर्वाहो दुस्तर इति वृत्तिकृन्नारायणो वृत्तिमकरोत्। तामेव वृत्तिं पुरस्कृत्य सूत्रार्थानुकूलान्नयन्तादीन्विचार्य कारिकाकारः क्रमेणैवेतिकर्तव्यताकारिणीं कारिकां चकार। तथाप्यत्र केचन संचेपकादिव्यात्कर्मनिर्वाहकारिणीमपि कारिकां निवार्थ पद्धतिमेवात्रोपयोगिनीमवधार्य कर्म

From this it appears that the Kârikâ was written in accordance with Nârâyana's Vṛitti, the views of Jayanta and others being also represented; and in the work itself the Bhagavadvṛittikrit and Jayanta are frequently mentioned.¹ Now, as regards the point in question, Naidhruvi-Nârâyana's Vṛitti on Âśv. Gṛi. iii. 5. 9, is: "It is well known to students that this itself (and no other) is the Sûtra and Gṛihya of the Śâkalas traditional text and the Bâshkala text. For the Śâkalas 'samânî va âkûtiḥ' is the verse, because it is the final one of their Samhitâ; while for the Bâshkalas 'tach chhamnyor âvṛiṇi-mahe' is the one, being at the end of their Samhitâ. Construing it thus is proper."² The Kârikâ based on this Vṛitti is that noticed by Professor Weber in the first Berlin Catalogue, and runs thus:—"The last oblation (âhuti thrown into the fire) of the Śâkalas is after [the repetition of] the Rik 'samânî vaḥ,' and the last oblation of the Bâshkalas after [the repetition of] the Rik 'tach chhamnyor.'" ³ The commentary on this is:—"In the province of the Rîgveda there are five different Śâkhâs, Âśvalâyani, Śânkhâyani, the Śâkalas, Bâshkalas, and Mânḍûkas. Of these, the last oblation of the Śâkalas is by repeating 'samânî vaḥ,' and the last oblation of the Bâshkalas is by repeating 'tach chhamnyor.' Everything else is the same. This same Âśvalâyana Sûtra is of use for the performance of the rites to the followers of the Âśvalâyana Śâkhâ, and to the Śâkalas and Bâshkalas."⁴ Jayanta in the Vimalodayamâlâ thus speaks about the

कारयन्ति कुर्वन्ति च । अतः कोऽप्यत्र कर्मदेवतानुग्रहेण गृह्योक्तसकलकर्मसु
किमादौ किमन्ते किमस्ति किं वा नास्तीत्यादिरूपं संदेहं केवलं पद्धत्या दूरीकर्तुं-
मशक्यत्वात्कारिकार्थपरिज्ञानार्थमृग्वेदान्तःपातिन्यासाश्चलायनशाखायां कलं-
बपुरवासिनं लोकोत्तरं वृष्यदेवमष्टाख्यं गुरुमुपास्य तदुक्तिमेव निमित्तीकृत्य
क्रियमाणकर्मकलापसंदेहापनुत्तये तावतीमेव कारिकां विवृणोति ।

—From No. 176 of A. 1881-82.

¹ See also Dr. Bühler's Review of my Report for 1883-84. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xviii. p. 188a.

² शाकलानां समानी व इत्युचान्याज्जतिर्भवेत् । बाष्कलानां तु तच्चंयो-
रित्युचान्याज्जतिर्भवेत् । —From No. 509 of 1883-84 and 176 of A. 1881-82.

³ See p. 168, Ed. Bibl. Ind.

⁴ ऋग्वेदे पञ्च शाखाभेदाः । आश्वलायनी सांख्ययनी (शांखयनी) शा-
कला बाष्कला माण्डूकाश्चेति । तेषां मध्ये शाकलानां समानी व इत्युचान्याज्-
जतिर्भवति । बाष्कलानां तु तच्चंयोरित्युचान्याज्जतिर्भवति । इतरत्सर्वं समानम् ।
आश्वलायनशाखानुसारिणां शाकलबाष्कलानां चेदमेवाश्वलायनसूत्रं कर्मा-
नुष्ठानार्थमुपकरोति । —From No. 176 of A. 1881-82.

point:—"Since this itself (and no other) is the Sûtra of Śākala and Bâshkala, and this the Grihya of the two Saṁhitâs, those who end their Saṁhitâ by the verse, 'samânî va âkûtiḥ' throw an oblation into the fire after repeating this verse and then offer to the Svishṭakṛit; while those who read 'tach chhaṁyor âvṛiṇîmahe' at the end of their text throw an oblation on repeating that verse and then offer to the Svishṭakṛit, and not on repeating 'samânî va âkûtiḥ.' This sense is obtained from the word *ekâ*, which occurs in both the Sûtras."¹

It will thus be seen that the source of the information used by Professor Oldenberg is Naidhruvi-Nârâyana's statement in the Vṛitti; and though Jayanta's direct connection with Nârâyana's work is not mentioned, still the passage from his work is so greatly like that occurring in the Vṛitti, that there is hardly any reasonable doubt that it is based on the Vṛitti, or both derived from a common source. If, then, the Bâshkala Saṁhitâ ended with "tach chhaṁyor," &c., while the Śākala with "samânî va âkûtiḥ," the Śânkhâyana Sûtra, which prescribes "tach chhaṁyor," &c., as the verse for the last oblation in the Upâkaraṇa ceremony, must be a Sûtra of the Bâshkala Śâkhâ; and as according to Śaunaka the Saṁhitâ of this school had eight hymns more than that of the Śākalas, and the arrangement of some of the smaller books composing the first Maṇḍala was different, it follows that the statement of the commentator on the Charaṇavyûha that Śânkhâyana's Saṁhitâ differed from Âśvalâyana's, which is the same as that of the Śākalas, only in excluding viii. 58, cannot be true, and there is no Saṁhitâ exactly corresponding to the Sarvânukrama, which also excludes this hymn. At the same time, though my manuscript was in the possession of a Brahman of the Śânkhâyana school, along with other works decidedly belonging to that school, still it should be considered as not representing the Saṁhitâ of that school. But, on the other hand, it must not be forgotten that those same writers who give us the information which leads to these conclusions tell us as a fact well known to students of Âśvalâyana's Sûtra, that that was the Sûtra and Grihya of the Bâshkalas as well as of the Śākalas. The same fact is stated by Gârgya-Nârâyana in his comment on the first Śrauta Sûtra of Âśvalâyana. The expres-

¹ यतः शाकलबाष्कलयोरेतदेव सूत्रं द्वयोः संहितयोर्गृह्यं च । तत्र ये समानो व आकूतिरित्यनया संहितायाः पारं गच्छन्ति ते समानो व आकूतिरित्यन्यैव ऊत्वा स्विष्टकृतं जुह्वति । ये तच्च योरादृणीमह इति समान्नायान् पठन्ति ते तथैव ऊत्वा स्विष्टकृतं जुह्वति न समानो व आकूतिरिति । अयमर्थ उभयोरेकैकग्रहणतः ।

sion *idam eva* or *etad eva*, used by them, would show that this same and no other was, according to the commentators, the Sûtra of the Bâshkalas; and if the Śāṅkhâya Sûtra was peculiarly theirs and the Âśvalâyana that of the Śâkalas, they were not aware of the fact. Again, if, following these commentators and looking to the present condition of the text, we exclude the hymn containing "tach chham̐yor," &c., from the Śâkala Samhitâ, and hold it to have at no time formed part of it, the traditional number of Riks in it, viz., 10,580½, exceeds the real number by 15, which is exactly the number of Riks contained in that hymn. This in itself would show that the hymn formed part of that Samhitâ at some time, and if we interpret the Grihya Sûtras iii. 5. 8 and 9, independently of Naidhruvi-Nârâyana, and in accordance with Âśvalâyana's usual style, we shall find that he supports our inference. And if this inference is correct, all the difficulties pointed out above will disappear, and Śāṅkhâya's Sûtra as well as Âśvalâyana's will have to be considered as a Sûtra for both the Śâkalas and the Bâshkalas.

According to Nârâyana, Âśvalâyana uses the word *ekâ* in iii. 5. 8 to indicate that the verse "samânî va âkûtiḥ" should be used to the exclusion of "tach chham̐yor âvṛiṇîmahe," which is prescribed in the next Sûtra; and the word *ekâ* in this last Sûtra or iii. 5. 9 is used to indicate that "tach chham̐yor âvṛiṇîmahe" should be used to the exclusion of "samânî va âkûtiḥ." Thus the sense is *that or this* verse should be used, and not both, *i.e.*, *vikalpa* or option is here allowed; but it is a *vyavasthita vikalpa*, *i.e.*, one course is to be followed by one class of men and the other by another. Now, Âśvalâyana's usual way of expressing a *vikalpa* is by the use of the word *vâ*, as in i. 10. 9; i. 11. 13; i. 14. 5; i. 15. 6; i. 19. 2; i. 20. 1, &c. &c., and we find the word used even a little before in the section under consideration in the Sûtra iii. 5. 3. Different courses for two classes of persons are prescribed by naming one of the classes, as in i. 7. 9, where the Jâmadagnas are mentioned, and i. 10. 9, where we have the Pañchâvattis, or by using the word *eke*, *i.e.*, "some," as in i. 4. 2; i. 13. 6, &c. So, then, if he meant the verse mentioned in iii. 5. 8 for the Śâkalas and that in iii. 5. 9 for the Bâshkalas, we should expect him to name the first school in the first Sûtra or the second in the second. At any rate, even if this mode of expression should be considered unnecessary, the word *vâ* is quite indispensable. Again, Nârâyana interprets the word *ekâ* in these two Sûtras in quite a different manner from that in which he interprets it in iii. 5. 6. In this last Sûtra the word is used to prevent the repetition of the next verse in the *text* of the Samhitâ, while in the two, it is,

he says, used to prevent the verse in the next or the preceding *Sûtra* from being repeated in addition to the one occurring in the *Sûtra* itself. And Nârâyana himself is by no means certain about the explanation he has given; for he winds it up by saying "ity evam niveśo yuktaḥ," which means "this construction is reasonable," or rather, according to the sense of the word *niveśa* as used by the grammarians, it means, "Âśvalâyana should properly have put in words to that effect."

The true explanation of the two *Sûtras* seems to me to be this. Âśvalâyana evidently meant to prescribe the first and the last verse of each Maṇḍala. But since those for whom he wrote were supposed to know the whole Saṁhitâ by heart continuously without proper divisions, or perhaps to possess a book in which the verses were written continuously without a break, he prescribes a pair of verses in each case, the first of which is the last of the previous Maṇḍala, and the second the first of the next Maṇḍala. This mode of expression can evidently not be used in prescribing the first verse of the first Maṇḍala, or the last verse of the last Maṇḍala; hence, they must be prescribed separately and singly. But to prevent the possibility of the learner connecting the word *dvricha*, "pair of verses," with the first verse that has to be prescribed singly, and of his repeating the second verse also of the first Maṇḍala, the word *ekâ* is used in the *Sûtra*, iii. 5, 6, "Agnim îde purohitam ity ekâ." But there is no such necessity in the *Sûtra* which prescribes the last verse of the tenth Maṇḍala, for even if the word "pair" were brought over to it, it could mean nothing, as nothing follows the last verse. If, notwithstanding this, the word *ekâ* is used in that *Sûtra* also, the reason must be the same as that which holds in the case of the *Sûtra* about the first verse of the first Maṇḍala, *i.e.*, it is used to prevent the next verse from being repeated. The conclusion to be derived from this is that some verses followed the verse "samânî va âkûtiḥ" in the text as it existed in Âśvalâyana's time. And the last of these additional verses is also prescribed in iii. 5. 9 by Âśvalâyana; and there, too, he uses the word *ekâ*. What could be the meaning of the word there? No more verses can be supposed to follow the last of the additional verses. We can understand the meaning or Âśvalâyana's object in using the word only if we suppose that the additional verses which followed "samânî va âkûtiḥ" constituted such a hymn as the Saṁjñâna hymn with fifteen Ṛiks, as given by the author of the commentary on the Charaṇavyûha, the fifth of which was "tach chhamyor," &c., and the fifteenth or last also the same. If the word *ekâ* had not been used in the *Sûtra* which prescribes "tach

chham̐yor," &c., the learner, by connecting the word "pair" with it, might have used the first "tach chham̐yor," &c., *i.e.*, the fifth verse of the hymn, and along with it the sixth also, "nairhastyam," &c. But *ekā* prevents the use of this, and the result is that the last verse only of the Sam̐jñāna hymn is prescribed. But now the question arises, If another hymn followed "samānī va ākūtiḥ," why does Âśvalāyana not prescribe its last verse only, "tach chham̐yor," &c., as is done by Śāṅkhāyana, and why does he prescribe "samānī va ākūtiḥ," &c., also. The reason must, I think, be sought for in some such fact as this, that in his time the Sam̐jñāna hymn was considered a necessary appendage of the Sam̐hitā, though the text of the latter ended with "samānī va ākūtiḥ," or there was no general agreement that that hymn was not a part of the Sam̐hitā; some included it, while others did not. To meet both these views, Âśvalāyana prescribed both the verses. So that it is not *vikalpa* or option that Âśvalāyana allows; an option to be construed as resulting in one verse being prescribed for one of the two schools, and the other for the other; but twenty-one *Ṛiks* are prescribed, and twenty-one *âhutis* or oblations for the followers of the *Ṛigveda* generally. And since the scholiasts we have consulted inform us of the tradition that Âśvalāyana's *Sūtra* was intended for the Śākālas as well as the Bāshkalas, the twenty-one *Ṛiks* and *âhutis* must be understood as laid down for both.

If, for these reasons, we reject Nārāyaṇa's interpretation, and admit the supposition that Âśvalāyana prescribes the two verses either because the Sam̐jñāna hymn formed a necessary appendage of the Sam̐hitā, or its rejection was not accepted by all, Śāṅkhāyana must be understood to prescribe the last verse only of that hymn, not because he intended his *Sūtra* for the Bāshkalas only, but because he acknowledged the Sam̐jñāna hymn as decidedly the last hymn of the Sam̐hitā, and not a mere appendage; or the view of its being apocryphal was not started in his time, or he did not notice it. But that view, which is only indicated by Âśvalāyana, gained strength gradually, especially in the Śākāla school, and about the time of the *Anukramaṇis* the hymn was rejected by that school. But the Bāshkalas were more conservative, and retained it. And even the Śākālas, though the hymn was thrown out, repeat at the present day the last verse of it, "tach chham̐yor," &c., in winding up the *Sam̐dhyā Vandana* and the *Brahmayajña*. It is repeated before the verse "namo brahmaṇe," which is prescribed by Âśvalāyana in iii. 3. 4; and both are prescribed in the *Grihyapariśiṣṭa* (Ed. Bibl. Ind., p. 270, l. 8). This circumstance might not improperly be taken to point to its ancient connection with the Śākāla Sam̐hitā. By the way, it would

appear, from what I have stated, that the Anukramaṇis are chronologically subsequent to Āsvalâyana's Grihya.

And now all the difficulties which I mentioned before have been cleared. What the commentator on the Charanavyûha says as to the difference between the Samhitâs of the Āsvalâyana and the Śāṅkhâyana schools is true, as the Samhitâ of the latter is not necessarily that of the Bâshkalas. These two Śâkhâs are only two Sûtra Śâkhâs like those of Âpastamba, Hiranyakeśin, and Baudhâyana, and do not point to a difference of the Samhitâ text. If we believe the scholiasts, Āsvalâyana's Sûtra was intended both for the Śâkalas and the Bâshkalas, and we may regard Śāṅkhâyana's also as intended for both. That the Śâkhâ of Āsvalâyana is a Sûtra Śâkhâ only, and is not tied down to a particular Samhitâ, is also indicated by the present practice of Brahmans of that school, who at the end of their Saṁdhyâ adorations have to describe themselves individually as Rîgvedântargatâsvalâyana-Śâkala-śâkhâdhyâyin. The name of Śâkala is added to show what Samhitâ it is that he studies, as the name Āsvalâyana by itself does not do so. The Bâshkala Śâkhâ seems to be extinct now; for the author of the commentary on the Charanavyûha, after giving its peculiarities on the authority of a Vṛitti on the Anukramaṇi, says "evam adhyayanâbhâvâch chhâkhâbhâvaḥ," "such a text is not studied, therefore the Śâkhâ does not exist." The only Samhitâ, therefore, to which both Āsvalâyana and Śāṅkhâyana now refer is that of the Śâkala school. And the text used by the two Sûtra schools differs only in the omission of Rv. viii. 58, by the followers of Śāṅkhâyana. But in this respect they agree with the Sarvânukrama; and it is the Āsvalâyanas who have admitted that hymn into their text, or allowed it to remain there in opposition to that work. My manuscript, also found with a Brahman of the Śāṅkhâyana school, really represents the text of his school, and of no other; and the traditional number of Rîks in the Śâkala Samhitâ, 10,580 $\frac{1}{4}$, is now justified, since at one time the Samjñâna hymn formed a part of that Samhitâ.

It may be remarked in conclusion that the Sûtras of Āsvalâyana and Śāṅkhâyana about the Upâkaraṇa ceremony which we have been discussing are adduced by the commentator on the Charanavyûha as authorities for including that hymn in the text of the Samhitâ. One can understand how in his eyes the Sûtra of the latter is an authority, believing as he did that the Samhitâ of Śāṅkhâyana was the same as that of the Śâkala school. And probably he attaches the same significance to Āsvalâyana's prescribing the use of "tach chhamyor" as to Śāṅkhâyana's; but he has not explained why it is

that the former prescribes the last verse of x. 191, "samâni vah," &c., also. He, of course, does not adopt Nârâyana's interpretation. According to the commentator, the Samhitâ of all the Rîgveda schools is the same; which is true, as we have seen, in the case of the four that are extant. The fifth, the Mânḍûkî, has not yet been traced.

There are two copies recently transcribed of the commentary on the Charaṇavyûha in the Deccan College Collections, No. 19 of 1871-72, and No. 5 of 1873-74. Neither of them contains the name of the author. But the work has been lithographed at Benares, and also printed in the Benares Sanskrit series as an appendix of the edition of the Prâtisâkhya of the White Yajurveda. In both, the name of the commentator is given as Mahidâsa, who wrote the work in the year (expired) tridaśāṅgadharâmite, which in the edition in the Benares Sanskrit series is given as equivalent to 1613, but which really means 1633, *tridaśa*, meaning "gods," denotes 33, the traditional number of the gods. This Mahidâsa or Mahîdâsa is probably the same as the author of the commentary on the Lîlâvatî, written in 1644, and noticed in my Report for 1883-84 under No. 205 (pp. 82 and 368). The dates refer to the Samvat, *i.e.*, the era of Vikrama, and thus correspond to 1577 and 1588 A.D.

IV.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

BY

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I.

A BUDDHIST JĀTAKA STORY IN PATAÑJALI.

THE Ādichchupatṭhānājātaka, No. 175 of Fausböll's edition (vol. ii. p. 72), is to the following effect :—In former times, while Brahmadata was reigning at Benares, the Bodhisatto was born in the family of a Brahman, and, after finishing his education at Takkhasilā, became an Isi-hermit (Rishi), and lived on the slopes of the Himālaya together with a crowd of followers or disciples. After having spent a long time there, he came down from the heights and lived together with his followers in a hut made of leaves in the confines of a village in the vicinity. When the hermits went into the village for alms, a monkey used to get into the hut of leaves, spill the water, break the pots, and clear his bowels in the fire-sanctuary. After the hermits had lived for a year in the village, they made up their minds to return to the slopes of the Himālaya, as the heights had, at that time, become charming by means of flowers and fruits; and begged leave of the villagers. The villagers expressed their intention to give a feast to the hermits at their hut before their departure and the next day brought a great many nice eatables to the hermitage. The monkey, thinking of inducing the villagers to feed him also, assumed the appearance of one practising religious austerities and of a pious being, and stood adoring the sun. The villagers seeing him in that attitude, and observing that those who lived in the vicinity of good men became good themselves, said—

सम्बेसु किर भूतेसु सन्ति सीलसमाहिता ।

पसु साखामिगं जम्भं आदिच्चसुपतिट्ठति ॥ इति ।

“Among beings of all species, there are (some) who are ennobled by their virtue; see, a vile monkey adores the sun.”

The Bodhisatto, finding that the men were praising the monkey in this manner, and observing that they were pleased with an undeserving creature, said—

नास्स सीलं विजानाथ अनङ्गाय पसंसय ।

अग्निउत्तश्च ऊहति तेन भिन्ना कमण्डलू ॥ ति ।

“You do not know his conduct; you praise him without knowing; he cleared his bowels in the fire-sanctuary and broke pots.”

Thereupon, knowing the hypocrisy of the monkey, they struck him with sticks and fed the hermits.

Under Pāṇ. i. 3. 25, Patañjali gives as an instance of the first Vārttika, आदित्यसुपतिष्ठते, “he adores the sun,” and quotes the following verses:—

बहूनामप्यचित्तानामेको भवति चित्तवान् ।

पश्य वानरसैन्ये स्निग्न्यदर्कसुपतिष्ठते ॥

सैव संस्थाः सचित्तो ऽयमेवो ऽपि हि यथा वयम् ॥

एतदप्यस्य कापेयं यदर्कसुपतिष्ठति ॥

“Among many unintelligent beings there is [possibly one] who is intelligent, seeing that in this crowd (army) of monkeys one adores the sun.

“Do not think he is intelligent and is as we are; even this is his monkeyism, that he adores (apes the adoration of) the sun.”

Here the story is not given; but there can be no question that whatever it may have been, a monkey is seen putting himself into an attitude of adoring the sun, and in this respect it resembles the Buddhist Jātaka. In both the two verses are spoken by two different persons. The speaker of the first verse supposes that the attitude the monkey assumes is out of real devotion for the sun, wherein we have another point of resemblance. But in the Mahābhāṣya the adoration is regarded as indicating such an intelligence in a monkey as men possess; while in the Jātaka story it is attributed to piety. The same word, *sthā* with *upa*, is used in both; but the verse in Patañjali being in Sanskrit, where the distinction between the *Ātmamepada* and the *Parasmaipada* is to be carefully observed, the *Ātmamepada* is used, as real adoration of the sun is meant; in the Pāli the distinction between the voices is lost. The impression of

the first speaker is corrected in both by the second, wherein we have a fifth point of agreement. But intelligence is denied by the second speaker in the one case, and piety in the other, which difference depends upon the original difference pointed out above. In the Mahâbhâshya story, a crowd of monkeys is seen before him by the first speaker; while in the Jâtaka there is only one monkey. In the second verse in Patañjali the Parasmaipada is used, as reality is denied to the adoration, and it is in consequence no adoration. Whatever, therefore, may have been the story from which these two verses have been extracted in the Mahâbhâshya, the resemblance between it and the Jâtaka story is so great as to warrant us in attributing a common origin to them, and regarding them as different versions of the same story, though we have no grounds for holding them as identical.

II.

DATES OF THE VEDÂNTA-KALPATARU, VÂCHASPATI, UDAYANA, AND RÂMÂNANDA.

In noticing the Vedânta-kalpataru of Amalânanda, Dr. Hall, in his "Index to the Bibliography of the Indian Philosophical Systems," says:—"It was written in the days of one Râjâ Kṛishṇa, who had a brother Mahâdeva."

A more definite statement was not possible at the time when Dr. Hall wrote. But since that time we have made greater progress in the knowledge of Indian antiquities, and can now with ease determine who this Râjâ Kṛishṇa was who had a brother of the name of Mahâdeva. The verse occurring in the Kalpataru is as follows:—

कीर्त्या यादववंशमुन्नमयति श्रीजैत्रदेवात्मजे
 कृष्णे क्षामृति भूतलं सह महादेवेन संविभ्रति
 भोगीन्द्रे परिसुचति क्षितिभरप्रोद्धतदीर्घश्रमं
 वेदान्तोपवनस्य मण्डनकरं प्रसोमि कल्पद्रुमम् ॥

"I begin the Kalpadruma (wish-fulfilling tree), calculated to adorn the garden of Vedânta, while the king Kṛishṇa, the son of Jaitra, is protecting the earth in a manner to exalt the Yâdava race by his fame, along with his brother Mahâdeva; and the lord of the serpents is resting himself after the long-continued exertion consequent upon [bearing] the burden of the earth."

These princes, Kṛishṇa and Mahâdeva, who were sons of Jaitra, and belonged to the Yâdava race, were the princes of those names of the Yâdava dynasty of Devagiri. The introduction to Hemâdri's Vedânta-khaṇḍa and the inscriptions speak of them as the sons of Jaitrapâla, and we are told that they succeeded their grandfather Siṅghaṇa. During Kṛishṇa's lifetime Mahâdeva only assisted him in the government, and became sole king himself after Kṛishṇa's death. Kṛishṇa reigned from 1247 A.D. to 1260 A.D.¹ The Kalpataru was therefore written in the interval between these two dates, *i.e.*, about the middle of the thirteenth century. Vâchaspatimiśra, on whose work, the Bhâmatî, the Kalpataru is a commentary, lived sufficiently long before this date to acquire reputation as an important author.

Another latest limit to Vâchaspati's date is Śaka 1174 or 1252 A.D., in which year a commentary on Bhâsarvajña's Nyâyasâra was written by Râghavabhaṭṭa, who mentions or quotes from Vâchaspati and Udayana.² Dr. Hall gives the time of Bhoja of Dhârâ as the earliest limit; for Vâchaspati, he says, quotes Bhoja.³ Unfortunately he has not stated where Bhoja is quoted by him; but if it is the passage from the Râjavârttika quoted at the end of the Sâmkhya-tattva-kaumudî that he means, the Râjavârttika has not yet been discovered, and we do not know for certain who its author is. The statement made by Dr. Hall that it was composed by Bhoja is based simply on the information given by Kâśinâth Śâstri Aṣṭaputtre, which is more than questionable.⁴

But if the supposition that the Râjavârttika was written by Bhoja is correct, the earliest limit for Vâchaspati's date is the period between 996 A.D. and 1051 A.D. Vâchaspati thus flourished between about 1050 and 1250 A.D. But in this period we have also to place Udayana and assign to him a date later than Vâchaspati, for Udayana has commented on the Vârttikatâtparyatîkā of Vâchaspati. Another earliest limit to the date of Udayana is Śaka 913 or 991 A.D., in which year Śrîdhara's Kandali was written. In his commentary on Udayana's Kiraṇâvalî, Vardhamâna, the son of Gaṅgeśa, says in his explanation of one passage, that therein Udayana sets forth the view of the Kandali.

The Kalpataru is mentioned by Râmânanda in his comment on Śaṅkarâchârya's Bhâshya on the Vedânta Sûtra, i. 4. 11.⁵ He states

¹ See my Early History of the Deccan, p. 86.

² Dr. Hall's Bibliography, p. 26.

³ Sâmkhyasâra, Intr., p. 40, note.

⁴ Ibid., p. 49, note.

⁵ Ed. Bibl. Ind., vol. i. p. 363.

that the explanation given by the author of the *Prakaṭārtha* about the accent in the word *pañchajana* has been refuted by the author of the *Kalpataru*. Thus we have the author of the *Prakaṭārtha* first, then *Amalânanda*, the author of the *Vedânta-kalpataru*, about 1250 A.D.; and after him *Râmânanda*, the author of the *Ratnaprabhâ*, published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*.

III.

THE LATEST LIMIT OF THE DATE OF THE ORIGIN OF THE CONCEPTION OF THE TEN AVATARAS OF VISHNU AND OF THE WIDOW MARRIAGE TEXT.

A manuscript of a work entitled *Dharmaparikshâ*, by *Amitagati*, a *Digambara* Jaina, and the author of the *Subhâshitaratnasamdoha*, which was written in *Vikramasamvat* 1050, in the reign of *Muñja* of *Dhârâ*, has recently fallen into my hands. It was composed in 1070 *Vikrama*, as we are told in the following verse:—

संवत्सराणां गि(वि?)गते सहस्रे ससप्ततौ विक्रमपार्थिवस्य ।
इदं निषे(षि)द्धान्यमतं समाप्तं जिनेन्द्रधर्माभित्युक्तशास्त्रम् ॥

“When a thousand and seventy years of King *Vikrama* had elapsed, this *Śâstra*, full of the incomparable nature of the religion of the *Jinendra*, in which other creeds have been condemned, was finished.”

Amitagati makes use of a story to convey his precepts, in the course of which the god *Vishnu*, and the several acts unworthy of him as the Supreme Being which he did while he lived in the world as *Râma* and *Kṛishṇa*, are spoken of. In connection with this I find the following verse:—

मोनः कूर्मः पृथुः प्रोक्तो नारसिंहोऽथ वामनः ।
रामो रामश्च रामश्च बुद्धः कल्की दश स्मृताः ॥

“A Fish, a Tortoise, a Boar, a Man-lion, *Vâmana* (dwarf), *Râma*, *Râma*, and *Râma*, *Buddha* and *Kalkin*,—these are known as ten [forms of *Vishnu*].”

There is a marginal note on *पृथु* in which the word is explained as meaning *सूकर* or “boar.” The three *Râmas* are of course *Paraśurâma*, *Râma* the son of *Daśaratha*, and *Balarâma* or *Kṛishṇa*. The last is spoken of independently in several places as an incarnation of *Vishnu*.

In another place, when the divine character of Vishṇu is called in question, we have—

स मत्स्यः कच्छपः कम्पात्सुकरो नरकेसरी ।

वामनोऽभूत्त्रिधा रामः परः प्राणीव दुःखितः ॥

“Why did he, like an ordinary miserable living being, become a Fish, a Tortoise, a Boar, a Man-lion, Vâmana (dwarf), and Râma thrice?”

Here we see that the idea of the ten incarnations of Vishnu had become quite an ordinary article of belief in 1070 Vikrama or 1014 A.D., and Buddha had been received into the popular Brahmanic pantheon. In the latter verse the two last incarnations have been omitted, probably because the object was to represent the births of Vishṇu in previous ages of the world; while the ninth belongs to the present, and the tenth to a future age.

A little farther on, a story is told of a recluse of the name of Maṇḍapakaśika. On one occasion he sat down to dinner along with other recluses. Seeing him sitting in their company, the other recluses rose up, afraid to touch him, as if he were a Châṇḍâla. Maṇḍapakaśika asked them why they rose up as they should at the sight of a dog. They told him that he had become a recluse immediately after he had been a Brahmachârin, and without going through the intermediate order by marrying a wife and seeing the face of sin. A man without sin does not go to heaven; nor are religious mortifications successful if gone through by one in that condition. He then went away and asked men of his caste to give him a girl in marriage; but as he had become an old man, nobody would give his daughter to him. Thereupon he went back to the recluses and told them of this, when they advised him to marry a widow and assume the life of a householder. By doing so, no sin was incurred by either party, as stated in the scriptures of the recluses (tâpasâgame). For they said—

पत्य(त्यौ) प्रव्रजिते क्लीबे प्रनष्टे पतिते मृते ।

पञ्चस्त्रिंशत्पु नारीणां पतिरन्यो विधीयते ॥

“In these five distressful conditions, viz., when the husband has renounced the world, is an eunuch, is not found, has fallen away from caste, or is dead, another husband is allowed to women.”

The text on the subject occurring in the Smṛitis of Parâsâra and Nârada, and also in that of Manu, according to a statement of

Mâdhava contained in his commentary on Parâśara, though not found there now, is as follows:—

नष्टे मृते प्रव्रजिते क्लीबे च पतिते पतौ ।

पद्यस्त्रापत्सु नारीणां पतिरन्यो विधीयते ॥

The difference, we see, is little; the words are merely transposed in the first line, and we have प्रनष्टे for नष्टे. This transposition, however, allows of the proper locative पत्यौ of पति being used without the violation of the metre. It will thus appear that the text was known in 1014 A.D., and widow marriage was not a thing quite unheard of at that time.

V.

THE EPOCH OF THE KALACHURI ERA.

BY

PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN.

THE difficulties of finding the European equivalent of a Hindu date are of two kinds: they are partly caused by the nature of the Hindu calendar, partly by the fact that the Hindus have not one national era, but have employed, at different times, at least a dozen different eras, with varying epochs, and various commencements of the year. The first of these difficulties has been removed by the Tables of Professor Jacobi, which enable us to construct, without any great labour, a calendar for every year of the standard era of the Kaliyuga, and to determine the European equivalent of every day of such a year. For fixing the epochs of the different eras also much has been done; but much remains to be done. The equations for converting the years of the Vikrama and Śaka eras into years of the Kaliyuga have been known for a long time. The European equivalents of the dates of the Gupta-Valabhi era have been found by Dr. Fleet and Mr. Dīkshīt. On the epochs of the Newar and Lakshmanasena eras I have written myself. At present, I wish to show what conclusions I have arrived at in regard to the Kalachuri era, and the nature of the years of this era.

The dates which may with certainty be referred to the Kalachuri era are all from inscriptions in Central India, and fall between the Kalachuri years 724 and 958. Twelve of them contain sufficient data for verification. When last I wrote on the subject, I was able to give the European equivalents of these twelve dates, and was of opinion that the era commenced on the 28th July, A.D. 249, and the Kalachuri year with the month Bhādrapada, and that, with one exception, the years of the dates were *current* years. The objection to this is that, as I have ascertained by an examination of nearly all the dates of the published inscriptions, it has always been the prevailing custom of the Hindus to quote in their dates *expired*

years. Besides, I have recently found that as late as the end of last century the lunar year, in the very part of India which was once subject to the Cedi kings, commenced, not with Bhâdrapada, but with Âśvina. And with these two facts to guide me, I have now arrived at the conclusion that the Kalachuri era commenced on the 5th September, A.D. 248; that the year began with the month Âśvina; and that the years of all the twelve dates are *expired* years. A similar conclusion is forced on us in regard to the Gupta era, the true epoch of which I believe to be A.D. 318-319, not 319-320.

NOTE ON COLEBROOKE'S MSS. IN THE
GÖTTINGEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

BY PROFESSOR KIELHORN.

THESE MSS., nine large folio volumes, were presented by Colebrook to F. A. Rosen, in acknowledgment of the services rendered by Rosen in putting together and seeing through the press Colebrooke's *Essays*; and they were given to the Göttingen Library by Rosen's father in 1852. Six volumes contain Sanskrit lexicographical works, three refer to Pāṇini's Grammar; and their chief value lies in this, that on nearly every page they contain notes in Colebrooke's handwriting, or even complete translations of the original texts. As regards the Grammatical MSS., it is of special interest to see from various notes in these volumes how well Colebrooke, about a hundred years ago, had understood the mutual relations of the three great Hindu grammarians, and how far, in this respect, he was in advance of other distinguished scholars who came long after him. In translating the rules of Pāṇini's Grammar, Colebrooke has strictly followed the Hindu commentators, and this undoubtedly was the proper course to follow. At present it may be doubted whether even the earliest commentators, in every instance, have rightly understood Pāṇini's text; and in this respect arguments may be adduced to prove that Pāṇini is separated from Kātyāyana and Patañjali by a much greater interval of time than is commonly assumed.

VI.

THE MĀDHAVĀNĀLA-KATHĀ.

PUBLISHED FROM THREE LONDON AND
THREE FLORENTINE MSS.,
WITH A TRANSLATION OF THE PRĀKRIT PASSAGES.

BY

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Çrīganeçāya namaḥ

praṇamya parayā bhaktyā (= Ve. 26, 41).

asti saṃsārabhūtalālankārabhūtā (om. B.) Puṣpavatī nāma nagarī,
yatra

nirāmayā nirātankāḥ saṃtuṣṭāḥ paramāyusaḥ

vasanti yatra sudhiyaḥ (muditāḥ C.) kālājñātā iva prajāḥ.—1.

tatra rājā Govindacando (°dro C.) nāma : tasya rājñīnām sapta çatāni :
tāsām madhye mahādevī (Rudrā mahā° nāmni paṭṭarājñī B.C.) padmi-
nījātiḥ Padmavatī nāma vartate. 'nyāç : citriṇī, çankhinī, hastinī,
jātayaḥ (om. C.). tathā hi strīṇām catasro jātayaḥ ; tad uktaṃ :

padminī citriṇī caiva çankhinī hastinī tathā

pratyekaṃ tu varastrīṇām uktaṃ jāticatuṣṭayaṃ.—2.

āsām pratyekaṃ lakṣaṇam āha ; padminī yathā

sampūrṇêndumukhī (cfr. Ra. 4).—3.

citriṇī yathā

çyāmā padmamukhī (cfr. Ra. 5).—4.

çankhinī yathā

tanvangī kuṭilêkṣaṇā (cfr. Ra. 6).—5.

hastinī yathā

pīnasvalpatanur (cfr. Ra. 7).—6.

tāsām api (madhye C.) :

bālā [ca] taruṇī, prauḍhā, vṛddhā, bhedaṃ catuṣṭayaṃ.—7.

tāsām lakṣaṇaṃ :

bālā ṣoḍaçaḥāyanī (cfr. Ra. 11, Ve. p. 183).—8-9.

(sa rājā sarvanāyikālakṣaṇajnaḥ. C.) tasya rājno gr̥he Mādhavānalo nāma (puṣpabaṭuko B.) vipro 'sti, puṣpanayamālyaracanādikaṃ karoti (om. B.); sa ca rūpeṇa Makaradhvajāḥ, cāstreṇa Br̥haspatiḥ. tasya rūpeṇa sarvā nāgarikāḥ striyo mohitāḥ, kāmārtā jātāḥ; yataḥ

su (sva C.) rūpaṃ puruṣaṃ (S. 7128).—10.

ekadā nagaravāsibhir lokaiḥ sambhūya rājno 'gre niveditaṃ: bho rājan, Mādhavasya rūpeṇa sarvā nāgarikāḥ striyo mohitāḥ. ato vayaṃ sarve, Puṣpavatīṃ parityajya, anyanagaraṃ gacchāmo, Mādhavo vān-yatra gacchatu. tato rājnā manasi cintitaṃ:

bahubhir na viroddhavyaṃ durjanair vāpi sajjanaiḥ
(durjāyo hi mahājanaḥ F.) (S. 4418).—11.

iti manasi cintayitvā, sabhāmadhye Mādhavam āhūya, kathitaṃ: he Mādhava, svaguṇān mamāgre prakāṣaya! tato Mādhavena cintitaṃ: rājā idr̥ṣaṃ vaidarbha (vitarka B.C. f.) vākyam kadāpi na vadati: tasmāt kaṣcid api piṣunapraveṣo jātāḥ. yataḥ

paravāde ṣataবাদanaḥ . . . piṣunaḥ (Su. 389).—12.

aparaṃ ca

khalāḥ sarṣapamātrāṇi (S. 2045).—13.

api ca gāhā

tan natthi gharaṃ, tan natthi rūlaṃ (rāuraṃ M.S.), paṭṭanaṃ
api [ya] natthi,
jattha aāraṇakuvīā do tinni khalā na dīsaṃti.—14.

kimca

ākopito (B ākroṣito, F āroṣito) 'pi sujano na vadaty avācyam: niḥpīḍito madhuraṃ udgiratikṣudaṇḍaḥ:

nīco jano guṇaṣṭatāir api sevyamāno (pūjyamāno F.)

hāsyena (ṣamena B.) tad vadati yat kalahe 'py avācyam.—15.

(yad vadati tat kalahena tulyam f.).

manasi cintayitvā "rājno vacanaṃ ṣubhaṃ vāpy aṣubhaṃ vā mayā kartavyam," (yataḥ: ājnābhango . . . = 21 B.), rājno 'gre hastābhyāṃ vīṇāṃ gr̥hītvā, mandramadhyatāra (cfr. Aufrecht, *Oxf. MSS.*, 200 b. 3) tristhānakasvareṇa rāgo vṛttaḥ. tatas tasya rāgeṇa sarvā sabhā mohitā. uktaṃ ca

sukhini (°naḥ B.) sukhanivāso (°nidhānaṃ. C.F. f.) duḥkhi-
tānāṃ vinodaḥ,

gravaṇahr̥dayahārī Manmathasyâgradūtaḥ,
aticaturasugamyo (ratirabhasavidhātā C.) vallabhaḥ kāmīnīnāṃ,
jayatu jagati nādaḥ pancamaṣ cōpavedaḥ.—16

harati hariṇacittaṃ, kā kathā cetanānām!

ramayati ca Mahêṣaṃ, ko Balāko mahīṣaḥ:

vitarati khalu muktim, kaḥ prayāso 'rthasiddher!
ahaha jagadabhīṣṭaḥ kasya sevyo na nādaḥ?—17.

açmatarād (?) api gahanam vidvān saṃsārasāgaram tarati,
himakaramaulir agādhe majjati nāmbudhau (?): sudhīro'pi.—18.

tato rājnā vicintitaḥ :

atirūpahṛtā Sītā (S. 149).—19.

iti rājnā vimrṣya Mādhavāya triparnaviṭikāṃ dattvā, kathitaḥ : bho
Mādhavānala, tvayā mama nagare na sthātavyam. Mādhavenōktaḥ :
devādeçaḥ pramāṇam.

mātā yadi viṣam (S. 4798).—20.

ājnābhango (S. 878).—21.

maryādānilayo mahodadhir, ayaṃ ratnākaro niçcitaḥ :
sarvāçaparipūrako 'nugamitaḥ saṃpattihetor mayā ;
çambūko 'pi na labhyate kim aparaṃ ratnam mahārghyam yadi,
doṣo 'yam na mahōdadheḥ punar idam janmāntariyam phalam.

—22.

kim ca

uttamāt paribhavaḥ çreyān, na nīcān māna uttamaḥ
Kaṃsārīpadaghātena Kālīyamūrdhni bhūṣaṇam.—23.

iti cintayitvā videçaṃ pracalitaḥ. *gāhā :*

dissai vivihacarittaṃ (vivihācariyam M.S.), jānījīai suaṇa-dujjana-
viseso,

appānaṃ ca kalījīai, hiṇḍījīai tena puhavīe.—24.

tato grhād viniṣṛtya, vanād vanam grāmād grāmaṃ nirgataḥ,
krameṇa Kāmāvatim nāma nagarīm yayau. tatra

sasyapūrṇā (susasyā sarvatra C.) mahī sarvā (kāle C.), kāle
varṣati Vāsavaḥ (vāridaḥ C.)

dharmakarmarato lokas tatra dharmaikasadmani.—25.

tatra Kāmaseno nāma rājā mahān. tasya Kāmakandalā nāma nartakī
ekā (pātram B.F.) vartate: rūpeṇa Ratīva (*sic*)

çyāmaṃ (nīlam C. çuci B.F.) netradvayam yasyā . . .
kapolau darpaṇôpamau (Ve. 43, 30).—26.

nāsikā çikharais vidrumôpamito 'dharah (ibid.)—27.

mayūrasya (ibid.)—28.

svalpako madhyadeçaḥ ca (ibid.)—29.

rambhôpame ca janghe ca (rurūjanghe C.), mrñālasadrçau
bhujau (bhujē kamaladaṇḍake C.).

nakhāmçvabhiçritaṃ ramyam nūpuraṃ pādayoh çubham.—30.

(tārūṇyadrumamanjarī kim athavā kandarapasamjivini,
kim lāvaṇyanidhānamūrtir athavā sampūrṇacandrāvalī,
kim nārī hy atha kimnārī kim amarī vidyādhārī vātha kim,
kēyaṁ kena kiyad-vareṇa kiyatā kasmin katham nirmītā ?f.).

—31.

(ity ādi Kāmakandalā rūpavarṇanam add. B.C.).

ekadā sā Kāmakandalā candanamayīm kapaṭakaculikām (kaṁcukīm C.F.) kṛtvā (vidhāya F.) rājno 'gre nanarta. tatsamaye Mādhavānalo rājadvāraṁ samprāptaḥ; mṛdanganinādam ākarṇya, pratihārāya kathitavān : bho pratihāra ! atra sabhāyām sarve mūrkhā eva santi. tac chrutvā pratihāreṇa tathaiva rājne niveditaṁ : bho mahārāja ! ko' pi brāhmaṇaḥ kuto 'py āgatya vadati "atra (saṁsadi B.) sarve mūrkhā eva santīti." rājā prāha : he pratihāra, kaḥ ? taṁ pṛccha, kena kāraṇena sabhā mūrkhēti. tataḥ pratihāreṇāgatya tad eva Mādhavaḥ pṛṣṭaḥ. Mādhavenōktaṁ : bho dvārika, ṇṇu ! atra dvādaçānām taurya-trikānām puruṣānām (dvādaçatūryānām C.) madhye yaḥ pūrvo 'bhimukho mṛdangaṁ (paṇavaṁ C.) vādayati, tasyānguṣṭho (dakṣiṇe kare hy angu° B.F.) nāsti : tatas tālas (çabdas B.) truṭati : tena nṛtyam aḥuddhaṁ bhavati (om. C.) : ataḥ sabhā mūrkhā. tato dvārikenāgatya rājne niveditaṁ. rājnā tat sarvaṁ juātvā pratihārāya kathitaṁ : taṁ vipraṁ çīghraṁ ānayēti. tatas tena praveçito Mādhavānalo rājne çubhāçīrvādaṁ karoti :

yenākraṇtaṁ tribhuvanaṁ Mandarādrir

satyaṁ satyaṁ pātu vo Vāsudevaḥ (Padmanābhaḥ B.)

(Ve. 36, 20).—32.

iti rājne āçīrvādaṁ dattvā sthitaḥ (om. B.) rājnā ca tasmai tuṣṭena pancakhaṇḍavastrāṅgālankaraṇam (pañcāṅgaprasādo F.) dattam : atha rājnādiṣṭāsane Mādhava upaviṣṭaḥ. tatas taṁ tasya rājasam-mānaṁ dṛṣṭvā, Kāmakandalā susvarālapaṁ çlokaṣaptakaṁ kathayati (om. C.) :

guṇaḥ sarvatra (S. 2143, 2144, 2149, 2142, 2161, 4656, 2128).—

33-39.

tato manasā cintitaṁ : ayaṁ ko 'pi mahāpuruṣaḥ sarvakalākuçalo Bharatādiçāstravettā samāgataḥ : adya me sarvāḥ kalāḥ saphalā bhaviṣyanti. yataḥ *dohā* :

bhamaro jāṇai rasavirasaṁ jo cumbai navaçāi,

ghuṇao kiṁ jāṇai bappuḍā ? sukkhaṁ vakkala khāi.—40.

yan mayā rājno 'gre nṛtyam kṛtaṁ, tat sarvaṁ vṛthā : yataḥ *gāhā*

appatthāve bhaṇiaṁ, arasiaaggehi gāyiaṁ gāṇa,

"mā mā ! . ." *bhaniyaṁ suraye, tinni vi loe ṇa akkhanti.*—41.

aparam ca

subhāṣitena gītena nṛtyena ca viṣeṣataḥ (S. 7116).—42.

tato rājnaḥ pārṇve Mādhavānala upaviṣṭe sati, Kāmakandalayā savi-
ṣeṣaṃ nṛtyaṃ prārebhe: sarvāḥ kalāḥ prakāṣitāḥ; mastake nīrapūri-
taṃ kalaṣaṃ samsthāpya, hastābhyāṃ guṭikācālanam karoti (cakram
cālayati Bg.) pādena satālam nṛtyati (mastake—nṛtyati om. B. pādena
pādanyāsaṃ karoti, hastena hastanyāsaṃ karoti, mukhena gānam karoti,
netreṇa kaṭākṣaṃ karoti F.). Tatsamayā 'kasmāt bhramareṇāgatya
Kāmakandalāyāḥ stane malayajasaurabhalobhenāgatya daṃṣaḥ kṛtas-
tena: tasyā vedanā jātā; tatas (*sic*) “yadi pādaceṣṭayā bhramaram
nivārayāmi, tadā nṛtyabhango bhavati: yadi hastena nivārayāmi,
guṭikācālanam na bhavati: gīṛaṣcālanena, nīram patati” ti cintayitvā,
pavanam ākr̥ṣya, nāsāpuṭenadīrghaṣvāsaṃ tyaktvā, bhramaro nivāritaḥ.
ekena tasyās tālarakṣāyutam mahat karma Mādhavena jñātaṃ, anye
ke 'pi na jñanti. tato Mādhavena rājādīnāṃ mukham avalokya (ko
'pi kimcid dadāti: na rājñāpi kim api dattam. add. B.), bhūpadattam
alamkaraṇaṃ (pañcāṅgaprasādo F.) tasyai ucitadānam dattam. tataḥ
Kāmakandalayā dvikareṇa nītvā (grhītvā, mastake samāropya F.)
kathitaṃ: bho nikhilavidyāpārāga! bhavatā samaḥ ko 'pi kalābhijño
nāsti. kim ca

dānena pāṇir, na tu kankaṇena (S. 6586).—43.

api ca gāhā

*meghassa jalaṃ, candassa candiā, dinaarassa karaḍālaṃ,
sappurisānaṃ hattho uāro savvaloassa.*—44.

tato rājā taddānam dṛṣṭvā īrṣyāvān babhūva; Mādhavāya krodhasa-
hitaṃ vākyam jagāda: bho brāhmaṇa, bhikṣuka, tvayā me (*sic*) dattaḥ
aṣṭāṅgālamkāraḥ kena kāraṇena tasyai dattaḥ? Mādhavānalenōktaṃ:
bho mahārāja, ṣṛṇu:

kim gītaṃ kaṇṭhahīnasya? kim kulam ṣīlavarjitaṃ?

kim jñānam guṇam ajnātvā? kim dhanam dānavarjitaṃ?—45.

(na gītena vinā Viṣṇur, na gītena vinā Ṣivaḥ

na gītena vinā Brahmā: tasmād gītamayaṃ [gītātmakaṃ f.]
jagat F.)—45 bis.

saṃgītasāhityarasānabhiḥ saṅkṣāt paṇḍitāḥ pucchaviṣṇāḥ
bubhukṣito gaus tṛṇam atti nāyaṃ bhunakti bhāgyena tṛṇāni
mūḍhaḥ (S. 7037).—46.

yan na gītarasair bhinnam, yan na saṃskṛtavākpaṭu

yan na kāntāmukhādhiṣṭhaṃ, tan mukhaṃ vivaram viduḥ.—47.

gāhā

*hariṇā jñanti guṇān, vane vasāu[na] (vasiṇa Bg.) gīyamā-
hammyaṇi*

tāṇaṃ (MS. *tono*) *vi a natthi dhanam jivam vāhassa ap-*
panti.—48.

vāhassa gāmāne iminā harineṇa jī[vi]aṃ dattaṃ
dhanno kuranganāho Balikaṇṇo jīṇṇiyo jeṇa.—49.

tato rājuṇā krodhāviṣṭena (sabhāṃ visrjya B.) kathitaṃ : he bhikṣuka
(adya B.) tvadīyaṃ ṣiraḥ khaḍgena vidārayāmi! kiṃ tu (paraṃ kiṃ
karomi B.) brāhmaṇo 'vadhyaḥ. uktaṃ ca

ghnanti ye vai narā viprān (cfr. S. 662).—50.

kiṃ tu tvayā mama nagare na sthātavyaṃ! tato Mādhavena cintitaṃ :
kāke caucaṃ (S. 1618).—51.

iti cintayitvā kathitaṃ : devādeṣaḥ karaṇīyaḥ. punaḥ cintitaṃ : dhig
māṃ (pāṇḍityaṃ B.), mandabhāgyo 'haṃ yato 'haṃ daivena idṛṣa-
sthānāu nissāritaḥ! paraṃ tu svavacanam sarvathaiva paripālaniyaṃ.
yataḥ

udayati yadi sūryaḥ (S. 1232).—52.

aparaṃ ca

pattraṃ naiva yadā (S. 3895).—53.

na sa prakāraḥ (S. 3480).—54.

kiṃ karoti naraḥ (S. 1729).—55.

ksīranidhāv upajātas tribhuvananāthena vanditaḥ ṣirasā
tad api ṣacāṅkaḥ kṣīṇaḥ! ṣiva ṣiva bhavitavyatā viśamā.—56.
jātaḥ sūryakule (S. 2384).—57.

iti vilapya Mādhavānalo 'tiduḥkhapīḍitaḥ san, rājno 'pamānabhayāt
tatrasthānāt pracalitaḥ. yataḥ *gāhā* :

jananīṇi, janayaṃ, bhakkhaṃ, bandhuṃ, gehaṃ, dhanam ca
sokkha[ṃ ca]

avamānahiā purisā saccaṃ (vittaṃ C.) dūreṇa cajjanti.—58.

kiṃca

avivekini bhūpale (S. 693).—59.

tato rājagrḥād gacchan, Kāmakandalāgrhaṃ prāptaḥ : sā ca prema-
pūrvakaṃ vākyam ūce : he kānta, he kamalapattrākṣa, he Makara-
dhvajasundara! mamôpari prasādaṃ (krpāṃ B.) kuru, madīyaṃ
grhaṃ āgaccha! ity uktvā kare grhītvā sa tayā svagrhaṃ nītaḥ; ṣay-
yāyām upaviṣṭayoḥ parasparaṃ sneho jātaḥ. Mādhavo jagāda : *gāhā*

nehaṃ kahavi na kijjai aha kijjai rattakaṇbalasariccho
khayakāladhoyamānaṃ sadā a rangaṃ na cajjanti (chutṭanti
A.B.C. dinamānadhoamānaṃ. Bg.).—60.

Kāmakandalā prāha : *gāhā*

jammantareṇa vidahai (virahe C.) uttamapurusaī jaṃ kiyaṇi
pemmaṃ

Kāḷindī Kaṇha-virahe ajja vi kālaṃ jalaṃ vahai.—61.

Mādhavaḥ prāha :

hṛdayahāriṇi (Ve. 141).—62.

Kāmakandalā prāha : gāhā

*abhinayasurayārambhe hoi chaillāṇa jaṇ kamma
taṇ nārīṇaṇ hīae jīveṇa samaṇ na jāi vissaraṇaṇ.*—63.

Mādhavaḥ prāha : gāhā

*caurāsī bandhā je vihiā “caurāsī” siddhapurusehi
abhinayasurayārambhe te devānaṇ pi dullahā honti.*—64.

ity ādi parasparam vadantau kāmabāṇapīḍitau jātau : tato nānāvidhi-
caturaçitibandhādi [divya C.] surataṇ prārebhāte (uktaṇ ca : S. 224,
S. 4003, B. F.—*f.* quotes here many verses from the *Ratimanjari*).

Mādhavaḥ prāha :

tava vadanāmṛtapanke locanayugalaṇ pramādataḥ patitaṇ :
ceto gatam uddhartuṇ ; tad api ca kucasamdhisaṇkaṭe
patitaṇ.—65.

(dīpaḥ pāṇḍuratām, çacī malinatām, kāmādayo 'staṇ gatāḥ :
khe tārā viralāḥ : punaḥ punar iyaṇ prācī samāraktatām ;
dr̥ṣṭvā mām kusumēsubhinnahṛdayaṇ kopāḥ parityajyatām !
dehy ālinganacumbane mama priye ! çeṣaṇ (deçaṇ Bg.) gatā
yāminī. C.).—65 bis.

Kāmakandalā prāha :

pratyāçā-vidhurāṇaṇ viramati janmaiva nārīṇaṇ
puruṣas tu rahasi bhaṇitaṇ sahaçarasahaiva vismarati.—66.

Mādhavaḥ prāha :

kunkumapankavilepitadehā (Su. 1275).—67.

atha Kāmakandalā Mādhavaṇ pr̥cchati : gāhā

*kiṇ jīviassa ciḥnaṇ ? kā bhajjā kāmārājassa ?
ko vissarai na satataṇ ? ko dullaho (—) tibhuvanassa ?*—68.

tato Mādhava uttaraṇ dadāti : gāhā :

*kantī (kāmo C.) jīviaciḥnaṇ, Rai bhajjā Mayanarājassa
sujano na vissarai satataṇ, yovvanaṇ dullaho (!) tibhuvana-
nassa.*—69.

punaḥ Kāmakandalā pr̥cchati : gāhā

*ko unhe aisisiro, sisirasamayē hoi accuṇho ?
ko uasamaṇ dullahaduḥkhabubhukkhaṇ pipāsaṇ ca ?*—70.

Mādhava uttaraṇ dadāti :

*çiçirōṣṇayor upāyaḥ stanas taruṇyās tu vedhasā vihitāḥ :
abhimatadayitādr̥ṣṭyā duḥkhapipāsākṣudhāçāntiḥ.*—71.

Kāmakandalā prāha :

*kiṃ komalaṃ bhavē'ssiṃ, kiṃ loe atthi savvado kaḍḍhinaṃ ?
pacchātāvo kehiṃ ? ko tussadi paraḡuṇehi jano ?—72.*

Mādhava uttaraṃ prāha :

*paraḡuṇa riḡḡhai ḡuṇie, kohehi bhavē pachātāvo,
kulise te kaḍḍhinahr̥daya, vaḍḍakarunā komalaṃ bhavai.—73.*

*Kancanarehā mandiramajḡhe pekkhaha bālā likhai bhuangaṃ !
na hi na hi vallaha ettha bhuango ! buḡḡhaha ubharalavenivi-
bhangam !—74.*

tato Mādhavaḥ prāha :

jhaṭṭiti praviḡa geḡam (S. 2468).—75.

iti (anekakathālapena tayo rāṭṭir gatā C.) vinodaṃ cakratuḡ. tato Mādhavaḥ prabhāṭasamaye rājno 'pamānabhayaṭ tatrasthānāt pracalitaḡ. yataḡ

tyajed ekaṃ kuḷasyārthe (S. 2627).—76.

tato Mādhavaḥ pracalitaḡ. tataḡ Kāmakandalāṭṭiva virahena pīḍitā, vilapantī bhūmau papāta. *gāhā*

*dīho vasantamāso, navaneho, paḍḍhamayorvanārambho,
pancamagīassa dhunī, pancāggī ; ko jaṇo sahai ?—77.*

Kāmakandalā kṣaṇena caitanyaṃ prāpya prāha : *gāhā*

*vasiṭṭa majḡha hīae, ḡṭaṇ ḡhattṭiṇa, kattha caliyo si ?
hē pahīya, pahamaṇḍana ! muhakamalaṃ te kattha dīsemi ?—78.*

Mādhavānalaḡ prāha : *gāhā*

*candamuhi, haṃsagāmini, bhayataralakki, koilārāve !
varakundakalīdasane, bho muddhe, kattha dīssasie ?—79.*

atha Kāmakandalā prāha : *gāhā*

*pīṭṭiāsā sū siddhī (hotu tua savvasiddhī C.), sundala, caliyo si
jattha kajjena ;*

chappaya-vāsanivāso : taṃ diḡḡjaha aṃhanāmena.—80.

iti parasparaṃ vilāpena Mādhavaḡ Kāmakandalā ca duḡkḡhinau ḡātau. Mādhavaḡ Kāmakandalāpārḡve mahatā duḡkḡhenāḡru vimuncati. *gāhā*

pāusamaye pavāso (Ve. 217, 9).—81.

ity uktvā Mādhave pracalite sati, punaḡ Kāmakandalā bhūmau papāta ; bahuvilāpaṃ cakāra : *gāhā*

*hā hīaam mama vihinā ḡhaṭṭam vajjena vajjasāricchaṃ (°reṇa Bg.).
vallahaviyoakāle jam na gaam khaṇḍakhaṇḍāi !—82.*

he saṅkara ! jai sirijasi maṃ, tā (Ve. 220, 19).—83.

*dohā : hīa, kaṭua-ppavāsaṃ sahehi taṃ c' ajjiaṃ dukkhaṃ !
piamānusaśārīcchaṃ sadā bhamanto ṇa pāvihisi.*—84.

api ca

kiṃ duṣṭaṃ kathitaṃ mayā priyatame, prāyas tvayā jīvitaṃ
(cintitaṃ C. Bg.).

yat tvam vaira mamôpagrhya sahasā deçântaram tvam
gataḥ ?

sā bālā yad idaṃ bravīti bahuṣaḥ prthvīdhara precha me (?)
kṣamyam tad vacanam viyogavidhurād proktaṃ mayā tvām
prati.—85–86.

prīye prayāte hrdayaṃ prayātaṃ, lajjā gatā cetanayā sahaiva
nilajja he jīva, kathaṃ na yāsi mahājano yena gataḥ sa
panthāḥ ?—87. [*d* is a quotation from a well-known stanza
beginning with *dharmo 'pratiṣṭhaḥ*.]

iti vilapya punar mūrçhitā bhūmau papāta. atrāvasare hāhākāraṃ
kurvantyās tasyāḥ sakhyā militāḥ paraspāram uktavatyāḥ (om. C.F.).

† uddhuyatatanū—88.

† syād asyâtibhavāt—89.

tadanantaram tābhiḥ sakhibhiḥ samāçvāsya grhe nītā : sā ca çveta-
veṣam ādāya (tapasvinī bhūtvā, upavāsabhūmiçayanam kṛtvā,
ekāsanam brahmacaryaṃ pālayantī B.), padminīdalaçayane (om.
B.) dināni gamayantī sthitā.

çaçini khalu kalankaḥ (S. 6432).—90.

tato Mādhavaḥ kṣutpipāsāpīḍitaḥ san, vanād vanaṃ grāmād grāmam
atīkrāman, jalapūrṇam saro 'paçyat : vegena tatra gatvā, svacchajale
snātvā, jalam pītvā, āmravṛkṣatala upaviṣṭaḥ, çramarahito jātaḥ.
Kāmakandalāmukhaṃ smarati :

iṣanmīlita[lola]locanayugam (Su. 1361).—91.

api ca

indumukhī, kumudākṣī, rambhôrū, kamalacārukaracaraṇā,
amṛtadravalāvanyā, hrdayagatā, devi kiṃ dahasi ?—92.

iti vilapan sa tatrāgre haṃsayugmaṃ dadarça : tatksaṇāt kāmēna
pīḍito vikalēndriyo jātaḥ. haṃsaṃ prati prāha :

haṃsa, prayaccha me kāntāṃ (S. 7357).—93. (C. has dhū-
majyotiḥ° = Meghadūta 5).

tato dhairyam avalambya, tatra sarasi mukhaṃ prakṣālya, tataḥ
pracalitaḥ. agre gacchan kam api pānthaṃ dadarça. sa ca Kāmasenaṃ
prati Vikramādityena rājñā preṣitaḥ, samasyāṃ (samiṣyā F.) nītvā

sammukho militaḥ. Mādhavenôktaṃ: bho pāntha, kiṇṇī samasyā ?
tatas tena kathitaṃ:

“magnaḥ samudravelāyām” iti. Mādhavaḥ prāha:
Agastihastaḥ culukamitēccho vāhanâkṛtau
magnaḥ samudravelāyām iti devās tadājaguḥ.—94.

(“vāhanôpari taranti samudrāḥ.” tato Mādhavaḥ prāha:
bhavān ṣṇutām:

yathā karatale ghaṭaḥ, yathā parvatâgre ratho yāti,
tām tātā karatale ghaṭasūno [°sūnau F.]
yānapātrasadrṣām [pānapātrasahitau F.] samavêkṣya
tatra ṣankitam idaṃ budhavargair
vāhanôpari taranti samudrāḥ.—f).

iti samasyām pūrayitvā, krameṇa Ujjayinyām praviṣṭaḥ. tatra rājā
Vikramādityo nāma (asamasahasīkaparaduḥkhakātara iti garvaṃ
vahati F.)

sarve dānaparā varṇā, dvijā vedaparāyaṇāḥ (cfr. Ve. 39, 22).

kālôpabhoginaḥ (Ve. 165).—95.

nôpasarga °parakramabhayaṃ (Ve. 39, 24).

varṣāṇām (Ve. 39, 26).—96.

kāle varṣitvā Parjanya (Ve. 39, 27).—97.

asatyam na vadanty eva (Ve. 165).—98.

tatra kṣutpīḍito vipagrhe bhojanaṃ yayāce: tato brāhmaṇena bhak-
tipūrvakaṃ bhojanaṃ dattaṃ: yataḥ

cauro vā yadi caṇḍālāḥ, ṣatrur vāpi nṛghātakāḥ

āgato vaiṣvadevānte so 'tithiḥ svargasaṃkramaḥ (°dāyakaḥ

F., Cfr. Hit. i. 57 uttamasyâpi).—99.

bhojanānte paṇyavithikāṃ (devatâyatanam B.) gatvā, upaviṣṭaḥ.
tatra anyapathikahaste Kāmakandalām prati lekhanam preṣayāmāsa:
“(he prānapriye B.) aham Ujjayinyām krameṇa praviṣṭaḥ; tvayât-
mīyapratimā, vilikhya, ṣīghraṃ mayi preṣāṇīyā: tena mama cetasi
atīva saukhyaṃ bhavatīti gāhā

*mā jānasu vissariam tua muhakamalam: hiaa-ṭhiam tam
me! (videsagamanena F.)*

suṇṇaṃ bhamai sarīraṃ, jāttha tumaṃ jīviaṃ tattha.—100.

api ca

nityam Brahma yathā smaranti munayo (S. 3716).—101.

anyac ca

kvēndor maṇḍalam ambudhiḥ (S. 1999).—102.

cakorīnayanadvandvam ānandayati candramāḥ;
sakhi, sāhajikaprema dūrād api virājate.—103.

(smarati yathā gaur vatsam, cakravākī divākaram,
vānchatī cātako toyam, tathāham tava darṣanam F.).—103 bis.

atha Kāmakandalayā pratyuttaraḥ lekhaḥ preṣitaḥ :

(aham iha sthitavaty api tāvakī, tvam api tatra vasann api māmakaḥ
likhitapatram anangarasākulaḥ virahiṇī prahiṇoti priyam prati || f.)

gāhā: tua cintam uradhariyam: tua guṇa-gēthigumphiā mālā:
tua nāma-samjhayanto [a] ruṭuna vāsaram rayaniṁ.—104.

jīam tua pāse: tua jasa souṇa savanasamtoṣo:

jīhā nāmaggaḥane: ekā diṭṭhī na phalaṇ[me].—105.

iti Kāmakandalālekhaḥ vācayan, dīrghaḥ niḥṣvāsyā, nagarād bahir
bhrāmyan, Mahākālanāmnaḥ Ćivasya devakulaḥ dadarṣa: tatra Ćiva-
syārcaṇam stutiṁ ca cakāra:

namo bhavāya rudrāya Ćivāya ca namo namaḥ !

iṣāya vṛṣabhānkāya bhīmāya ca namo namaḥ !—106.

mahādevāya guptāya Vasudevāya vedhase

varāya nīlakaṇṭhāya, Bhavānyāḥ pataye namaḥ !—107.

madhyāhne prātaḥ samdhyāyāḥ kṛtānjalipuṭaḥ sthitaḥ

etaddvādaṇāmāni trisamdhyam yaḥ paṭhen naraḥ,

sa sarvair mucyate pāpaiḥ, satyam yāti Ćivālayam.—108.

iti stotraḥ paṭhitvā, rātrau prāsādamadhye suṣvāpa: paraṁ ca nid-
rām na lebhe (uktaṁ ca: saṁgame dahati mānasam eko, viprayoga-
samaye 'pi tato 'nyaḥ; tāpakāraṇam ubhāv api manye, durjane na
sujane na viṣeṣaḥ F.—108 bis); tato rātryardhe kaṭhinim ādāya
tatra prāsādashittau gāthādvayam lilekha:

so kovi natthi suṇo (Ve. 218, 16).—109.

virālā jānanti guṇā (Ve. 219, 17).—110.

iti gāthādvayam likhitvā suṣvāpa. (prātar utthāya gataḥ. F.) tataḥ
prabhātasamaye rājā Ćivaḥ namaskartum āgataḥ. gāthādvayam dṛṣtvā
vācayitvā vismitaḥ sa, cintitavān: ko 'py ayaṁ mama nagarama-
dhye virahī vartate? mama rājyam eva vṛthā! mayā prathamataḥ
sa jnātavyaḥ, paṇḍit tasya duḥkhaḥ nācayāmiti cintayitvā bhūpo
gataḥ. yataḥ

garjati ṣaradi (S. 2089).—111.

(iti vimṛṣya nagaramadhye carāḥ preṣitaḥ. uktaṁ ca:

gāvo gandhena paṇyanti [S. 2084] F.).—111 bis.

aparaṇiṣāyāḥ Mādhavaḥ ṣlokaḥ ekaḥ lilekha:

kiṁ karomi, kva gacchāmi (S. 1733).—112.

tato dvitīyadvase prabhātasamaye rājā Ćivaḥ namaskartum āgataḥ:
bhittilikhitaḥ papāṭha: ṣlokaḥ vācayatā rājñā cintitaḥ: yenēdaṁ

padyam likhitam sa virahī janaḥ kutra tiṣṭhatīti katham jnātavyam ? iti cintayitvā devālaye bhramatā rājnā eko 'tikṣīṇas tapasvī brāhmaṇo drṣṭaḥ. sa ca vāram vāram prṣṭas "tvayēdam padyam likhitam ?" iti, tatas tena prṣṭenāpi yadā kim apy uttaram na dattam (yenēdam . . . dattam om. F.), tadā rājnā punaḥ cintitam : mayādyā virahapīḍitasya duḥkham nāçayitvā bhojanam kartavyam : yataḥ

rājyam yātu, çriyo yāntu, çarīram yātu nirmalam (me dhruvam. f.);

yan mayā svayam evōktaṁ vaco me vāstu sarvadā (vāstu tat tathā Bg.).—113.

tato rājnā paṭahaghoṣaḥ kārītaḥ : "ayam puruṣaḥ kasyā virahena duḥkhīti yo jānāti, sa kathayatu : tasmai tadipsitam dāsyāmīti" paṭahe vādyamāne sati, rājasamīpam āgatya (Goganāmnī B.) Bhogavilāsinyā (paṇyāṅganayā F.) kathitam : (devāham kathayiṣye C.). bhojanam kuruṣva ! iti kathitvā Bhogavilāsiniṁ rātrau prāsādamadhye gatā, pracchannībhūya sthitā. tato rātryardhe gate sati, Mādhavaḥ (tāpasānam madhye F.) suptaḥ san, dīrghaniçvāsam mumoca. Bhogavilāsiniṁ çanaiḥ çanais tatsamīpam gatvā, tasya dehōpari pādam utkṣiptavati. tato Mādhavānalena nidrāghūrṇitalocanena kathitam : he Kāmakandale, yat tvayā caraṇam mama dehōpari nyastaṁ, tad dūrīkuru ! tato Bhogavilāsinyā tadvacanam çrutvā, tasya svarūpam (samyaktām F.) jnātvā, tatpārçvād āgatya, rājne kathitam : deva, Mādhavānalo vipraḥ Kāmakandalāvirahena duḥkhī mayā jnātaṁ : yataḥ

ākārair lingitair vāpi (S. 848).—114. (udīrito 'rtha F. f.=S. 1236).

tataḥ prabhātasamaye rājā Mādhavam samāhūtavan ; sa ca āçiṣam dadāti :

(om. f.) yāvac candrārkatārājalaravinikaraiḥ sagrahaiḥ çobhamānam vyomāste ; yāvad aste Hari - Hara - caraṇāmbhojabhuktir janānām ; yāvad Gangātarangair ativimalam alamkurvatī bhāti bhūmiḥ : sānandas tāvad āstām nikhilaparijanaiḥ Sāhasānko narēndrah.—115.

tato rājnā bhaṇitam : bho mūḍha, veçyayā sahaiva sneham āvahasī ; veçyāyāç caritam na jānāsi ? gāhā

vaktre (sic) surāarattā ; nehe karavīrakusumasāricchā : gabbhonnaā bhuangīva vesa-hiaam mahajjeva.—116.

ekaṁ kaḍakkhai jaṇaṁ, bīaṁ dakkhia (MS. kaḍakhi), kare dharai [annaṁ] :

annaṁ ahilasai mane, masāna (MS. manā°) sārīcchiā vessā.—117.

kulalanghanam, akittī, atthassa khaam, asīlasaṇvāsam, gamanam vessāna ghare na ruccaī dhammasīlassa.—118.

abhakṣyam bhakṣayen nityam, suvāso madyapagrhe kuṣṭhī bhavati vittêço, veçyādoṣāḥ svabhāvajāḥ.—119.

hattho sappassa muhe nikhippai visam kuṇai [a] āhāram phañṇā saka saṃlīlāṇ, vesāḍe samānasaṅgamo hoi.—120.

atha rājñā ity ukte sati, Mādhavaḥ prāha :

vājivāraṇalohānām (S. 6029).—121.

*punnam nīrehi saro : dinaarakarabohiāi kamalāi :
bhamarānam tattha sare vāso, uṇa tattha rāhaṇsassa
(pammanivāso, hi saro rāa° C.).*—122.

tato rājñōktaṃ :

jalpanti sārdham anyena (S. 2371).—123.

Gangāyām vālukāsaṃkhyā, jalamānam mahodadheḥ :
matimanto na jānanti caritraṃ khalu yoṣitām.—124 (cfr. Ve.
215, 4).

anṛtaṃ sāhasam māyā (S. 328).—125.

atha Mādhavaḥ prāha :

strīlokaḥ paramo lokaḥ susaurabhyarasāyanam,
kāraṇam strī kṛtārthatve triṣu lokeṣu gīyate.—126 (cfr.
Ve. 2, 15).

ghṛtaṃ sāraṃ rasānām ca (Ve. 35, 44).—127.

amṛtasyêva kuṇḍāni (S. 535).—128.

sarveṣām eva ratnānām (S. 6955).—129.

phalaṃ dharmasya (S. 4371).—130.

yena nālingitā . . . madhurālāpā, pīnavṛtta° (Ve. 36, 7).—131.
oṣṭhā(janghā° C.)dhararasasvādo . . . sa paṇuḥ kathyate
budhaiḥ (Ve. 36, 11).—132.

yenēndīvara° (S. 5543).—133.

iti Mādhavenōkte sati, rājā savismayaḥ prāha : he Mādhava, Kāma-
kandalā tavaivamvidhā snehabhūmiḥ ! striyo mama nagare bahutarā
vartante ; yās te rocante, tā grhāṇa : anyac ca yat kim api dravyādi-
kaṃ prārthayase, tat sarvaṃ dāsyāmi. Mādhavenōktaṃ : he deva,

yenāmoditaketakīdalapuṭe . . .

. . . sūptam . . . °puline . . . çāntiṃ kutaḥ (Çārngadhara-
paddh., ed. Peterson, 837).—134.

yataḥ

jo jānai jassa guṇaṃ, so tassa piāaro (sic) hoi :

*cūaṇi (MS. rūpaṇi !) parahuavaniā, kāgo nimba(p)phalaṇi
cuhaī.—135.*

(jo jaṇai [ja]ssa ṇeho, so tassa avekkhaṇaṇi kuṇai :

*pammaṇ ravikiraṇāṇaṇi suhai pphāse, ṇa candassa C.).—135
bis.*

tato rājnā cintitaṃ : avaḥyaṃ Mādhavāyānyāḥ striyo na rocante ;
uktaṃ ca

dadhi madhuraṃ, madhu madhuraṃ, drākṣā madhurā, sudhāpi
madhuraiva :

tasya tadaiva hi madhuraṃ yasya mano yatra saṃlagnaṃ.—136.

tato rājnā punaḥ cintitaṃ : yenôpāyena Mādhavāya Kāmakandalā
ghaṭate, sa upāyo mayā kartavyaḥ. iti saṃcintya rājā purān nirgataḥ
saguṇaṃ apaḥyan, rājā Mādhavānalena saha (dvitīyāditya iva F. f.)
caturangasainyam ādāya, Mādhavānalavirahacikitsāṛthaṃ Kāmā-
vatīm gataḥ. tad dr̥ṣtvā, Mādhavasyâtīva vismayo jātaḥ. tataḥ
Kāmāvatīm prāpya, Mādhavam ekaṭra sthāpayitvā, rājā Kāma-
kandalāgrhaṃ gataḥ : Kāmakandalayā ca, rājānaṃ dr̥ṣtvā, cintitaṃ :
ayaṃ ko 'pi rājalakṣaṇayukto mahāpuruṣo dṛṣyate. tato rājnā cinti-
taṃ : iyam eva prāyaḥ Kāmakandalā sarvalāvaṇyamayī bhaviṣyati.
tato rājnā pr̥ṣṭā sā : he sundari, kā tvam ? Kāmakandalā prāha :
aham Kāmasenasya rājno nṛtyakārīṇī Kāmakandalā nāmnākhyātā.
tataḥ Kāmakandalā prechati : bho mahāpuruṣa, ko bhavān ? rājā
prāha : aham Ujjayinīpurādhipatiḥ. tataḥ Kāmakandalayā “asama-
sāhasaikamallavīra-Vikramādityo 'yam ” iti jñātvā, taccaraṇe pati-
taṃ. tato rājnā ākr̥ṣṭau caraṇau Kāmakandalāhṛdaye lagnau (after
cintitaṃ, B. F. f, run thus : puruṣaḥ sāmānyo na hi : iti cintayantī,
Mādhavaṃ hṛdi dhyāyantī, rājnā saha vividhaprakārair vinodān
kurvantī sthitā [!]. tato rājnā Kāmakandalāyā hṛdaye pādo . . . etc.).
tataḥ Kāmakandalā prakupitā prāha : bho mahārāja, tvayā brāhmaṇe
pādaghātaḥ kṛtaḥ. uktaṃ ca

gurūṇāṃ ca dvijātīnāṃ pādenaiva nā saṃspr̥ṣet

ajñānāndhaḥ spr̥ṣen mūrkhah sa yāti narakam param.—137.

rājā kupitaḥ prāha : he Kāmakandale, ko'tra brāhmaṇo yasmin
pādaghāto mayā kṛtaḥ ? Kāmakandalā prāha : Mādhavānalo nāma
brāhmaṇo mama hṛdaye vartate : tasmin pādaghāto jātaḥ. rājnā tataḥ
cintitaṃ : aho mahān anayor anurāgo dṛṣyate ! iti vicintyôktaṃ : he
Kāmakandale, ko'pi Mādhavānalaḥ kasyāmeit prañayaṃ kṛtvā,
tadvirahena mṛtaḥ. tataḥ Kāmakandalā rājno mukhān Mādhavasya

marañam çrutvā, sahasā virahârditā bhūmau papāta : hā nātha ! hā nāthēti kṛtvā, pancatvam gatā. uktaṃ ca *gāhā*

*āsā na dei marañam, hoi a marañam nirāsae pemme ;
avasam jena marijjai, tam neham vadaï loo pi* (cfr. Ve. 217,
11).—138.

rājā tasyāḥ satyaṃ marañam jnātvā, vismito, Mādhavānalasamīpam āgatya, tanmarānavṛttāntam kathayāmāsa. Mādhavo 'pi tasyā marañam çrutvā, virahârdito bhūmau papāta : “ hā priye Kāmakandale ! ” ity uktvā mṛtaḥ. rājāpi tasya marañam dṛṣtvā, atīva vismito : “ hā, mandamatinā mayā kiṃ kṛtaṃ ! yugapad eva strihatyā brāhmaṇa-hatyā ca lagnē ” ti bhūyaḥ paçcāttāpam cakāra. uktaṃ ca

sahasā vidadhīta (S. 6970).—139.

vanam gatvā khaḍgam ādāya svaçiraçchedam kartum udyataḥ. atrāntare agnikokilābhyām vetālābhyām (vaitālenāgatya B.F.) khaḍgam grhītvā, nivāritaḥ : uktaṃ : bho rājan, tava sāhasena tuṣṭo 'smi ; varam vṛṇu ! Vikramādityo vadati : bho vetāla, yadi tuṣṭo 'si, tadā mṛtau strīpuruṣau jīvaya. tato vetālābhyām (B.F. : vaitālena pātāle gatvā, tatkṣaṇād amṛtam ānītam tayor mukhe kṣiptam : kṣaṇena dvāv) jīvitav utthitau : tato rājā saharṣo jātaḥ : uktaṃ ca :

vijetavyā Lankā (Su. 2278).—140.

(B.F.f. : rājā ca dūtam praty āha : bho dūta, tvam gaccha, Kāmase-nāgre iti kathaya : “ tvayā Kāmakandalā çighram preṣaṇīyā, anyathā virūpam bhaviṣyati.” tato 'nantaram dūtena Kāmasenam prati gatvā, Vikramādityasya vacanam kathitam. tataḥ Kāmasenena cintitam : mayā kiṃ kartavyam ? rājā Vikramāditya idṛgam vākyam vadati : tatra kiṃ Mādhavo Vikramādityasamīpe vartate ? tatra Kāmakandalā mayā na preṣaṇīyā. evam dūtāgreṇa pṛṣṭaḥ : bho dūta, tatra Mādha-vanāmo ko 'pi vipro 'sti ? dūtena kathitam : bho Kāmasena, tvam na jānāsi ? rājā Vikramādityena Mādhavo duḥkhīti jnātvāsya Mādha-vasya duḥkhanirgrahāṇāyāgataḥ. tataḥ Kāmasenenōktaṃ : bho dūta, tvam Vikramādityasamīpam gatvā evam kathaya : “ Mādhavo mamā-jnāmadhye tvayā katham ānītaḥ ? pūrvam mayā Mādhavo mamājnā-madhyastho niḥkāçitaḥ : punas tvayā mamājnāmadhyam ānītaḥ : tato 'ham Kāmakandalām na dāsyāmi.” tataḥ sthanān dūtaḥ praca-litaḥ, sainyamadhyam āgatya, Vikramārkasamīpe gatvā sarvam vṛttān-tam bhaṇitam. tato rājā Vikramādityaḥ sakopaḥ samjātaḥ : kathitam : bho dūta, punas tatra gaccha ; tatra gatvā tvayā evam kathanīyam : “ yadi tvam Kāmakandalām na dāsyasi, tadāham tava sainyam ghāta-yiṣyāmi.” dūtena tatra gatvā Vikramārka-vacanam Kāmasenasyāgre kathitam. Kāmasenena vimṛçya iti kathitam : rājā camatkṛtaḥ ; bho subhaṭāḥ, sajjiḥbhūya yuddhāyāgamyatām ! “ devādeçaḥ pramāṇam ”

tair uktam. tataḥ sarve ('nucarāḥ f.) sajjībhūtāḥ. tato rājā Vikramârko yuddhāya pracalitāḥ. tataḥ Kāmāvatyāḥ samīpaṃ gatvā, sthītvā, dūtaḥ preṣitāḥ. tato dūtenâgatya Kāmasenâgre kathitaṃ: bho rājan, yuddhāyâgamyatām. tato Kāmaseno garvaṃ gataḥ; kathitaṃ: bho dūta, çrūyatām! uktam ca:

yady api raṭati saroṣaṃ mṛgapatipurato 'pi mattagomāyuh,
tad api na kupyati siṃho hy; asadṛcapuruṣeṣu kaḥ ko-
paḥ?—141.

dūtenâgatya Vikramârâgre kathitaṃ: bho rājan, bhavad-uktāni vacanāni niveditāni; paraṃ tv atigarvaviṣṭena rājnā duṣṭaḥ ṣlokaḥ paṭhitaḥ. "sa ka?" ity ukte, dūtena paṭhitaḥ. taṃ çrutvā Vikramârko 'tīvakupito 'py uvāca: ahaṃ Kāmasenasya rudhiraṃ pibāmīty uktvā [B. f.: yuddhaṃ prārabdhaṃ: narair naraḥ hataḥ: aṣvair aṣvaḥ: gajair gajaḥ: rathai rathah: Kāmasenasya sarvaṃ sainyaṃ vidhvamsitaṃ.]

[F.: raktanetraṣ carvitâdharôṣṭhaḥ caturanginīm senām ādāya Kāmasenanagaraṃ prati calitaḥ. tataḥ Kāmaseno 'pi nagarān niḥsṛtaḥ. Vikramârka - Kāmasenau sasainyau militau: tadā Vikramârka-sya sainikāḥ Kāmasenasya sainikāḥ kecit pralayanam kâritāḥ, kecit kabandharūpāḥ kṛtāḥ, kecit chinnacaraṇāḥ kṛtāḥ, kecit chinnahastāḥ kṛtāḥ. mahāyuddhe jāte, Vikramârka-Kāmasenau raṇabhūmau militau:

Kāmaseno mahāvīro Vikramârkaṃ uvāca ha:
bho bho Vikrama, vīra, tvaṃ mama sainyavināṣaka,
tiṣṭha tvaṃ kṣaṇamātraṃ hi, yāvad bāṇair na bheditaḥ!—142.

ity uktvā kaṭhinaṃ vākyam siṃhanādam athâkarot
Vikramârko 'pi vīro 'sāv, anena (MS. sauṇena) hr̥daye da-
ṣṭaḥ.—143.

Kāmasenaṃ jaghānâṣu na cakampe mahābalaḥ,
Kāmaseno 'pi bāṇena Vikramârkaṃ atāḍayat.—144.

evaṃ parasparaṃ yuddhaṃ bāṇajālair babhūva ha:
evaṃ mahābalau vīrau puṣpītāv iva kiṃṣukau
raktanetrau ca dṛṣtau ca, krodhenaiva pariplitau.—145.

etasmin samaye tatra Vikramârko mahābalaḥ
Kāmasenaṃ nābhideṣe nārācena jaghāna saḥ.—146.

sa bhinnanābhīḥ sahasā nipapāta dharātale.
mūrchitaṃ taṃ samālokyā, rathād uttīrya satvaram,—147.

svarathaṃ sthāpayāmāsa Vikramârko mahābalaḥ.
Kāmasenaṃ jalaiḥ siktā, vāyunā pratyabodhayat.—148.

utthitaṃ taṃ samālokyā, Vikramārko nananda ha :

“maḍiyaṃ balasāmarthyam asau vetti hi tattvataḥ !”—149.

Kāmaseno Vikramārkaṃ pratyuvāca mahābalaṃ :

mayāparāddhaṃ yaṃ, nātha, duṣṭenākāryavedinā,—150.

kṣamasva, Vikramāditya, paraḍuḥkhāpahāḥ sadā !

idaṃ maḍiyaṃ rājyaṃ hi tvadīyaṃ hi, mama prabho.—151.

gajāçvādhanam dhānyam ca, sarvaṃ dāsasya gr̥hyatāṃ ;

çādhi māṃ kiṃ karomy atha, kinkaro 'smi tavādhunā.—152.

ity ukte vacane 'nena Vikramārko 'braviḍ vacaḥ :

tvayā vinitavākyaena duṣṭavākyaṃ nirākṛtaṃ ;—153.

samarpaṇena rājyasya samtusṭaṃ mama mānasam.

maḍiyaṃ vacanaṃ, bhrātar, yadi kartum ihēcchasi,—154.

Mādhavāya ca viprāya deyā vai Kāmakandalā :

Mādhave hi prahr̥ṣṭe vai vayaṃ tuṣṭā, mahāmate !—155.

Vikramārkaḥ vacaḥ çrutvā Kāmaseno mahāmanālī

Mādhavāya dadau tāṃ hi hemaratnair vibhūṣitaṃ.—156.

B. f. : Kāmasenena cintitaṃ : ahaṃ kiṃ karomi ? mama sainyaṃ Vikramādityena Mādhavārthe 'paraṃ Kāmakandalārthe hataṃ. mayā mandamatinā pūrvam Kāmakandalā kathaṃ na preṣitā ? ! atīvavirūpaṃ bhūtaṃ !—tato 'nantaraṃ Kāmakandalāṃ nītvā trāhi trāhīty uktvā, Vikramādityasamīpe gatvā, caraṇe patitaḥ ; uktaṃ ca : iyaṃ Kāmakandalā Mādhavāya dīyatāṃ. tato Vikramādityena kathitaṃ : bho Mādhava, asyāḥ svīkāraṃ kuru.

(B. f. F. : yadā Kāmakandalā Kāmasenena dattā, tadā Mādhavo 'tyantaṃ praharṣitaḥ : tāṃ ālingya nimīlitanetraḥ san, mūrchitaḥ. tadā Vikramārko 'tyantaṃ kautukāviṣṭo jātaḥ. uvāca : bho sabhāsadaḥ ! asyānayā sākam snehādhikeyaṃ paçyantu !—tato Mādhavena tāṃ hr̥daye gr̥hītvā, ekānte gatvā, caturaçīty-āsanair nānāprakāracumbanair dr̥ḍhālinganaiḥ sā bhuktā).

rājā ca tāv ādāya saharṣaḥ sasainyaḥ svanagaram āgatyā, çubhalagne taylor vivāhaṃ kārayāmāsa. punas tau, bahutaraṃ gajāçvaratnabhūmyādikaṃ dattvā, svanagare sthāpitau. tayoç ca parasparam anudinam prītir avardhatēti.

parōpakārarasiko, dātā, sāhasanirbhayaḥ,

Vikramārkasamo rājā na bhūto, na bhaviṣyati.—157.

(F : etat-çrotur vividhaphalalābhaḥ syāt).

(f. : yaḥ ko 'pi kathānakaṃ çṛṇoti vā pāṭhiṣyati, tasya viraho na bhaviṣyati)

iti Çribhaṭṭavidyādharaçīṣyena Ānandābhidhena
viracitaṃ Mādhavānalôpākhyānaṃ (çrngārakāvyaṃ B.)
samāptaṃ.

TRANSLATION OF THE GĀHĀS.

14. There is not a house, there is not a king's palace, there is not a town, where two or three rascals are not to be found in anger without a reason.
24. People wander on the earth to see different customs, to know the difference between good and bad men, and to improve themselves.
40. A bee which sucks what is newly produced, knows what is tasteful and what is not tasteful. Does a worm know what is base ? it eats dry bark. (*Navajāi*, the fresh part of plants as compared with the old bark. The MS. reads *vappurā*, but comp. Hemac. Prākṛtapr. iv. 387.)
41. An unseasonable speech, a song sung before people without any taste (for music), the words "do not ! do not !" (from woman's lips) in the pleasure of love—these are three things not praised in the world.
44. The water of the cloud, the shining of the moon, the network of beams of the sun, the hand of good men, are a benefit for everybody (*m. j. c. sītalaṃ d. karaphāso s. vittam jñānam saala-loassa* Bg.)
48. Even gazelles, living in the woods, know good qualities and the power of song ; as they have no wealth, they give their life to the hunter (*gītalobhena paçavo 'pi prāṇān tyajanti ; narāṇām kā vārtā ? ity arthaḥ*).
49. By the singing of the hunter this gazelle gave up his life ; rich was this prince of gazelles, by whom Bali and Karṇa were surpassed (*dhanyaḥ ku° yena Bali-Karṇau parājitau ; Bali-Karṇebhyāṃ çarīraṃ jīvitaṃ vā na dattaṃ, tena* (by the gazelle) *tad api kṛtaṃ*. Comp. S¹. 2428, 2998, and Hemac. Yogaçāstra, 4, 32).
58. Verily, men timorous of contempt forsake far-away mother, father, food, relatives, home, wealth, and pleasure.
60. We must never deal with love ; or love must be like a red cloth, which, although washed, does not lose his colour even after long time (*dinaṃ vyāpya dhaute sadā ca rangam na tyajati. yathā kambale rāgo na gacchati, tathaiva dṛḍharāgaḥ kar-tavyaḥ*).

61. That love felt for excellent men gives pains in a future birth : as the water of the river Kālindī flows even to-day dark, although Kṛṣṇa (= Balarāma, the Yamunābhīd) has released it (from his grasp. Bg. : *Kālindī Kṛṣṇaviraha ajja vi kṛṣṇam jalam vahai*. This is a curious mixture of Sanskrit and Prākṛit, but the metre at least is right ! Comp. S¹. 829).
63. abhinaya (°nava° C.) suratārambhe bhavati chaillānām yat karma, tan narīnām hrdaye jīvena samaṃ na yāti vismarāṇaṃ (abhi° ye ratikarmani bhavanti vidagdhāḥ, te na° hrdayajīvitā-bhyām samaṃ na yānti vi°. ṣṛṅgāre strīnām atīvasukhaṃ, maranaparyantaṃ tat sukhaṃ na gatītyarthaḥ).
64. caturaṣṭī bandhā ye bhaṇitā “caturaṣṭī” siddhapuruṣaiḥ, abhi° te devānām api durlabhā bhavanti. Cf. caturaṣṭī-āsanair after v. 156.
68. What is the mark of life ? who is the wife of King Kāma ? who is never forgetful ? what is hard to obtain in the three worlds ?
69. Loveliness (or love) is the mark of life ; Rati is the wife of King Madana ; good men never forget ; youth is hard to obtain in the three worlds.
70. What is very cold in the hot season and becomes very hot in the dew-season ? what calms the troubling pains of hunger and thirst ?
72. What is soft in this world ? what is always hard on the earth ? whence comes repentance ? who rejoices at another's virtues ?
73. A virtuous man is pleased with others' virtues ; repentance arises from wrath ; like an axe are the hard-hearted (men) ; benevolence is tender (*rijjhai* = ṛdhyate ?).
74. Look, the girl Kāncanalekhā sits in her room, drawing a serpent ! —Oh no, my dear, there is no serpent ! thou wast deceived by her tress of hair, which, becoming loose (glided on the pallet). (*Ubharala* is not a regular form, but there is no doubt about the meaning ; the Sanskrit has : budhyasva udbandhana°).
77. The long spring month : a new love : the first beginning of youth : the sound of the fifth chord (of the lute) : the five fires—who could endure them ? (Bg. shows a better reading :
 1 *viraho* 2 *va°* 3 *na°* 4 *pa°*
 5 *pancamarāssa* [rāgasya] *dhu°*—*pañcāggī*.
 Comm. ete eva pañcāgnayaḥ : ko jano sahatīty arthaḥ).
78. After thou hast dwelt in my heart, after thou hast taken my life, where art thou gone ? traveller, ornament of the road, where shall I see thy lotus-face ? (Bg. : *pathia ~ paragharamaṇ-ḍanagamaṇaṃ te—kathaṃ hoi* ? “Wanderer, how darest thou

to go to a stranger house?" Comm.: *yan na tiṣṭhasi? tasyaiva sarvasvaṃ grhītvā gacchasi? . . . tasya dhanam grhītvā ced gamyate, tam rājā badhnāti; ataḥ katham gamanam bhavatiti paramârthaḥ*).

79. Moon-faced, who walkest like a swan, with timid trembling eyes, with a voice as sweet as that of a nightingale: thou, whose teeth are like the fine jessamine-flower, oh dear, where shall I behold thee?
80. The hope of this fortune is now fulfilled: my pretty one, thou art gone where it was necessary; thou shalt pour (lustral) water for me (in my funeral). (*ṣaṭpadaḥ bhramaraḥ; tasya vāsaḥ padmaṃ, tasya nivāsaḥ jalaṃ; tad dātavyam. tava virahena mayā martavyam iti mannāmnā jalaṃ, tarpaṇajalaṃ, dātavyam iti pariṣeṣaḥ*.)
82. Alas! my heart, which Destiny struck with a thunderbolt, became hard as a diamond! why did it not break into pieces at the time of the separation from my love?
84. Go, my heart, elsewhere, and endure these pains begotten (in a former life); but, wert thou rambling about always, thou shouldst not meet with a man like thy beloved one! (*ata eva maraṇābhāvād arjitaṃ saṃcitaṃ pūrvajanmakṛtaṃ virahatāpaṃ sahasva*).
100. Do not think that I have forgotten thy lotus-face! its image dwells in my heart. My body rambles as an empty (shadow); where thou art, there is my life.
104. I bear thy remembrance in my breast: with thy good qualities I have wound up a garland; while thinking of thy name, I weep day and night.
105. (My) life is on thy side; hearing of thy fame gladdens my ears; pronouncing thy name rejoices my tongue; the sight only, alas! remains without its delight!
116. The mouth of a courtesan is painted with nice cosmetics (her words of love are false); her love is like a *karavīra*-flower (it lasts but a moment); her body is flexible like that of a serpent(?); verily, her heart is a great one! (*vaktre surāgaraktā mukhenaivānurāgaṃ karotīty arthaḥ. snehe kara° sadṛṣā acira-sthitasnehā iti yāvad*).
117. She glances at a man with a stealthy eye; if she sees another man, at the same time she seizes his hand, while her heart is longing after another; the whore is like a cemetery!
118. A virtuous man finds no pleasure in offending his family, in bad fame, in destroying wealth and in visiting the house of courtesans.

120. Intercourse with a courtesan is like putting one's hand into the mouth of a serpent, like taking venom as food, like sporting with a serpent.
122. The lake is filled with water; there are lotuses awakened by the sun. The lotuses are the abode of bees, the lake of swans.
135. We show our kindness to anybody in whom we recognise good qualities; thus the females of cuckoos kiss the mango-tree, while the crow kisses the fruit of the nimba.
- 135 *bis*. If we know that some one bears love to us, we praise him; thus the (day) lotus rejoices at the kiss of the sunbeams, but not at that of the moonbeams (which on the contrary makes the night-lotus happy).
138. Hope gives no death (so long as there is hope, there is life), but death comes from a hopeless love. If one happens to die in this way, then people call that "(real) love."

For this first edition of the tale of Mādhavānala I have chosen the MS. Brit. Mus. Or. 3354 (A) as a basis; then I have compared two MSS. of the India Office, No. 1715 (C) and No. 2206 (B), as well as three Florentine MSS., Aufrecht Sanskrit Flor. MSS., No. 101 (F), 102 (f), and 453 (Bg.); of this last I could avail myself only while the present work was passing through the press. In (A) are quoted a larger number of verses than in any other of the aforesaid MSS. (C) is the one that differs the least from (A), but omits the verses 17, 18, 22, 23, 38, 39, 45, 46, 55, 57, 61, 62, 67, 69-74, 87-89, 103, 136, 157. (BFf) give a somewhat more copious version, since they contain a very full and rather dull account of the events which occurred between the resurrection of the loving couple and their marriage, while (AC) simply state that the wedding ceremony was celebrated immediately after the Brāhmaṇa and his love were restored to life; they do not mention in any way the opposition of King Kāmasena. Still (BFf) are less valuable MSS., as they omit a great many verses, and are, on the whole, less correct than (AC). (B) wants 2-9, 13, 17, 18, 22, 23, 36, 37, 59, 65-69, 71, 75, 85-87, 92, 113, 124, 136, 157, and omits all the Prākṛit verses, except 41, 100, 109; thus does (F), while (f) gives not a single gāhā. (Bg), written in Bengālī characters, is on the whole a good MS., and helped me to correct some mistakes of (A) and (C), with both of which it closely agrees; it wants the strophes 17, 18, 22, 23, 45-47, 55-57, 62, 65, 66, 70-74, 84,

87-89, 103, 115, 136, and it contains, like (C), a Sanskrit translation of the gāhās. I could derive no benefit from the Hindi drama *Mādhavānala-Kāmakaṇḍalā-nāṭaka*, written by Çaligrāmavaicya, and printed in Bombay 1868. This drama, in almost all its circumstances, follows our story. I nourished the hope of finding in some of the gāhās of our MSS. a correspondence with the Hindi dohās, and in this way I thought to get help for a better understanding of them; but I was quite deceived, with the single exception of the dohā at page 100:

kahā karaim ? kita jāyahaim ? rājā Rāma na āhi :
tiya-viyoga-samtāpa-sava Rāghava jānata tāhi,

which is the translation of verse 112 of our tale.

The story of *Mādhavānala*, although rather insipid, both as it is related in the MSS. and as it is set forth in the above-mentioned Hindi drama, is a very popular one, as is shown by the great number of MSS. in which it is copied. No doubt it owes its popularity both to its contents and to the connection in which it stands with the story of one of the most celebrated Indian kings, Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī. However, it is not met with, nor alluded to, in any of the three well-known collections of novels which deal with the deeds of that benevolent king: Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara*, the *Simhāsanadvātriṃśikā*, the *Vetālapancaviṃṣati*. The story of the loving couple who died from grief after their separation, and that of "King Vikramāditya, the hetæra and the young Brāhmaṇa," in the former work (iii. 15 and x. 58) bear both but casual likeness with the *Mādhavānalakathā*. The second work offers, in the seventh novel of its Jainic recension, only an analogy to the episode of the attempted suicide of Vikramāditya (see Weber, *Indische Studien*, xv. p. 333).

The importance of the tale is swollen on account of the many Sanskrit and Prākṛit strophes which adorn it. (A) contains no less than 106 Sanskrit strophes, many of which are not (as far as I could ascertain) quoted elsewhere. The works I consulted about that are—

Böhtlingk's *Indische Sprüche*, 2nd edit. (S.)

Subhāṣitāvali, ed. Peterson. (Su.)

Vetālapancaviṃṣati, ed. Uhle. (Ve.)

Ratimanjarī (Colombo, 1887). (Ra.)

The gāhās quoted in the tale are still more interesting. Their number amounts to thirty-nine—four only of them being quoted elsewhere (not one in Hāla). To understand them is sometimes far from easy, all the more because in the MSS. (AC) they are almost always

written in a very corrupt and discordant form. For some of the gāhās, which are only quoted in (A) and omitted in (C) and (Bg.), the difficulty was still greater, (C) and (Bg.) being the only MSS. which, together with a literal Sanskrit translation, have a short commentary of the Prākṛit verses. It was reasonable therefore to expect (as was experienced by Uhle in his praiseworthy edition of the *Vetālapancaviṃṣati*), that a quite satisfactory restoration (and rendering) of these verses was impossible; I have, however, succeeded in establishing a better reading for most of them. In order to help the reader in grasping their meaning, I have thought it best to add an English translation and some Sanskrit notes, which are borrowed from the above-mentioned short commentary in (C) and (Bg.). I hardly need to point out some dialectical peculiarities which will be easily observed by Prākṛit scholars. No doubt the compilers of the tale had but a slender knowledge of Prākṛit grammar and Prākṛit metres. Thus they write *guṇān* 48 acc. plur. for *guṇe*, *cinham* 68-69 for *cinham*; *vasātūna* 48 for *vasiūtāna* (as in 78), *cajj* (*tyajj*) in the active sense 58, &c., *ghattūna* 78 for *ghe*, *piāaro* 135 for *piaāro* are wrong; while *dhunī* 77 = ध्वनि, *gethi* 104 = ग्रन्थि, and *dakkhīa* 117 = दृष्टा may be easily explained; *akkhanti* 41 belongs to अच् (Comm.: *trīṇy api loko nārcati*. Prof. Leumann writes to me: "I should say it is *ākhyānti*. Ā-khyā in the passive sense is certainly curious, but arcyante is literally impossible"), *jinniyo* 49 to जि. *Bali-kaṇṇo jinniyo* 49—if the reading of the MS. should be right—would be a very interesting form, because it is an example of true dual (*dvandva*) desinence. As deçī-words we must consider *chuttanti* 60 = *cajjanti* (त्यज् comp. *chaddai* मुञ्चति Jacobi, *Ausg. Erz. in Māhār.* Gloss.), *chaila* 63 = विदग्ध (from root क्लृ ?), *cuhai* 135 = चुंबति.

As regards the metre, which is chiefly the āryā or gāhā, I will only point out the following few verses as differing from the regular pattern:—

ba, 63; *aa*, 64, 120; *bb* (upagīti), 68-70, 84, 104, 105, 109, 135, 135 bis. Aryāgīti 74, Dohā 40.

A circumstance worthy of remark is that the various σχήματα appear almost always in a regular succession or grouped; thus the gāhās 14-61, 72-83, 110-118, show all the regular shapes of the metre. In 79 two short syllables are wanting; we can easily supply them (by reading for inst. *aibhaya*°).

I beg to notice that Prākṛit verses are printed in italics; that under this mark [...] I have noted conjectural words, inserted in order to restore the meaning or the metre; and noted under † corrupted

words or verses, which I was not able to restore. Where the metre was wrong and could not be made right, I have put the mark (!). Various readings, as well as additions, are both put in brackets, and the reader will easily perceive which of the two is meant. I feel much indebted to my friend Professor Ernst Leumann, at whose suggestion I undertook this work, and who favoured me with some valuable hints concerning the Sanskrit portion as well as the Prākṛit verses (of which 40, 73, and 74 were restored by him). Mr. A. V. Vecchi, a resident in Florence, kindly looked over the English portion.

VII.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING THE AGE OF THE EARLY MEDICAL LITERATURE OF INDIA.¹

BY

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Conflicting Views regarding the Age of Hindu Medicine.

THE exaggerated theories of the antiquity of Indian medical literature which were put forward by Dr. Hessler, author of a Latin version of "Suśruta," and others, have been succeeded in Germany by the hypercritical views advanced by Dr. Haas, who endeavoured to refer the composition of Suśruta's standard work to the period between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries A.D., *i.e.*, a great deal more than two thousand years later than Dr. Hessler had attempted to do. The ingenious theories of Dr. Haas have been refuted, in their turn, by Weber, and particularly by the late lamented Professor August Müller, by whose elaborate investigations² the influence of the Indian writers on medicine on the medical literature of Arabia has been finally established.

Persian Writers on Medicine.

The same influence may be traced in the contemporaneous works of Persian writers on medicine, as may be gathered from Abu Mansur Muwaffak's copious work on Pharmacology, translated very recently into German by a young Persian physician, A. Achundow.³ This learned composition contains references both to "the medical men of India" generally, and to authorities with such unmistakably Indian names as Sri-Fargavadat, *i.e.*, Śrī-Bhārgavadatta, and Jāthak-Hindī, *i.e.*, the Indian work on nativity. What is more, the 584 remedies enumerated and described in this work include many such as are

¹ This paper was not sent in till after the Congress, though we were prepared for the learned author's contribution, and are glad to give it a place in our Proceedings.—ED.

² Arabische Quellen, zur Geschichte der indischen Medicin, in the Journ. of the Germ. O. S., xxxiv.

³ Die pharmakologischen Grundsätze des A. M. Muwaffak, in Prof. Kobert's Historische Studien aus dem pharmakologischen Institut der k. Universität Dorpat, 1873.

more or less confined to the soil of India, as, *e.g.* aloes, tamarinds, and sandal-wood; and a number of drugs with which the author had become acquainted during his extensive travels in India are expressly designated by him as Indian drugs. Professor Kobert, the learned editor of Dr. Achundow's translation, having placed the names of these drugs before me, I have tried to identify them with the names of Indian plants, and my suggestions, such as they are, have been printed by Professor Kobert.¹ I have come across a drug with an evidently Indian name since, viz., *amladsch*, *Emblica officinalis*, which, according to Muwaffak, is an Indian word meaning "a stone."² This designation is clearly identical with the Sanskrit term *amala*, *Emblica officinalis*.

The Bower MS.

Direct proof of the existence of a native Indian system of medicine at a far earlier period than the time of the Arabian and Persian writers on medicine has been furnished by the discovery of the Bower MS., and of the two Sanskrit works on medicine contained in it. The date of this MS. has been referred to the fifth century A.D. both by Dr. Hörnle and by Professor Bühler,³ and it is therefore the earliest Sanskrit MS. extant. Suśruta and the other leading authorities in the field of medical science come out as prominently in this early work as in the hitherto known Sanskrit compositions on medicine. For a detailed analysis of the principal points of coincidence between the Bower MS. and the printed Sanskrit works on medicine, I may refer to Dr. Hörnle's excellent annotated edition and translation of the Bower MS. (Journ. Beng. As. Soc.). Some minor details might be added to the points noticed by Dr. Hörnle. Thus the legend regarding the origin of garlic, and the rules regarding its various medical uses, may be traced in the *Ashtāṅgahṛidaya* and other works on medicine, as I have shown elsewhere.⁴ Regarding the cure of weak digestion, B. 47 has the following:—*mande tu laṅghanam pūrvam paścāt pācanadīpanam*; and so A. (Ci. 3, 124, p. 335) ordains *mande dīpanapācanam*. B. 87 foll. has a great deal about plasters for the face; Bh. (Madhy. 4, p. 61) agrees⁵ with Bh.

¹ Die pharmakologischen Grundsätze des A. M. Muwaffak, in Prof. Kobert's Historische Studien aus dem pharmakologischen Institut der k. Universität Dorpat, 1873, pp. 294-296.

² Ibid., p. 146.

³ Journ. Beng. As. Soc., vol. ix.; Wiener Zeitschr. f. d. Kund. d. Morgenlandes, v. 302 ff.

⁴ "Der Knoblauch in der indischen Medizin," in a collection of papers published in 1893 on the occasion of Professor von Roth's anniversary.

⁵ Abbreviations:—A. = *Ashtāṅgahṛidaya* (ed. Kunte). B. = Bower MS. (ed. Hörnle). Bh. = *Bhāvaprakāśa*. C. = *Caraka* (ed. Jibānanda). S. = *Suśruta*. V. = *Vishṇu*. Y. = *Yājñavalkya*.

as to the ingredients to be used for such plasters, as, *e.g.* *yashti*, *candana*, *kushtha*, *tila*; and whilst B. remarks that the patient should not let the plaster become dry, *nadhārayeta śuskhaṃ pralepaṃ vadane manushyaḥ*, Bh. observes accordingly, *śushkas tu trināhīnaḥ syāt tathā dūshayati tvacāṃ*. On remedies against cough, B. 120 has the remark, *ghritair mārutakāsināṃ sānnair upācareddhīmān*, corresponding to A. (Ci. 3, 1, p. 328), *kāsāṃ snehair ādāv upācaret . . . ghritaiḥ*; and so there is perfect agreement between the other remedies against cough in both works. The causes of premature grey hair are stated as follows in B. 112:—*rasadoshād vyavayācca pittaśoṇitadūshanāt / bhavaty akālapalitāṃ*. Bh. (Madhy. 4, p. 63) has an analogous statement, *krodhaśokaśramakṛitāḥ śarīroshma śirogataḥ / pittam ca keśān pacati palitāṃ tena jāyate.*||

Relation of Medical Writings to other Branches of Sanskrit Literature.

The mutual relations between medical literature and other departments of Sanskrit literature have not been receiving much attention hitherto,¹ in spite of their importance for purposes of chronology. It will be my endeavour to show that the medical theories and rules of diet in which the early law-books of India, the Smṛitis, abound, agree to a considerable extent with the corresponding portions of the medical works.

Formation of the Body.

Generation and the formation and growth of the human body is described as follows by Caraka (Śār. 4, p. 351 foll.), those passages which agree literally with the corresponding sections of the Vishṇu (96, 43 foll.), and Yājñavalkya (3, 72–100), Smṛitis being marked out by cursive type:—*Garbhas tu khalv antarikshavyagnitoyabdhūmivikāras cetanādhishtānabhūtaḥ sa hy asya shashtho dhātur uktaḥ . . . yathā pralayātyaye sisṛikshur bhūtāny aksharabhūtaḥ sattvopādānaḥ pūrvataram ākāśaṃ srijati tataḥ krameṇa vyaktataraguṇān dhātūn vāyvadikāś caturāḥ . . . sa sarvagūṇavān garbhatvam āpannaḥ prathame māsi saṃmūrchitaḥ sarvadhātukalushīkṛitaḥ khetābhūto bhavati . . . dvitīye māse ghaṇaḥ saṃpadyate tṛtīye māsi sarvendriyāṇi sarvāṅgāvayavāś ca . . . tatṛāsyādkāśātmakam śabdaḥ śrotram lāghavaṃ saukshmyaṃ vivekaś ca vāyvatmakam sparśaḥ sparśanaṃ ca raukshyaṃ preranaṃ dhātuvyūhanaṃ ceshṭaś ca śārīryaḥ agnyātmakam rūpaṃ darśanaṃ prakāśaḥ paktir auskṇyam avātmakam raso rasanam śaityaṃ māravanaḥ snehaḥ kledaś ca prithivyātmako gandhaḥ ghrāṇaṃ gauravaṃ sthairyam mūrtiś ca . . . tadā prabhṛiti garbhāḥ*

¹ Certain coincidences between works on medicine and the Vedas, Pāṇini, Varāhamihira, and the Amarakosha have been pointed out by Professor Weber.

*spandate tac caiva kâraṇam apekshamânâ na dvaiḥṛidayam vimâna-
namgarbham icchanti kartum . . . tasmât priyahitâbhyam garbhinîṃ
viśeṣeṇopacaranti kuśalâḥ . . . garbhasyâpadyamânasya vindāṃ
vairâpyam vâ kuryât / caturthe mâsi sthiratvam âpadyate . . . pañcama
mâsi garbhasya mâṃsaṣoṇitopâcayo . . . shashṭhe mâsi garbhasya
balavarṇopacayo saptame mâsi garbhaḥ sarvabhāvair âpyâyata . . .
aṣṭame mâsi garbhaś ca mâtṛito garbhataś ca mâtâ . . . muhur
muhur ojaḥ parasparata âdadate . . . tasmât tadâ garbhasya janma-
yâpad bhavati.* For an analogous, though less copious, description
of the formation of the body, see S. (Śâr. 3, p. 10), and A. (Śâr. 1, p.
183 foll.). Both of these works, however, do not agree with Yājñi-
valkya and Viṣṇu so closely as Caraka. In this place the Indian
theory regarding the causes of the production of male or female
children or of hermaphrodites may be fitly referred to. It is com-
mon to Manu (3, 49), and to the medical works S., A., C., Bh., and
others.

Anatomy.

The subject of anatomy, in the medical and legal works referred
to, is discussed together with the formation of the body. The
analogous statements of these works regarding the structure and
parts of the body may be exhibited in a tabular synopsis. It will be
seen that, in this case also, the learned composition of Caraka, the
superior antiquity and authenticity of which has been well brought
out by Dr. Haas, agrees far more closely with the legal works than
the other compilations. The parts of the body are—

Parts of the Body.	Viṣṇu and Yājñav.	Caraka.	Suśruta.	Aṣṭ.	Bhāv.
Elements (dhātu) .	7	7	7	7	7
Skins . . .	6	6	7	7	7
Parts of the body .	6	6	6	6	6
Orifices . . .	9	9	9	9	9
Bones . . .	360	360	300 (360)	360 (300)	300
Veins (sirā) . .	700	700	700	700	700
Ligaments (snāyu) .	900	900	900	900	900
Arteries (dhamanī) .	200	200	24	24	24
Muscles . . .	500	400	500	500	500
Tubular vessels (sirādhhamanī) }	2,900,956	2,900,956	...	...	...
Vital parts (marma) .	107	107	107	...	107
Joints . . .	200	2000	210	210 (200)	210
Objects of the senses	5	5	5	5	5
Organs of perception .	5	5	5	5	5
Organs of action .	5	5	5	5	5
Hairs . . .	300,000	2,900,956	...	...	innumerable
Excretions (mala) .	12	7	7	7	7
Seats of vitality .	10	10	...	10	...

The agreement between Caraka and the law-books, especially Yājñavalkya's, is exhibited very plainly, moreover, in what the former calls *koshṭhāṅgāni*, i.e., the navel, the heart, and the rest; and in his list of fifty-six *pratyāṅgāni*, which correspond to the *sthānāni* of the law-books. But it is in the department of osteology that this agreement shows itself most distinctly. The bones are:—

Bones.	Vishnu and Yājñav.	Caraka.	Bones.	Vishnu and Yājñav.	Caraka.
Teeth	32	32	Clavicle	2	2
Bones at their root .	32	32	Palate	2	2
Nails	20	20	Flat buttocks . . .	2	2
Fingers and toes . .	20	20	Secret part	1	1
Long bones of each } hand and foot . . . }	60	60	Back	45	45
[Roots of each hand } and foot] }	[4]	[4]	Neck	15	15
Heels	2	2	Breast	17	14
Ankles	4	4	Ribs, together with } Sthālakas and } Arbudas }	72	72
Maṇikas of each hand	...	2	Chin	1	1
Elbows	4	4	Root of the chin .	2	2
Legs	4	4	Nose	1	1
Knees	2	2	Eyes	2	1 (?)
Cheeks	2	2	Ears	2	1 (?)
Thighs	2	2	Forehead	2	1 (?)
Arms . . . . .	...	2	Temples	2	2
Shoulders	2	2	Head	4	4
Upper part of the } spine }	...	2			
Temples (lower part)	2	2		360	360

A. has the identical figure of 360 bones, which, however, are specified in the Commentary only. The 300 bones of S. and Bh. consist of 120 of the extremities, 117 of the trunk, and 63 of the head.

Quantity of Blood, &c.

Yājñavalkya states the respective quantities of blood, water, bile, &c., in the human frame, in *añjalīs* or sotticefuls. Precisely the same statements occur in C.

Physiology.

Turning from anatomy to physiology, we may note, first, that the theories of the law-books and of the works on medicine regarding menstruation and conception are absolutely identical. Thus the well-known rule of Manu, 3, 46-48, on this head recurs in A. (Śār. 1, 27 foll.), Bh. (i. 1, 18), and Su. (Śār. 7 foll.). Impotency, together with

¹ Vishnu, 22, 81; and Manu, 5, 135.

its causes and cure, is discussed in Bh., i. 1, 23, and v. 218 foll.; S. Śâr. 9, C. 848 foll. The classification of impotency as comprising seven kinds, some of which are curable and the rest incurable, as well as the names of certain Klibas, such as, *e.g.* *īrshyaka* and *āsekyā*,¹ recur in the Nârada-smṛiti, xii. 11 foll., and so do some of the remedies prescribed against impotency. Childhood, or the period of minority, extends to the age of sixteen, both according to legal and medical authorities. The theories of the medical writers regarding the varying influence of the six seasons on the system seem to underlie the rules of the legislators regarding the various quantities of poison to be given, according to the time of the year, to a person who is to be tested by the ordeal of poison.² The best of climates, according to the medical authorities, is the climate of an arid (*jāṅgala*) country; accordingly, the legislators advise the king to settle in a *jāṅgala* country.³

Diseases.

The numerous diseases referred to in the law-books, especially in connection with the subject of Karmavipâka, correspond to the nomenclature of the medical writers, and so do the poisons which are referred to on occasion of the ordeal by poison.

Hygieology.

The department of hygieology and personal duties presents a vast number of analogies between legal and medical literature. A man shall rise early in the Brâhma Muhûrta; he shall not take food or a bath during an indigestion; he shall after meals cleanse his teeth with a stick of a certain kind of wood; he shall not travel without a companion; he shall not scratch the ground without reason; he shall not step on ashes, excrements, chaff, or potsherds; he shall not cross a river (swimming) with his arms; he shall not ascend a tree or a boat of doubtful solidity; he shall not exert himself without a purpose; he shall never look at the sun; he shall not serve low people; he shall not stop at the root of a tree at night, nor at a cross-road; he shall avoid the smoke of a burning corpse. These examples have been collected from the Dinacaryâdhyâya in A., Sû. 2. Many other instances may be gathered from Bh. I. i. 114 foll., and the whole of the Dantakâshṭhavidhi, *ibid.* 90, agrees almost literally with the sixty-first chapter of the Vishṇusmṛiti.

¹ Sevyasca, Nâr., xii. 13, is probably wrong for āsekyasca.

² This fact has been pointed out by Professor Stenzler in his Essay on Indian Ordeals, Journ. Germ. O. Ś., ix. 674.

³ Manu, 7, 69; Yājñ., 1, 320; Vi., 3, 4.

Philosophy.

The philosophical and cosmological tenets of both sets of works offer many points of resemblance, besides those contained in the above-quoted chapter on embryology. Thus the human body is said to consist of the five elements, of earth, water, fire, air, and ether. Manas, "mind," is distinguished from buddhi, "intellect," and âtman or jiva, "soul." The entire Sâmkhyan theory of the twenty-four Tattvas is found both in the Bhâvaprakâśa (I. 1, 9 foll.) and in the Vishṇu-smṛiti (97). The author of the Code of Manu shows himself fully acquainted with the three qualities of Sattva, Rajas, and Tamas in the mortal frame which play such an important part in the Hindu system of medicine. The whole creation consists of immovable and movable things (*sthâvara* and *jaṅgama*). The *sthâvara* things,¹ according to Suśruta and other medical writers, may be divided into the four kinds of *vanaspati*, *vriksha*, *vîrudh*, and *oshadhi*. This division corresponds to Manu, i. 46-48. Of *jaṅgama* things there are also four kinds, both according to Manu and Suśruta, viz., *jarâyujâ*, *aṇḍajâ*, *svedajâ*, and *udbhijjâ*. The well-known medical theory of the three humours in the human frame, viz., wind, bile, and phlegm, underlies the term "*sāṃnipâtika*, diseases," which occurs in the law-books.

Weights and Measures.

The legal writers trace weights and measures from *trasareṇu*, the atom of dust which is seen to move in a sunbeam. Writers on medicine define the term *trasareṇu* in the same way, but they further divide a *trasareṇu* into thirty *paramāṇus*. The various coincidences and differences between the medical and legal writings on the subject of weights and measures have been fully pointed out by Colebrooke in his Essay on Indian Weights and Measures.

Proverbial Sayings.

Considering this general agreement between the teaching of the legal and medical writers, it is not surprising to find that they should have a number of proverbial sayings in common, among which those relating to the instability of human life (Vishṇu 20), and to the eight things commanding reverence in this world (Nârada xvii. 54) may be mentioned.

¹ In Manu, i. 46, also the reading *sthâvarâḥ* is perhaps preferable to the reading *taravâḥ*, which has been printed in my edition of Manu.

Points of Difference.

On some points there exists a difference of opinion. Thus the medical writers assert that neither the father nor the mother should be very young; the former being less than twenty-five years old and the mother less than sixteen, the child will either die in the womb, or it will not live long, or the senses or limbs will be incomplete. The legal writers, on the other hand, are advocates of infant marriage, as has been shown elsewhere. Again, the law-books denounce alcoholism and animal food in the strongest terms, whereas the works on medicine prescribe spirituous drinks, broths, and divers kinds of meat for certain diseases. These differences of opinion, however, may be easily accounted for by the different ends which the legal and the medical writers had in view.

Antiquity of Indian Works on Medicine.

The coincidences referred to are the more remarkable because they extend over the whole range of Smṛiti literature. If, *e.g.* the chapter on anatomy in the Viṣṇu and Yājñavalkya Smṛitis were the only case of close agreement between legal and medical works, it might be argued that this agreement does not prove much for the antiquity of works on medicine, as the two law-books in question can be hardly older than the third century A.D. Such analogies, however, as those occurring, *e.g.* in the section on personal duties, which is among the earliest relics of Smṛiti literature, prove distinctly that the groundwork of Sanskrit writings on medicine is genuine and old, not inferior in antiquity, apparently, to any other branch of Indian learning.

VIII.

NOTE SUR LE DIEU MANGALA.

PAR LE

COMTE ANGELO DE GUBERNATIS,

PROFESSEUR À L'UNIVERSITÉ DE ROME.

(Avec une planche.)

EN présentant et en illustrant la forme et l'origine de l'*akri*, dont se servent les mahouts de l'Inde, au Congrès des Orientalistes de Stockholm, j'ai eu l'occasion de rattacher le dieu Ganeça, fils de Çiva, qui porte la tête d'un éléphant, et, parmi ses emblèmes, l'*akri*, à son grand-père Indra, monté sur l'éléphant; et j'ai pu constater alors dans le monde mythologique un cas assez prononcé et assez curieux d'atavisme.

Je signale aujourd'hui un second cas, non moins intéressant, d'atavisme divin, dans la personne mystérieuse de *Maṅgala*, qui cache, sous ce nom aussi propice que celui de son père, le second fils de Çiva, le dieu de la guerre, nourrisson des Pléiades, plus généralement connu sous le nom de Kârttikeya, qui le rattache également à Indra, le dieu belliqueux de la pluie et de la foudre.

Le docteur Gerolamo Donati vient de présenter à la Société Anthropologique Italienne la reproduction photographique d'une tablette intéressante en cuivre, dont le roi de Kutch a fait présent au Musée Indien de Florence, avec un essai de traduction des litanies en l'honneur de *Maṅgala* qu'elle porte gravées, en avançant l'opinion que la tablette désigne par *Maṅgala* la planète Mars.

Cette opinion me semble se justifier si on substitue à la planète le génie qui la domine, c'est à dire, le régent Mars, Kârttikeya, le dieu de la guerre en personne.

Dans le Panthéon Indien de Moore, *Maṅgala* figure, en effet, comme le sixième signe du zodiaque, dans l'aspect d'un jeune guerrier, à cheval d'un bélier, et qui ressemble énormément à Indra, dont le bélier aussi bien que l'éléphant est la monture affectonnée.

Vṛishnih, proprement *celui qui verse*, devenu ensuite le bélier fécondateur, est l'un des noms du dieu de la pluie, de l'Indra védique.

Dans nos litanies, on donne à Maṅgala le surnom de *Varshakartri*, ou *faiseur de pluie, pluvieux* ; nourri par les six étoiles de la pluie, par les six Pléiades, par les six Kṛittikâs, Kârttikeya, le Mars Indien, comme le dieu qui apporte le grand bénéfice de la pluie si souvent invoqué dans l'Inde méridionale, y est aisément devenu *Maṅgala* ou propice comme son père Çiva, dont la monture est le taureau fécondateur. J'ai pu assister aux fêtes que l'on célébrait à Kangivara, l'une des villes saintes près de Madras, en l'honneur de Kârttikeya, et dû me persuader que son culte s'y confondait avec celui de son père brahmanique et de son grand-père védique.

Bhūminandana, ou *délice de la terre*, est encore appelé sur notre tablette le dieu Maṅgala ; il y figure, en outre comme *fils de la terre*, d'une couleur rouge de feu, pareil à Agni, et *qui éloigne les maladies et les dettes*, probablement parce que lorsqu'on le fête, ainsi que son frère *Ganeça*, on liquide dans l'Inde tous les comptes de l'année.

On sait que l'année indienne est marquée par la saison des pluies, et que par le nom *Varsha* on désigne *la pluie et l'année* ; pour cette raison, Maṅgala ou Kârttikeya, nourri par les Pléiades, les étoiles de la pluie, ouvre à son tour l'année et devient, dans notre tablette, comme *Ganeça*, un *ṛinahartri* ou *celui qui enlève les dettes* et ailleurs, un *ṛinahantaka*, c'est à dire, *celui qui détruit les dettes*.

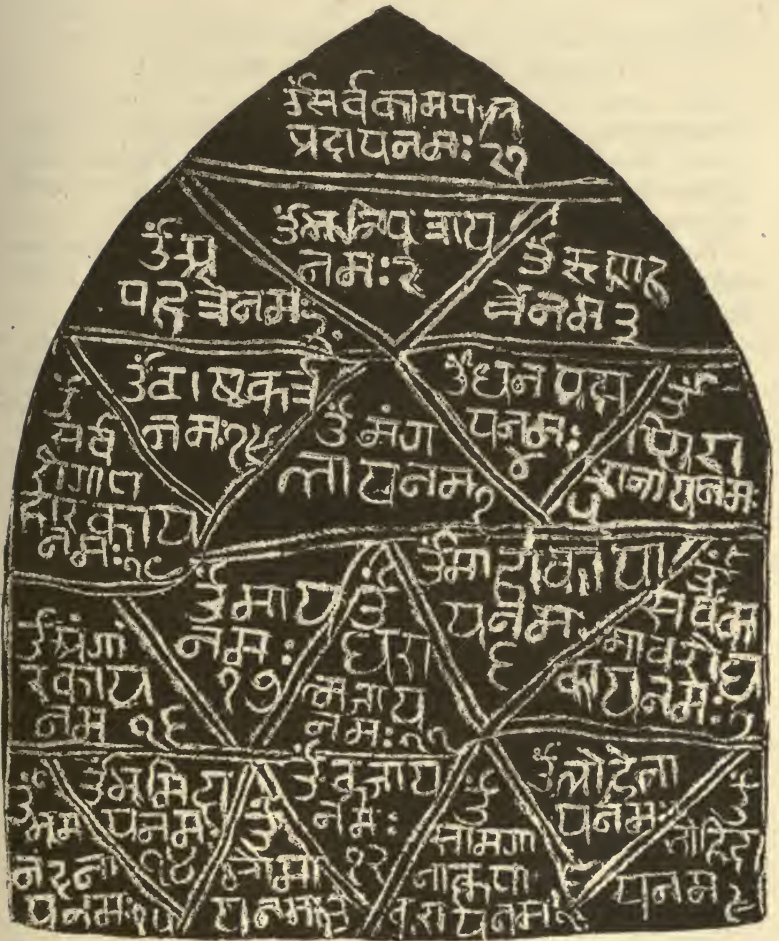
Ceux qui ont assisté aux fêtes de *Ganeça* dans l'Inde, et aux plongeurs qu'on y fait faire à ce dieu dans la mer ou dans la rivière, ont bien compris que de cet aimable et populaire Janus qui ouvre l'année bénie, l'année bienfaisante, les marchands et le peuple de l'Inde font dépendre toute la richesse, tout le bonheur de l'année qui va suivre ; c'est, donc, en son nom, qu'on ferme tous les vieux comptes et qu'on ouvre les nouveaux. Lui aussi, donc, est comme son père, comme son frère, un porte-bonheur, et un véritable patron de tous les endettés, et en son nom, ainsi que les Chrétiens au nom du Christ, les Indiens, au milieu de grandes réjouissances, se réconcilient. Les deux fils de Çiva, *Ganeça* et Maṅgala ou Kârttikeya, malgré la tête d'éléphant, façonnée au premier, se ressemblent prodigieusement par leurs instincts. Les légendes guerrières des deux frères se touchent de bien près ; ce qui n'a rien d'extraordinaire, puisqu'ils sont tous les deux des petits-fils d'Indra. Le dieu des dieux, à la fin de la période védique, s'est triplé ; comme Divaspati, Bṛihaspati et Brahmanaspati s'est spiritualisé en Brahman ; comme guerrier amoureux a pris la forme de ce Vishnu, dont Kṛishna est

devenu l'expression populaire ; comme dieu terrible et bienfaisant à la fois, s'est identifié en Çiva, le créateur et le destructeur.

Mais, entre Mañgala ou Kârttikeya, dieu de la guerre, fils de Çiva et Indra, notre tablette nous permet peut-être encore de saisir un autre rapport intéressant.

Indra gagne au ciel ses grandes batailles météorologiques, grâce surtout à l'intervention formidable de ses puissants auxiliaires, les trois fois sept ou vingt-un Mârouts, les vents flamboyants et rugissants au milieu de l'orage. Les Mârouts sont presque les rivaux d'Indra ; les mêmes rapports se trouvent dans la mythologie hellénique entre le dieu de la guerre et le vent. Je crois, donc, que c'est en souvenir des vingt-un Mârouts, grâce auxquels Indra gagne ses batailles au ciel, que la tablette des litanies consacrée à son petit-fils Mañgala, se trouve partagée en vingt-un sections, dont le centre est représenté par le nom de *Mañgala*, le bienheureux. Indra figure à la tête des Mârouts, comme l'un d'entr'eux, ainsi qu'il nous apparaît comme l'un des trois frères, comme l'un des Ribhous, comme l'un des Vâsous, comme l'un des Âdityâs : ainsi des vingt-un noms donné au fils de Çiva, au petit-fils d'Indra, Mañgala est le premier.

Tablette en ivoire
du Musée Indien de Florence
en l'honneur de Maṅgala.



IX.

PALI, SANSKRIT AND PRAKRIT ETYMOLOGY.

BY

THE REV. RICHARD MORRIS, M.A., LL.D.

THERE are at present no scanty material for studying the old Prâkrit idioms. The labours of Goldschmidt, Weber, Jacobi, Pischel, Bühler, Müller, Hoernle, and others have largely contributed to our knowledge of rare and difficult forms.

The publication of Hemacandra's Deçînamâlâ is one of the latest and perhaps most important aids to those interested in the Prâkrit literature and lexicography.

It will be a great gain to students when the second volume, containing a complete alphabetical index, is published. It will throw much light upon Jaina Prâkrit, Pâli, the Gaudian dialects, as well as upon classical Sanskrit, and its indebtedness to the popular idioms.

The Prâkrit dialects throw light upon each other. Pâli is often an aid to Jaina Prâkrit, and will be found serviceable in dealing with some difficult forms in Hemacandra. For the most part the phonetic peculiarities of the older Prâkrits are essentially the same, but Pâli became a literary dialect at a very early period, and has been more conservative than Jaina and other Prâkrits. In Pâli, however, we have popular forms as distinguished from classical ones, and these are of great interest.

We will take *issa* as the popular form of *ikka* = *ikkha*, a bear. The modern Hindu dialects have not this form, which comes from an older **iccha*, but Marâthî has the closely allied *rîsa*.

Pâli, Pkt., and Skt. have *accha* (from **akkha*), and the well-known *accha-bhalla*, which in Sinhalese becomes *walaha* (for *walassa*) = M. *asa-val*.

Bhalla is generally considered to mean a bear, but *accha-bhalla* looks very much like an attempt to Sanskritise *assa-vala* = *valassa*, a wild bear, a bear of the woods. There is a great tendency in all

the Prākritis to soften *ch* into *s*. In the oldest Pāli, for instance, *kassapa* is connected with *kacchapa*, a tortoise, and Marāthī has *kāmsava* for *kassapa* or *kāsapa*.

We can thus see how Pkt. *pussaī*, *pumsaī*, go back (1) to *pucchati* = punchati, (2) to *proñchati*.

So *isia* (vâçâyita), H. D., i. 84, stands for *issita*, and must be equated with Pāli *icchita*.

Take another of Hemacandra's conundrums. *Vojjha-a* = *vojja-malla*.

Vojjha-a = *vojja-ka* = *vujja-ka* = Pāli *vujjhaka* = *yuddhya-ka*, fighting.

Vojjha-malla = *malla-vujja* = Skt. *malla-yuddha*. (See Jātaka, 2, 96.)

Hemacandra assigns to *villa* the sense of *accha*, clear. This at first sight appears to be inexplicable. There is nothing in Skt. that seems to indicate the origin of it.

But we must bear in mind that Prākrit *l* frequently represents a cerebral *d*. Thus *krīduti* becomes first *kheḍḍaī* and then *khellaī*; cf. *vedhā* = *vellā* = *veṣṭita*.

Let us then turn *villa* into *viḍḍha* and we see that it is identical with Pāli *vīddha* = Skt. *vīdhra*, clear, bright, applied to the clear open sky both in Pāli and the older Skt.

Pkt. has often cerebral for Pāli dentals, thus Skt. *vardhra*, leather, corresponds to Pāli *vaddha* or *baddha*, and is found in Pkt. *vaḍḍha-i-a*, a shoemaker.

Sometimes Pkt. turns original *l* or *r* into cerebral *d*, hence *atthūḍa* (*lagha*) = *atthula* = *a-sthūla*.

Kuruḍa = *karūla* = Pāli *kurūra* = *krūra*. (See H. D., ii. 63.)

Acchigharulla *dvesya* (H. D., i. 41) = ? *acchi-karulla* (= *akṣi-krūra*), for *karullacchi*; cf. Skt. *krūra-dṛṣ*, cruel.

L. R. passes into *l* in *siṇḍola* = Skt. *sindūra* (n. of tree). Sometimes *l* passes into cerebral *ṇ*, as in *thūṇa*, *aṇva* = **thūla* = **sthūra*, of Skt. *sthūrin*, a pack-horse.

Cf. to *rosāṇaī* = *ros-ālaī*, to rub, polish, from *rūṣ* or *lūṣ*, to adorn.

Again, Hemacandra (D., vii. 27) has a long note on *samucchaṇṭi*, a broom, and quotes numerous authorities in support of it.

We have already seen that *ñch* passes into *ech* and *ss*, and we are able to equate this with Pāli *sammunñjanṭi*, a broom, which Childers believes to be a variant of *sammajjanṭi*. But it is a false reading for *samuñchanṭi*, from the root *uñch*, with *sam*. The Sinhalese *musná*, a broom, = *sam-usnā* = *samuñchnā*, when *s* represents *ech* = *ñch*, but not *ñj* or *j*.

From the same root Pāli has *sam-uñcha-ka*, gleaning, and Jaina Pkt. *samucchai* = *samuñchati*, to sweep up.

The fact that *ñch* passes easily into *ech* helps us to see that *anacchāi*, a substitute for *karṣ*, stands for *anvacchāi* from $\sqrt{\text{āñch}}$ (draw, drag) + *anu*. Cf. *añchia ākrṣṭa* (H. D., i. 14).

Acchi-viyacchī, *parasparamākaraṣama* = *āñchi-vyañchī*, from the same root.

We see, too, that *luñchāi* may = *lucchāi* = *lukkhai* = *lukṣati*, from Skt. *rūkṣ*.

Sometimes *ñkh* occurs for *kh* = *kṣ*, as *osumkhia*, *utprekṣita* (H. D., i. 159) = *osukkhita* from *sūrṣ* + *ava*.

In Pāli we find such popular forms as *kumbhaka* for *kūpaka*, a mast; *uḷumpa* for *udūpa*, a raft, with which we may compare Sinhalese *kumba*, M. *kūmba*, for *kūpa*.

In Pkt. we have numerous instances of this kind. The curious term *alampa*, a cock, does not carry its etymology on its surface. But it stands for *allampa* = *allappa*, and this for *ā-lāpa* = *ārāva* from *ru* + *ā*, so that *alampa* means a crower, and is connected with M. *āravṇem*, to own; *ā-ravṇī*, cock-crowing.

We can see how by assimilation *mp* (= *pp*) may become *mm*. This serves to explain Pkt. *kammai*, cut, from *kalpati*, through *kappati*, *kampati*, *kammati*. (Compare *jaṃpai* from *jalp*.)

The causal *kammavaī*, a substitute for *upabhaj*, represents Skt. *kalpayati*, Pāli *kappeti*.

This nasalisation is common in the modern dialects, and in Hindī we find *sāmpa* = *sāpa* = *sāṃpa* = *sarpa*, snake. It is this change that explains Pkt. *ohāmia*, weighed, which has long been a crux to those who would restore it to its Sanskrit form.

We must bear in mind the use of Skt. *dhar* (with and without *tulayā*), to weigh, and then we can easily see that *ohāmia* = *ohamita* = *odhampita* = *odhappati* = *odharpita*, from the causal of *dhar* with *ava* (or *upa*?).

In Sinhalese we find *aramba*, a grove, Skt. *ārāma*, and Hema-candra mentions *ārāmbhika* = *ārāmika*, a florist.

We may, I think, venture to explain *khumpa*, *ṭṭṇamaya* (H. D.), as a variant of *khuppa* or *khūpa*, and related to M. *kumbhā*, Skt. *ksupa*, a bush.

We can understand how *peṇḍava*, a substitute for *pra* + *sthā* (H. P., iv. 37; H. D., 59) = *piṇḍavaī* = *piḍḍavaī* = *pīlavai*, the causal of *pīḍ*. Cf. *vippīṇḍia* = *vipīḍita* (H. D., vii. 70; *uppelaī*, H. D., i. 117).

Gutthaṇḍa *bhāsapaksī* (H. D., ii. 92) = **gutthāḍa* = **gutthāḷa* = *gotthāla* = *go-ṣṭha* + *ala*. Cf. Skt. *bhāsa* = *goṣṭha*.

* So *guṇṭha* *adhama-haya* (H. D., ii. 91) = *guṭha* = Skt. *ghuṭa*.

For *jj* we have often *ñj* in Prakrit. Thus *ruṁjāi* = *rujjai* = *rudiyati*; and this enables us to see the same root in *o-ruṁjam*, *nâstîti bhaṇitagarbhâ krîdâ* (H. D., i. 156).

Rumda, "vipula, mukhara" = *rudda* = Skt. *rudra*. Cf. *raṁjāi*, break = *rajjai* from *radiyati*, Skt. *rad*.

We have also a root *rad*, to cry, in Pkt., for Hemacandra (D. I., 75) gives *ârâdî*, *ârâdia*, "vilapita," from the causal of root, *rat* + *â*. Cf. M. *rad-ṇem*, cry, bewail; *a-radṇem*, cry out; Hindî *ratnâ*, call out.

Cerebral *t* usually becomes *d* in Pkt., hence Skt. and Pâli *ceṭa*, boy, slave, becomes (1) *ceḍa*, (2) *cilla* (H. D., iii. 10), for *ciḍḍa*. Cf. old Sinhalese *salaya* = *calaya* for **ceṭaka*.

See note on *villa*, clear.

Pkt. *vâyāda*, a parrot = Skt. *vācāṭa*, talkative. This calls to mind the forms *pūsa* and *pūsaka*, a parrot, evidently meaning chattering. This represents an older *pussaka*, which we find in Pâli *pussaka* (not in Childers), explained by Buddhagosa as "a big barn cock," which is applied to a boaster or bragger. Cf. M. *phusārī*, bragging; Hindî *phas*, sound, noise; M. *phuslāvinem*, brag.

I regard *pussaka* as a derivative of a verb *phussaī*, a variant of which is *phamsaī* (H. P., iv.), a substitute for *visamoad*.

Here *phamsaī* = *phassaī* = *phāsaī* (cf. *phaṁsa* = -*phassa* in Pkt. *suhaphamsa*). Marāṭhī *phasvinem*, *phāsvinem*, cheat; cf. Skt. *phās*, idle talk. With this I would connect Pkt. *upphālaī*, to speak (foolishly), a denom. of *upphāla*, a wicked person.

Compare Pâli *sam-pha*, idle talk, with Skt. *pha-phā*. The lexicographers give *phi*, idle talk, a wicked person. M. has *phas-kā* worthless, used of persons and speech.

Uddhacchavī, *visamvādita* (H. D., i. 114), I connect with *uddhacchia* *niṣiddha* (H. D., i. 111.)

In Pâli we find *uddha* for *ubbha*; Pkt. has *babbha* = *vardhra*, and *uddhacchia* I would explain as *ubbhacchita* from *bharts* + *ud*.

Uddhacchavī must represent a derivative from a causal *uddhacchavāi*.

In H. D., i. 119, *ud-dhacchavī* and *vrahatthia* = *sajjita*. The root is here *hasta*, as in *ava-hatthia*, abandoned (P. L., 79), from *āpahastyati*; cf. Skt. *apahastita*, lost. The lexicographers connect it with *hasta*, hand. *Ava-hatthia* looks like a secondary verb formed from the passive-participle of either *bhrañç* or *dhvañs* (*dhvas*) with *apa*.

Ubbhāvāi, a substitute for *ram* (H. P., iv. 168) = *uddhāvāi*, to

roam at large, from *dhāv*, run. A derivative of Skt. *ud-bhā* would not explain the sense of the Pkt.

Skt. has *ud-dhava*, joy, from a denominative *uddhāvaī*, might be formed.

H. D., i. 117, has *ubbhāvia* and *umbhāvia* surata.

Vellaī, another substitute for *ram*, is connected with the noun *vella* vilāsa (H. D. vii. 94) from $\sqrt{\text{vell}}$, roll about.

Samkhuddai, another substitute for *raṇ*, and also *khuddai*, seem to come from a root *khurd*, leap, hop, jump.

Appāhaī, Appāheī.

Pāli has the rare form *vyappatha*, “a word,” “fame,” which comes from root *prath* with *vy* + *â*.

The Sinhalese has *pānawā*, to show, display = Skt. *prāthayati*, spread abroad, make known.

The Pkt. form of *āprāthayati* would be *appāheī* (and *appāhaī*).

S. Goldschmidt considered it to be an exact reflex of Skt. *āvyāhar*. Professor Weber, rightly objecting to this, would refer it to *abhyāhar*.

The derivative here suggested needs no hypothetical forms.

Pāli *udḍeti* and *odḍeti* signify to lay a trap, set a snare, cast a net, from the root *ḍi*. I have found no use of this in Prākṛit. except in the compound *udḍiya-pāsa* (Hāla, 787, p. 428), of which Professor Weber says, “Ich weis hiermit gar nichts zu machen.” It means beset with snares.

I find in H. D., i. 21, *avadiā* (= Pāli, *odḍita*) in the sense of *khinna*. The root *ḍi*, *dī*, has the sense of spend, waste; cf. M. *udṇem*, fly; *udṇem*, scatter, waste.

In the Mahāvastu we find *olīyati*, to fly down, and *alli-ai* (H. D., i. 58), *āliyati* from *lī*. In the sense of “upasarpati” it must represent *alīyāi* = *â-dīyati* from *ḍi*.

The Sinhalese *aṭa-wanawā*, set a trap = *uṭṭa-wanawā* or *ullawa-nawā* = Pāli *udḍayati*. Prakṛit has no separate sign for the palatal *ṇ*, but employs the cerebral *ṇ* instead.

It is often difficult to see at once the origin of such a form as *saṇṇattia* paritāpita (H. D., viii. 10), but recollecting Pāli words like *saññāmeti* from *saṃ* + *yam*, we can equate *saṇṇattia* with *saṃyāt-ita*, from the causal of the root *yāt*.

So *saṇṇāmaī* (H. D., viii. 19), “ādriyate” = *saññāmmati*, from *saṃ* + *yamyate*.

Pāli does not, I think, tolerate such forms as *maṇḍi*, Skt. *maulī*, but has only *moli*, top-knot of hair.

Pkt. has, in addition, *moḍa*, *āmoḍa*, and a reduplicated *murumuḍa* = *muḍu-muḍa* jūṭa. In this sense we have mukkuṃḍī = Skt. mukuṭa, a nest (see H. D., vi. 117).

Pāli sometimes separates the conjunct consonants *vy* into *viy*, as *viyagga* for *vyagga*, or *vagga* = *vyagra*, bewildered; but, on the other hand, we have *vāḷa*, a snake, for *vyāḷa*.

Pkt. has *vīāḷa*, a thief (H. D., vii. 90) = Skt. *o vyāḷa*, which also stands for *vi-kāḷa*, evening.

In Pāli *ava*, frequently contracted to *o* initially, appears as *o* in the body of a word, as *uddosita* = *udavasita*, stable; *koca* = *kavoca*, mail. This enables us to explain *vi-ola* āvigna (H. D., vii. 63). It cannot be for *vyākula* or *vikula*, but must stand for *vikola* = *vikalava* = *vikavala* = Skt. *viklava*. To the root *klav* I would also refer *khavalia*, *kupita* (H. D., ii. 72) = *kavalita* = *kalavita* = *klavita*. The aspiration is due to *l*, though the conjunct *kl* is separated.

Pkt. *thūrī*, a loom = *thorī*, from Skt. **sthavarī*; cf. *sthavi*, a weaver.

Pkt. does not always separate conjunct consonants, as Pāli. Thus, from root, *trad* (split, bore, break = *trḍ*), with *nir*, we get *nit-tiraḍī*, *nirantara*, and *nit-tiraḍia* *truṭita*.

Skt. *ṣmasru* appears in Pkt. as *masurī* (H. D., vi. 130), but we also get *maṃsu* or *massu*.

Pāli has occasionally loss of aspiration, as *ikka*, a bear; *tikka* = *tīkṣṇa*. Pāli *ikkhaṇa*, a fortune-teller, corresponds to Pkt. *ikkaṇa*, a thief (H. D.).

Pāli shows us what letter is lost in Pkt.—thus, *asia*, sickle, must be the equivalent of Pāli *asita*, connected with Skt. *asi* and *asira*.

Pkt. *dhaṇiyaṃ*, strongly, much, is generally Sanskritised into *dhanikaṃ*, and referred to *dhana*, as if the original meaning were richly.

But Pāli *dhanita*, strong, as opposed to *sithila* weak, shows that there is no connection with *dhana*. The Jaina Prakrit, too, has *dhaṇi-yakaṃ* for *dhanitakaṃ*.

The Pāli *dhanita* has acquired a special sense as a grammatical term for the aspirated consonants of each class. The root is probably *dhvan*.

But Prākṛit has peculiarities altogether unknown to Pāli, forms akin to those found in the modern Gaudian dialects. Probably most of the cruxes in the Deçināmamālā may be solved by those most conversant with those dialects related to Skt.

Ollaria *supta* (H. D., i. 163) is explained by Hindī *u-lār-nā*, to cause to sleep; *ularnā*, to lie down, take seats.

In H. D. we have *kummāna* and *kurumāna* in the sense of *mlāna*, fading, which must be referred to root *mlā*.

Just as *amla* becomes *ambila* in Pāli, so Hindî, with *ku* for *vi*, makes from *ku-mlā* a verb *kumbhilānā*, *kumhlānā*, to fade (*kumbhilānī*, fading), *kummāna* = *kummāna* = *kumbhāna* = *kumbhlāna* = *kumlāna* = *kurumāna* = *ku-lumāna* = *ku-mulāna* = *kumilāna* = *kumlāna*.

Marāthî has *āṁdulṇem*, swing, and *āṁdolana*, a swing, from root *dul*. The Skt. *andolana* chiefly rests on the authority of the lexicographers, and is, I believe, a true Prakrit form. Benfey would refer it to *dandul*, a frequentative of *dul*. But with Marāthî *amtharnem* = *attharnem*, scatter, and *addana* = *ādāna*, we may consider *andola* to be a variant of *addola* = *â-dola*. The Skt. *hindola* seems to be either a curtailed *ahindola* for *ahi-dola* from *dul* + *abhi*, or represents an earlier *sindola* for *sandola* from *dal* + *sam*.

Nimḍiṇī, *niānia* (H. D.) “*kutṛṇodharana*,” may be compared with Pāli *niddāna*, digging up weeds.¹

Skt. *undura*, a rat, with its variants *indūra* (M. *undira*), *unduru*, *undura*, is probably a true Pkt. form for *uddura* from root *dur* (a variant of *dar*, *dal*), to rend, tear, a causal, of which we have in Pkt. *vidūraī*. Sanskrit has *uddhāna*, *udvāna*, a fireplace, stove.

Pāli *uddhāna*, an oven, is perhaps a variant of *iddhana*, from *indh*, kindle. Pkt. *uddāna*, an oven, may be for *uddāna* (like *kattārī* for *kattārī*, shears) = *uddhana*, through a fancied connection with *uddāna* from root *dā*, bind.

With *andolana* = *addolana* we may compare Pkt. *aṁgutthī* = *â-gutthī*, a veil, from *guṇṭh*. The curious form *aṁgumaī*, to fill, a substitute for *pūray*, must be referred to *aggumaī* = *âgumaī*, from *gumaī*, to fill; *gumīla*, full. So *agghādaī* and *agghāvaī* (H. P., iv. 169), to fill, to satiate, represent Skt. *âghrāpayati*; the former with the Guadian causal suffix *âḍa*. Cf. *agghāna* tripta (H. D., i. 19) = *â-ghrāna*.

Ahiremi, fill, may perhaps be from *abhi* + *ram*, through the causative *remayati* = *rīramayati*.

Pkt. has interesting forms allied to Pāli, as for instance *illa*, a sickle, with which we may compare Pāli, *illī*, (Skt. *ilī*), probably a woodman or hunter's knife.

Marāthî has *iḷā*, a curved instrument for cutting grass; *iḷī*, a kind of blade set in a stock for cutting vegetables.

Illa, *ella*, poor (if not for *idra*,² a curtailed *daridra*), must represent **iddra* = *ittra* = Pāli *ittara* = Skt. *itvāra*.

¹ *Nimḍiṇī* = *niddanī* and *niānia* = *nidānita*.

² Cf. Prakrit *chilla* from *chidra*.

Tr does not often become *lr*, but *cimeillaĩ* seems to be a frequentative of *cillaĩ* from *citryati*, a denominative from *citra*. Jaina Prakrit has *cilliya* dīpyamāna.

Illīra gr̥hadvāra may be connected with Pāli eḷāka (? = illāka), a threshold. But we have formations in Prakrit altogether unknown to Pāli as causals in âḍa, âḷa; the use of particles *uru-*, *ulu-*, for *ud-*; *aḍa* for *ana*; the employment of the suffix *illa* or *illī*.

Prakrit has a fondness for reduplicated and frequentative forms like *tharakhaĩ*, *kurukurita* (raṇaraṇaka) baḍabaḍaĩ vilapati, *culuculaĩ* *caluulai* = spondati, with a host of others unknown to Pāli.

Some of these compounds are very puzzling. Thus in H. D., vi. 106, *bharuḥuṇḍia* = uddhālita, or *bhuru-kuṇḍia*. Of the last I can make nothing, but *bhuruḥuṇḍia* seems to be a corruption of *uru-hūlia* = *uru-dhūlia*, where *uru* is the prefix *uru* in *uru-solla* = *prerita*. It is more frequently written *ulu*, as in *ulu-phuṇṭia*, from sphuṭ *ulu-hulia* dissatisfied *ulu-aṇḍia* (= *praluthita*) for *ulu-gūḍia* a demon, from *guḍa*, a ball.

It has also roots that have been lost in Pāli.

Sanskrit itself has no root to explain *romantha* = *rug-man-tha*, from a root *rug* found in Prākṛit, â-roggia = â-rūgita, *bhukta* (H. D., i. 69).

Cf. Marāthī *āroṅga*, eating.

I. On the Buddhist-Sanskrit *Samkalikā*.

The Petersburg Dictionary, on the authority of Burnouf, registers a noun *saṃkalikā*, but without any explanation. A reference to the "Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien" (p. 258, n. 3) shows us that the word occurs in the "Divyâvadâna" (see Cowell and Neill's edition, p. 43, l. 9):—"Yat tatra *saṃkalikā* cūrṇaṃ cāvaṣiṣtam tat pishtvâ tatraiva pralepo dattaḥ" = Les éclats de Santal . . . et ce qui restait de la poudre fut pilé et donné dans le Vihâra pour servir d'onguent."

Burnouf's rendering of *saṃkalikā* by *éclat* is doubtless quite correct, though the word was altogether new to him. But *saṃkalikā-cūrṇa* is a compound which is explained in the "Index of Words" to the Divyâvadâna as "shavings." The literal meaning would seem to be chip-dust, which almost answers to our English saw-dust.

We find *saṃkalikā* in the Mahāvastu (i. pp. 21, 22, 24): "*Asthi*

saṃkalikāḥ parivarjyanti nirmānsā snâyusamyuktāḥ.”¹ There are some various readings, as *saṃkârikâḥ*, *santarikâḥ*, *sakalikâḥ*. Professor Senart takes the latter part of the compound to be a derivative of *saṃkal*, and to mean “a heap.” With it he compares the Pâli *aṭṭhi-saṃkhalikā* (Jât., i. p. 433), which he regards as a false reading for *aṭṭhi-saṃkalikā*, and would amend the Jâtaka test accordingly.

But the word *aṭṭhi-saṃkhalikā* (Sinhalese *aṭṭa-saṅkilla*) rests on very good authority, and is not to be lightly set aside or altered because of the later Buddhist-Sanskrit corrupt reading. The best manuscripts of the Satipaṭṭhâna-sutta (Majjhima-Nikâya, i. p. 258) have *aṭṭhi-* (or *aṭṭhika-*) *saṃkhalikā*, which is confirmed by the readings of the Mahâsatipaṭṭhâna-sutta (Dîgha Nikâya). It occurs also in other well-known texts. The commentary on Petavatthu, ii. 12. 11, explains it by *aṭṭhi-saṃkhalita-mattā*!

In Suttavibhaṅga, i. p. 105, *aṭṭhika-saṃkhalikā* corresponds to *aṭṭhi-kaṃkala* in Suttavibhaṅga, ii. p. 134: “Idāhaṃ addasaṃ *aṭṭhika-saṃkhalikaṃ* vehâsaṃ gacchantam, tam enaṃ gijjhârpi kâkâpi kulalâpi anupatitvâ anupatitvâ pâsulantarikâhi vitudenti.”

We have a parallel passage in Saṃyutta-Nikâya (xix. 1, 9), where the printed text has *phâsulantarihâhi*.

[The last word but one of this quotation is in the instrumental case, but must be translated as if it were the locative, “in the ribs” (see H. P., ii. 137, vol. ii. p. 121). Childers has *phâsulikā* = Skt. **parçukikā*, from *parçukā*, *pârçukā*, a rib, but not any similar form with cerebral *l*. The Pâli probably had *phâsulā* (*pâsulā*), or *phâsulī* (*pâsulī*). Compare Hindi and Marâṭhī *pâsolī*, *phâsolī*, a rib.]

Buddhagosa has the following note on the foregoing passage from the Suttavibhaṅga (Par. iv. 9, 2): “*Aṭṭhi-saṃkhalikan* ti setam nimmaṃsa-lohitam *aṭṭhi-saṃghâtikaṃ*.”² But the skeleton is not always entirely fleshless and unarticulated, but sometimes “*samaṃsasalohitā nahârusambandhanā*” (see Majjhima Nikâya, i. p. 458). It only becomes a mere heap of bones when it is “*apagatasambandhanā*.”

[Buddhaghosa’s use of *saṃghâṭaka* may be compared with Marâṭhī *sâṃgâḍâ* representing a Skt. **saṃghâṭa*, the skeleton or frame of anything. *Aṭṭhi-saṃghâṭa* occurs in Dhammapada, p. 258, and

¹ Compare “Nothing is left but a bony skeleton” in Nāgārjuna’s Epistle (Journal Pâli Text Soc., 1886, p. 23) with Mahāvastu, i. p. 24.

² See Buddhaghosa’s note on “*khârapatacchikaṃ pi karonte*” and “*suṇakkhehi pi khâdapente*” (Aṅguttara, II. i. 1).

seems to mean the ribs. In Milindapañha we have *nāvā . . . nānadāru-saṃghāṭikā*, where we ought perhaps to read *saṃghāṭikā* = having its framework of various woods.]

The term *asthi-saṃkalikā*, as well as its Pāli equivalent, does not mean bone-heap, but bone-chain (the bony column linked together as in a chain), that is to say, a skeleton.

It seems somewhat unreasonable to affirm that *-saṃkalikā*, which is only met with in Buddhist-Sanskrit texts, and is not quotable from the older literature, has become in Pāli *-saṃkhalikā*. The reverse is no doubt true, as Hemacandra refers *saṃkala*, chain, to Skt. *ṣṛīkhala*, corresponding to Marāṭhī *saṃkala*.

The compiler of the Mahāvastu was evidently perplexed by the, to him, unfamiliar *aṭṭhi-saṃkhalikā*, and Sanskritised it by *asthi-saṃkalikā*.

There is a Skt. *asthi-kaṃkāla*, a skeleton, which appears in Pāli, probably through accent-shifting, as *aṭṭhi-kaṃkāla*. It is not in Childers' Dictionary, but is now well known from the printed texts. Compare Theragāthā, v. 1149; Majjhima-Nikāya, i. p. 132 = Aṅguttara, v. 76 = Theragāthā, v. 488 = Suttavibhaṅga, ii. p. 134. In Theragāthā, v. 488, we have *aṭṭhikaṃkāla* in the printed text, though four manuscripts read *-kaṃkāla*. In Saṃyutta-Nikāya, xv. 10, 3, we find *aṭṭhi-kaṃkalo*, *aṭṭhi-puñjo*, *aṭṭhi-rāsi*, where one MS. has *aṭṭhi-saṃkalo*.

But to return to the use of *saṃkalikā* in the Divyāvadāna, with the meaning of splinter, lath, chip, shaving. The root *kal* + *saṃ* would not produce such a derivative in the sense of chip, &c. Here, again, Pāli helps us to correct the Sanskrit and to supply the original term, which is *sakalikā*, a splinter or chip of wood or stone, &c. Childers has no mention of it; but compare the use of the word in the following passages:—

(1.) “Bhagavato pādo *sakalikāya* khato.”—The foot of the Blessed One was wounded by a potsherd (Milinda).

(2.) “So kira . . . ekaṃ makkhikaṃ gahetvā koviḷāra-*sakalikāya* sūle vijjhi.”—He, it is said, took and impaled a fly on a chip of Kovidāra-wood (Jāt., iv. 30).

(3.) “*Sakalikaṇ* ca paticca aggi jalati t'eva saṃkhaṃ gacchati.”—And so a fire made up of and consuming chips goes by the name of a “chip-fire” (Majjhima, i. p. 259).

Lastly, we find *sakalikaṃ sakalikaṃ karoti* corresponding to Sanskrit *ṣakalī karoti*, to reduce to chips, to reduce to fragments, in Saṃyutta-Nikāya, xii. 55, 5 (see a parallel passage in Aṅguttara-Nikāya, iv. 195, p. 199):—

“So taṃ rukkhamaṃ khaṇḍākhāṇḍikamaṃ chindeyya, khaṇḍākhāṇḍikamaṃ chetvā phaleyya, phāletvā sakalikaṃ sakalikaṃ kareyya.”—He would cut that tree into (big) logs, and having cut them into logs, would split them up, and having split them up, would reduce them to chips.

“Bhindath’ etaṃ bhikkhave dārupattaṃ sakalikaṃ sakalikaṃ katvā bhikkhūnaṃ añjanupapisaṇaṃ detha.”—Break that wooden bowl, brethren, and having ground it to powder, give it as ointment perfume to the brethren (Cullavagga, v. 8, 2, p. 112).

We have here two distinct uses of the Buddhist-Sanskrit *saṃkalikā*, one representing Pāli *sakalikā*, Skt. **çakalikā*, the other corresponding to Pāli *saṃkhalikā* = Skt. *çṛṅkhalikā*.

It is evidently unsafe to attempt to correct Pāli by a mere reference to the North-Buddhist texts, but we may often check the Buddhist-Sanskrit by comparison with established forms in Pāli documents.

We find derivatives of *saṃ + kal* represented in Pāli by *saṃkalana* (Sum., i. p. 95) and *saṃkalita* (Theragāthā, v. 65, p. 10).

II. *Cūla, Dhanva.*

“Ahaṃ cūḍaḥ paramacūḍo dhanvaḥ paramadhanvaḥ, ko maṃ pravrajāyishyatīti” (Divyāvadāna, pp. 488, 490).

There are two cruxes in this passage—*cūḍaḥ* and *dhanvaḥ*—both of which, the editors explain, doubtfully, as “stupid.” But this can hardly be the exact meaning of both terms. If the compiler of the Divyāvadāna had the Pāli before him, we can account for the two words *cūḍaḥ* and *dhanvaḥ*¹:—

“Ahaṃ cūlo . . . dandho . . . ko maṃ pabbājessatīti.”

The compiler probably took for granted that cerebral *l* always represented Skt. *ḍ* (as it does in *cūḷa* = *cūḍa*, &c.). But Pāli *cūla* = *culla* = Skt. *ksudra*, little, mean. This is the signification of *cūḍaḥ* in the text; and we know that Panthaka, who says, “I am *little* and *dull*,” was called Cullapanthaka.

The second puzzle to the compiler would be *dandho*, slow, dull, blockish.

“*Dandhā* mayhaṃ gatī āsi paribhūto pure ahaṃ,” are words attributed to Cūllapanthaka in the Theragāthā, v. 556 (see also Jat., i. p. 116, ll. 11, 30).

“Cullapanthako sāmaṇero pabbajitvā *dandho* ahosi.” “Cullapanthako nāma *dandho* avirulhidhammo.”

¹ The Prākṛit forms are *culla*, *chuddha*, *khudda*. We find *khuddāka* = Skt. *ksudraka* in Mahāvastu, i. p. 302.

I doubt whether any Sanskrit scholar could with certainty restore for us the original form of *dandha*.¹ Childers refers it to Skt. *tandra*, weary, which ought to be represented in Pâli by *tanda* (cf. *atandita*, unwearied). Trenckner connected it with Skt. *dârdhya*, sloth, inertness, from *dr̥ha* through **daḍḍha*; but *dârdhya* (= firmness, stability) would probably become in Pâli *dālha*.

[There is a Prâkrit *dhaṁdha* = *lajjā* with which might be connected a noun **dhaṁdha*, timid, hesitating, slow, from which Pâli *dandha* could be derived, though usually the second aspirate would be dropped, as in *khudâ* for *khudhâ*, Skt. *kṣudhā*, Jaina-pkt. *khruha*. There is also Marâthî *dhandranem*, to befool; *dhandryā*, a blunderer. I believe that *dandha* arises from a Skt. **dâdra*, sleepy, slow, from the intensitive or frequentative of *drā*, to sleep. Compare *daridrâ* [*dâdrâ*], from *drā*, to run, whence *daridra*, Pâli *dalidda*, poor.]

If *dandha*, as far as its etymology goes, is a crux to us, much more would it be to the Sanskrit compiler of the *Divyâvadâna*. He might imagine it meant "blockish," hence the restoration *dhanvaḥ*, which he probably connected with *dhanvan*, &c.

III. *Krîḍâpanikâ*.

In *Divyâvadâna*, p. 3, Çrona Koṭî-karṇa has eight nurses assigned to him—two to carry him, two to keep him clean, two to suckle him, and two are said to be *krîḍânikâ*. But the Sanskrit *krîḍânikâ* is an adjective, and we need a substantive in the text to correspond to those in the other compounds, *aṁṣa-* (*aṅka-*) *dhâtrî*, *maladhâtrî*, and *ksîra-dhâtrî*.

On p. 475, one of Candaprabha's nurses is called *Krîḍâpanikâ*, which is doubtless the only correct reading, though the Sanskrit dictionaries have not registered this form. But in Pâli we have, from √*krîḍ*, a causal verb *krîḷâpeti* (Jât., ii. 129, 142), from which we obtain the nouns *krîḷâpanaka* (m.) and *krîḷâpanikâ* (f.). Compare Jaina-pkt. *kîḷavaṇa* (Spec. der Nâyâ, p. 117). Childers has neither the causal verb nor the nouns formed from it. In *Majjhima-Nikâya*, i. p. 384, we find *krîḷâpanaka*, with its corresponding feminine, in the sense of "one who is to amuse another"—that is to say, a playmate. This, of course, represents a Skt. *krîḍâpanaka*.

The Buddha tells the following story to the brethren:—"A

¹ In Jat., iii. 141, we have the verbs *dandhati* and *dandhâtyati*, to be slow, to dally; cf. *dandhayitta*, Sam., i. p. 252.

certain old Brâhman had a young wife who was about to become a mother. 'Go,' said she to her husband, 'to the bazaar, buy and bring me home a young male monkey, which shall be a play-fellow (kîlâpanaka) for the little boy (that's coming).' 'Wait, my dear,' said the Brâhman, 'until you have been confined; if it turns out to be a little boy, I'll buy and bring you a he-monkey as a playfellow for him; and if it is a little girl, I'll buy and bring you a she-monkey as a playmate (kîlâpanikâ) for her.'

"The infatuated husband was, however, obliged to give way to his wife's whim, so he brought home a he-monkey. Then his wife bade him take the creature to the dyer and get its colour changed and made yellow. Its coat was to be made smooth all over by some kind of polishing process (so that the animal would look like a proper Hindu baby).

"The dyer said he could manage to dye the monkey yellow, but would be unable to give it a smooth surface (like cloth)¹ by any process of rubbing up and down."

The Buddha applied this story to the doctrine of the Niganthas. It was capable of taking the colouring of fools, but could bear no inquiry (anuyoga) or discussion (vimajjana).

IV. *Āvajjati*.

This use of *vimajjana* in the sense of "discussion" leads me to consider here the Pâli and Buddhist-Sanskrit *āvajjati* and *āvajjana*.

Childers has no mention of *vimajjana*, which corresponds in *form* to Sanskrit *vimarjana*, but in *sense* to *vimarçana*. It is curious to note that the verb *vimajjati* is employed in its literal (physical) acceptation, while the substantive seems only used metaphorically. In Sumaṅgala, i. p. 276, *anumajjati* is explained by *anumasati*, to touch; but on p. 83, *anumajjana* has the metaphorical sense of "consideration, investigation, or handling."

In Pâli it is somewhat remarkable that we have not as yet come across the words *āmajjati* and *āmajjana* in a physical or metaphorical sense. What we do find is *āvajjati*, to meditate, consider; and *āvajjana*, meditation, consideration.

In Buddhist-Sanskrit we find *āvajjanto* (Mahāvastu, i. p. 377), for which some MSS. read *avadhyanto*, as if it were connected with Pâli *avajjhyāti* from Skt. *ava-dhyā*.

This has led E. Müller to refer *āvajjati* to the root *dhyā*, in spite

¹ Compare ubbhatobhagavimattṭham vattham, cloth with a nap on both sides (Parinibbāna-sutta, p. 29).

of considerable phonetic difficulties against it. Notwithstanding its meaning, Childers refers *āvajjati* to Skt. *āvarjate*, to give, bestow. We must, I think, be guided by the hints afforded us in *anumajjana*, *vimajjana*, and derive *āvajjati* from the root *mṛj*, so that *āvajjati* is merely a variant of *āmajjati* employed metaphorically. (Compare the use of Skt. *mṛṣ* and *āmṛṣ*.)

Clough's Singhalese Dictionary has *āvajjana*, thought, reflection, considering, and *āmañjana*, meditating, thinking, also stroking with the hand as an act of fondling.

In the Prākṛit dialects we have several instances of the change of *m* to *v*:¹ (1.) Between two vowels, as Jaina-pkt. *navata* = namata, felt-cloth; Pkt. *navai* = namati; *navasiya* namasita. Compare Marāthī *onavṇem*, to stoop; *aṇcavana* = ācamana. (2.) Initially, as Marāthī *vaṅgula* = Pkt. *maṅgula*, bad, nasty (Pāli *maṅku* with suffix -la); Pāli *vīmaṃsā* = mīmaṃsā; Pkt. *visāla* = Skt. *micra-yati* (P. L. H. D., iv. 28; vi. 133); *vaggo-a* = vaṅgusa (H. D., vii. 40) = *maṅgusa*; *vañjara* = mañjara, a cat (H. P., ii. 132).

Prākṛit has *sīṇaya* = sīvaṇaka (H. D., viii. 55), a cemetery. This answers to Pāli *sīvathikā*. Both forms may be derived from Skt. *çmaçāna* = Pāli *susāna*, Pkt. *sosāna*, *susāna*² (H. D., viii. 45). Singhalese *soṇa*, *sohona*. *Çmaçāna* might become (by separation of conjunct consonants by *i* instead of *u* or *a*): (1) *śīmasāna*, (2) by change of accent through the suffix -ka *śīmahāṇaka*, (3) *śīmaṇaka*, (4) *sīvanaka* (*sīṇaya*). The Pāli might turn *śīmahāṇaka* into (1) *śīmahikā*, (2) *śīvahikā*, (3) *sīvathikā*. Compare Prākṛit *bibboṇa*, *bibboṇa* for Skt. *bimbopadhāna* = Pāli *bimbohāna*. Here Pāli keeps *hā* for *dhā*, while Pkt. rejects it. On the other hand, Pkt. retains the *p*, which is lost in the Pāli.

The Jaina-prākṛit use of *āvajjati*, as far as I have been able to ascertain, agrees in meaning exactly with its Sanskrit equivalent. But how is it with respect to the forms registered by Hemacandra? In the Deçināmālā, vii. 69, we find *vajjiya*³ = apalokita. This of course agrees in meaning with the Pāli *āvajjita*.

The theory I have ventured to put forward of *āvajjati* for *āmajjati* is strongly supported by Pkt. "majjiyam apalokitam pītam ca" (H. D., vi. 144). In the first sense *majjiya*, from the root *mṛj* (cf. Pāli *majjati*, to rub); in the second from *mad* (cf. Pāli *majjati*, to be intoxicated). Thus Prakrit has both *vajjai* and *majjai*, with the meaning of to consider; while Pāli employs *āvajjati*, and not *āmajjati*, in this sense.

¹ Cf. Singhalese *āwunanawā* and *amunanawā*, to string, thread.

² Prakrit has also *somāna* = *çmaçāna* = *sumānam* (H. D., viii. 45).

³ The various readings, *vajjiya*, *vajhiya*, seem to point to a *bujjhita* from $\sqrt{\text{budh}}$.

We find in Pâli the causal verb *āvajjeti* = Skt. *āvarjayati*, to bend, incline; and in one passage in the Jātaka-book (ii. p. 243) mention is made of "the spell for conquering the earth" (*paṭhavī-jaya-manta*), which is also called "*āvajjana-manta*." With this compare a phrase in the Divyāvadāna—"Aṣu prthag-janā *varjanakarī* riddhiḥ." See also Lal. Vist., p. 315 l. 1; and compare "Tao Kālagasūri ṭhio egassa sâhino samīve āvajjio ya so maṃtâ-ihim" (L. D. M. G., xxxiv. p. 262, § 37).

V. *Abbhidiya*.

Bearing in mind the change of *m* to *v* (that of *v* to *m* is not more common¹), we may perhaps be enabled to throw some light upon the origin of Pkt. *abbhidiya* (P. L., 190; H. D., i. 78; H. P., iv. 164), united, joined.

Professor Pischel compares *abbhidaḥ* with Marāthī *bhidṇem*, to come into contact; Bangālī *bhetite*, to meet.

In Prākṛit *bh* sometimes represents an older *v* or *m*, as *bhaṃgusa* = *maṃgusu* (Hāla); Marāthī *bhisalṇem* = *misalṇem* (cf. Pkt. *misālai* and *visālai*, to mix; *bhimbhala* = Skt. *vihvala* (H. P., ii. 58).²

Sometimes *bh* springs from *v*, due to an older *p*, as in Jaina-pkt. *thābha* = Pâli *thūpa*, Skt. *sthūpa*; Pâli *vitabhī* = Pkt. *vitavī* = Skt. *vitapin*.³ Perhaps *ubbhā-a* = *çānta* (H. D., i. 96) is an instance of this change from *v* to *bh*, *ubbhāta* = *unmlāta* for *ubbāta* = *urvāta* (see H. D., i. 100, and Index to Hala, s.v. *vā* = *mlā*). We also find in H. D., i. 163, *orummāti* = *indvāti*, which probably is another form of *uru-mā-ī*, for *uru-vā-ī*.⁴

Taking into account these well-known changes, we may be justified in equating \sqrt{bhid} with \sqrt{mil} (through *vil*), "to meet," so that *abbhidiya* = *ā-bhidita* = *ā-vilita* = *ā-milita*.

The Pkt. *nihelana*, "house," is referred to by Professor Bühler to Skt. *niketana* (through, I suppose, the intermediate forms **nikedana*,

¹ Compare *āmela* = *āvela* = *āpida*, a garland; *āmalaya* = *āvalaya* *nipura* (H. D. T., 67). Hemacandra gives *vā* as a substitute for *mlā*. This probably arises out of *vā* = *mlā*, "to fade," by the loss of *l*.

² Beames connects Hindi *miṭ*, "to be effaced," *meṭ*, "to efface," with Skt. *mṛṣ*. But these forms stand for *mīl* and *mel* (caus.) (= *milā*, *melā*), Skt. *mlā*, "to fade," Pâli *milāyati*.

³ *Orummāti* may stand for *o-dummāti*, from *dhmā* + *apa*, or *ava*. Marāthī has *dumdumṇem*, "to swell, storm, rage." With this Pischel compares Pkt. *dūmmaḥ* = *dāvayati*, and *dummāveḥ* (causal).

⁴ G. Müller compares Pâli *dindīma* with *dundubhi*, "a drum."

**niyelana*), but the Jaina-pkt. has *nibhelana* as well as *nihelana*. The former may have arisen out of **nibhedana* = *nimelana*, "a meeting-place." The etymology is, however, very obscure. Compare *nimeṇa* sthâna (H. D., iv. 37), where there is a various reading, *nimelana* = *nibhelana*.

"*Vobhisaṇo* varâkaḥ (H. D., vii. 82) is a puzzle. I take varâka to mean "adulterated, impure, low;" and so *vobhisaṇo* to be formed from the verb **vyavo-bhîsai* = Skt. **vyava-misrayati*. It can hardly represent **vyava-bhîsaṇa*, "fearful," where the second part of the compound is from the causal of $\sqrt{bhî}$, "to fear."

VI. *Khaṭvâ, Vâraka, Tapu.*

"So 'parena samayena pâṇaka-vâra[ka]ṃ uddisṭhas tad *vârakaṃ* nirmâdayati | âgantukâḥ ca bhikshava âgatâḥ | sa taiḥ prîṣṭhaḥ | çrâmaṇeraka kiṃ saṃghassa pâṇakaṃ bhavishyati | sa kathayati nastîti | te nirâçibhâtâḥ prakrântâḥ | saṃghassa ca pâṇakaṃ sampannaṃ | sa tasya karmaṇo vipâkena tapvâkâraḥ saṃvrittaḥ" (Divyâvadâna, p. 343).

The chief crux in this passage is the term *tapvâkâraḥ*. On pp. 338, 342, instead of *tapvâkârân* we have *khaṭvâkâran*, the former element of which is translated "vase" by Burnouf. As the Skt. *khaṭvâ* is "a bedstead," I think this must be a blunder for *kuṭa*, "a waterpot" (Jât., i. 250,¹ ii. 432²).

Tapu is translated "coupe" by Burnouf, but the editors of the Divyâvadâna suggest "caldron." But I would venture to amend the text by reading *tumbâkârâḥ*, since *tumba* is a well-known Pâli term for a mendicant's "water-pot." Compare *udaka-tumba* (Sum., i. p. 202); *Anâgatavaṃsa*, v. 299, p. 44; J. P. T. S., 1886 (Jât., iv. 114). *Tumba* = Skt. *tumba*, "a milk-pail," with which compare *Marâthî tumbâ*, "a bowl or vessel made of the white gourd;" *tumbaḍî*, "a mendicant's bowl."

Vâraka = *pâṇaka*, "a water-pot," is not found in the Sanskrit dictionaries; but there was probably, from *vârî*, "a water-pot," the derivation *vârîka*, as *vârî-a* (= *varika*) occurs in H. D., vii. 47, for *nâpita*, "a barber."

Childers has, wrongly, *varâka*, "a pot or jar;" but compare *dadhi-vâraka*, "a pot of curds" (Jât., iii. p. 54); *loha-vâraka*, "an

¹ *Dârukuta* shows that it was made of wood, and not of skin.

² *Kuṭa* is here used as a gloss to *kumbha*; cf. Pkt. *kuḍa* = *ghata*; Skt. *kuta*, "a water-jar."

iron-pot" (Suttavibhaṅga, Par. iv. 1, 3, vol. i. p. 190); *udaka-vāraka* (Milinda, p. 260).

We thus see that *khaṭva*, *vāraka*, and *tapu* signify "water-vessels" of various kinds.

Nirmādayati, with the meaning of "to wash," is curious. We should expect *nirmārjayati*, but probably it is a Prākritism due to the use of *nimmaddeti*, in the sense of (1) "to rub, wipe;" (2) "cleanse, scour, wash."

VI. *Khalastoka*.

"Çramaṇeraka dadasva me *khalastokaṃ* kuṭṭayitvâ" (Div., p. 343). In Pâli this would be "samaṇera dadâhi me khalathovam koṭṭetvâ."—The sâvaka asked the samaṇa to pound and give him some few grains of rice gleaned from the threshing-floor.

We see that the compound *khalastoka* means husked rice, because it was to be put into a mortar and pounded. Compare *khala-bhikṣa*, food gleaned from the threshing-floor (H. D., vii. 89). Burnouf takes *khalastoka* to mean a piece of oil-cake. The editors of the Divyâvadâna suggest "a small piece" as the meaning, but this is somewhat indefinite, and leaves out of sight the former part of the compound. Compare "*khalena khalam vicaritvâ vîhiṃ âharitvâ koṭṭetvâ*," &c. (Sum., i. p. 570).

VII. *Dhanita* and *Dhaṇiya*.

There are no end of puzzles to be solved in the curious terms registered by Prākrit grammarians and lexicographers. Something more, however, than a knowledge of Sanskrit seems required to eliminate their original form and meaning. Take, for instance, Pkt. *dhaṇiyaṃ* = *gâlhaṃ*, *dr̥haṃ*, "very much" (P. L.; H. D., v. 58; Hâla, 357). Bühler and Weber would refer it to Skt. *dhanikam*, as if the original meaning were "richly." But Pâli has *dhanita*, "strong," as opposed to *sithila*, "weak;" therefore Pkt. *dhaṇiyaṃ* must be equated with a Pâli *dhanitaṃ*, "strongly, exceedingly much." Jaina-pkt. has *dhaṇiyaṃ*, "very," together with *dhaṇiyhaṃ* = *dhanitakaṃ*. See Z. D. M. G., xxxiv. p. 282. "Anudiyaham tapparo dhaṇiyaṃ" = day by day exceedingly intent upon that (Aus. Erz. in Mâhârâshṭrî, 69, 23).

In Pâli *dhanita* appears to have become a technical term among the grammarians for the aspirated consonants (aghosa and ghosa) of

each class (see Minayeff's Pâli Gr., p. 49, § 3, while *sithila* was used for the unaspirated consonants.

"Ahaṃ sithila-dhanitâdini ahâpetvâ . . . pathamaṃ kamma-vacaṃ savemi" (Sîmâ vivâda vinicchayakathâ in J. P. T. S., 1857, p. 26).

With *sithila dhanitâdini* we may compare "*sithila-dhanita-dîgha-rassa-garuka-lahu-kkhara-paricched-akusalâ*" (Milinda, p. 344); and the following passage from Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Dîgha:—

"Sithila-dhanitañ ca dîgha-rassaṃ
Lahuka-garukañ ca niggahitaṃ
Saṃbaddhaṃ vavatthitaṃ vimuttaṃ
Dasadhâ vyañjana-vuddhiyâppabhedo."

—(Sum., i. p. 177.)

That Pkt. *dhaṇiyaṃ* = *dhanitaṃ* = *dalhaṃ* is shown, too, by the following passage from Sum., i. p. 17:—"Dalhi-kamma = sithilâ-karana = ppayojanâ." Here we see plainly that *dhanita* is opposed to *sithila*, and has the sense of *dalha*. It is probably to be referred to the root *dhran*.

VIII. *Isa-a* = *Rojjha* = *Rohi-a*.

In P. L., 227, we find the unfamiliar word *rojjha* explained as in H. D., vii. 12, by *vṛṣa*. Professor Bühler suggests "rat" as its meaning. Hemacandra (Deçî., viii. 61) has "Atro viso âkhruti vṛṣa çabdabhavaḥ." There is, however, no quotable authority in Skt. for *vṛṣa* in the sense of "rat." The P. W. shows that it is a coinage of the lexicographers out of the compound *vṛṣa-damça*, "having a strong bite, a cat." The key to the explanation of *rojjha* is supplied by H. D., i. 84, where we find "Îsao rojjhâkhyo mṛgaḥ." From this meagre information we are enabled to equate *isa(k)a* with *rojjha*, and if we can explain the former we arrive at the exact meaning of its equivalent.

But first of all what is *isa(k)a*? Taking the long *i* to be merely graphic for an omitted consonant (compare *âsa* = *assa* = *açva*, *mîsiya* = *mîçrita*, *nîsâe* = *niçraya*, *ûsiya* = *ucchrita*, &c.), we see that *isaka* stands for *issaka*. Without the aid of Pâli we can get no further; but Childers has *issa* (and *isa*?, *îsa*), a bear, so that *issaka* means a little bear, or simply bear, for the ending *-ka* often adds no diminutive force to the stem to which it is suffixed. The Marâthî has *rîsa* = *rissa*¹ for *issa*, a bear. But *issaka* goes back to **icchaka*

¹ M. has *rîṇa*, *riddhi*, &c., for Pâli *îṇa*, *iddha*, &c.

or **ricchaka*, and these lead us up to Skt. **ṛkṣa-ka*, from *ṛkṣa*, a bear, or, better still, *ṛṣya*, "antelope."

For, starting from *ṛkṣa* we could get *riccha*, *rikkha* (Pāli *ikka* = *ikkha*); and just as *ṛkṣa* becomes *rukṣha* and *vaccha*, so *ṛkṣa* may produce **raccha* (= Pāli *accha*¹), **ruccha*, or *rujjha*. This last, by shortening of the vowel before the conjunct consonants (see Var., i. 20), might become *rojḥha*. Compare the double forms *puggala* and *poggala*, *bundi* and *bondi* (body), *buddhaka* and *loddhaka*.

The form *rohi(k)a* is also equated with *rojḥha* in P. L. and H. D. Here the steps would be **ṛkṣ-ika*, **rukḥhika*, **rokḥhika*, **rokhika*, *rohia*. Compare *duhia* = *dukhia* = *dukkhia*, from *dukkhita*.

Thus we see that *issaka*, *rojḥha*, and *rohika*, alike as to form and meaning, might spring from the Skt. *ṛkṣa*. But it is more likely that *rohia* = Skt. *rohita*, and *rojḥha* = S. *rudhya*. Compare Hindi *rojḥ*, "white deer."

In Prakrit we find several variants of the same original. Thus Skt. *pātheya* is represented by *pāhijja*, *pāhejja*, *patthayaṇa* (P. L., i 55), *patthenaya*, *pacchenaya*, *pecchenaya* (H. D., iv. 24).

IX. *Vojjha*, *Vojjhaka*.

We will take another of Hemacandra's little equations—" *Vojjhaotattha vojjha-mallaḥ bhāraḥ* " (H. D., vii. 80).

Vojjhaka = *vojjha-malla* does not at first sight solve the difficulty. But recollecting that *rojḥha* = *rujjha*, we may take *vojjhaka* to stand for *vujjhaka*. We may get at the meaning of the Pkt. by a reference to Pāli. In *Dīpavaṃsa*, ix. 17, we find *bujjhaka* = *vujjhaka*, "fighting," from *vujjha*,² which is another form of *yujjha*, from the stem of the verb *yujjhati*. Now we know that *yujjha* has the same meaning as Skt. *yuddha*, so that *vojjhamalla* is merely a prakritism for *malla-yuddha*, "wrestling, fighting," and this must, of course, be the meaning of *vojjhaka* as well as of *vojjha*.

For *vojjhaka*, in the sense of *bhāra*, we must look for the etymology in Skt. (*v*)*uyha*,³ from *vah*, to bear, carry.

Compare Pāli *vuyhati* (Theragāthā, i. 88) = Pkt. *vubbhaī* (see *Gaüd.*, 341, 826, 1044; *Spec. der Nâyâ*, f. 65 note).

In *Setabandha*, iii. 54, we meet with *duv-vojjha*. Hemacandra (*Deç.*, vi. 122) has *maḍā* = *vojḥhā* = *ṣibikā*, a letter; Hindī *bojha* = *Marāthī bojha*, a load.

¹ Cf. Sinhalese *wal-aha* (a bear) = *wal-asa* = *wal-assa*, a wild bear. *Wal* is wild, as in *wal-ūṛā*, hogs.

² Jaina-pkt. has *yujjhaī* and *yujjha*, forms that occur also in *Seta.*, ix. 63; xv. 47.

³ *Hy* = *jḥ* (Var., iii. 28).

X. *Vojjhara*.

Vojjhara atīta (H. D., vii. 76) is perhaps to be referred to *vyavaksar*, to pass away. Compare *pajjhariya* (P. L., 186; H. P., iv. 173), *nijjharañ* (H. P., iv. 20), *ujjharia* (H. D., i. 133), *ujjhara* (Seta., p. 150, col. 2).

In the sense of *bhūta*, we might refer it to **vyava-skhal*.

As a various reading for *vojjañ*,¹ to be afraid, we have *vojjañ*. If the latter were quite assured, we might connect it with *vyavadhyā*. Compare Pāli *ujjhāyati*.

XI. *Majjhaka, Maccha*.

Majjhaka = *nāpita* (H. D., vi. 115) must be connected with the root *mṛkṣ* or *mṛakṣ*, anoint, rub, to which we must refer *um-maccha* (H. D., i. 125).² Compare *um-macchañ* vañcati (H. D., i. 117; H. P., iv. 93). In H. D., i. 167, *ummacchia* (see *ummacchavā*, H. D., i. 116) is explained by *ruṣita* and *ākala*, probably from some confusion with *ummucchia*, from the root *murech*. In Seta., xi. 19, 20, we find *ummaccha* for *ummacchara* = **unmatsara*.

XII. *Āyajjha*.

Āyajjha vepate (H. D., i. 71; H. P., iv. 147) seems to stand for *āvajjhati* = Pāli *vedhati*, to tremble, from Skt. *vyatt*, through **vyath-vati*, **vyadhyati*.

Ve-iddha (*visanthula*, H. D., vii. 95) = *vid-viddha* = *vi-vedha*, from *vi* + *vyath*. *Ve-iddha*, in the sense of *āviddha* = *vi-viddha*, from *vi* + *vyadh*.

Nivahañ, a substitute for *piṣ* (H. P., iv. 185) = *nivadhā* = *nivya-dhati*, while *nivahañ* (for *naç*) = *nivadhāti* (H. P., iv. 178).

XIII. *Ā-iṃch, Sammucchant*.

Āṇaccha (? for *anāṇcha* = *anvaṇch*), *āyaṇchañ* (= *avaṇch*), *ā-iṃcha* are among the substitutes for *karṣ* in H. D., iv. 187.

In the first two we have the root *aṇch*³ (cf. *aṇchia* ākrṣṭa, H. D., i. 14), to draw, as in Jaina-pkt. *aṇchāveñ* = *ākarsayati* (Kalpasutra, § 63), with the prepositions *aṇu* and *ava* (or *apa*).

¹ See H. P., vol. ii. p. 153. Pischel compares *bojjañ* with Mārathī *bujñem*, to startle.

² "Ummacchaṃ asambaddhaṃ bhaṅgi-bhaṇitaṃ krodhaçceti trayartham."

³ There is a variant reading, *ā-yaṇcha*.

In H. D., i. 41, we have from the root *añch*, drag, *acchiviacchī* (v. l. *viyacchī*), parasparam âkarṣaṇa, for *añchi-vīyañchī*; the latter part of the compound may represent *vy + añchī*.

Â-iṃchaī must be referred to another root, most probably to *vrñch*. Pâli has *aviñchana*-rajju (Cullavagga, v. 14, 3; vi. 2, 1), as if from $\sqrt{\text{vrñch}}$, to draw. In Suttavibhanga, i. p. 121, we have *aviñjana* explained by âkaḍḍhanâ, and the verb *aviñji* occurs on p. 127. In Jât., v. p. 290, we find *aviñjana*-rajju. The conjunct consonants *ñj* and *ñch* are easily and often confounded in Pâli (cf. opuñjitoâ = opuñchitoâ, Cullavagga, p. 322).

There may have been two distinct roots, *vrñj* and *vrñch*.

Aṇacchaī shows that *ñch* passes into *cch*, and this is well illustrated by the word *samucchanī*, a brush or broom (H. D., viii. 27).

Childers under *sammajjanī* (Skt. sammârjanī) quotes from the Abhidhânapadîpaka *sammuñjanī*, as if it were merely a variant of the other, from the root *marj*. We ought no doubt to read *samuñchanī*, from the root *uñch*, to clear up, glean. We have in Pâli *samuñchaka*, gleaning (Jât., iv. 66, l. 6), with the various readings, *samuñjaka*, *samucchaka*. The Sinhalese *musnâ*, a broom, represents an older **sam-usnâ*, **hamusnâ*, for *samucchnâ*. Sinhalese *s* in *musnâ* represents *ñch*, *cch*, but not *ñj* or *j*.

[Compare Pâli *puñchatī*,¹ to sweep, wipe; pâda-*puñchanī*, a foot-towel (Theragâthâ, 560).

In Jaina-pkt. payâ-*puñchana* is a broom.

In H. D., iv. 105, as substitutes for *marj*, we find *puñcha*, *pumsa*, *phusa*, *pusa*. Cf. *ava-pusia* samghaṭṭita (H. D., i. 39). Sinhalese *pisanawâ* = *pusanawâ*, Marâthî *pus-ṇem* show that *puñchaī* became (1) *pucchaī*, (2) *pussaī*, *pumsaī*, and *pusaī*. Compare Marâthî *pus-ṇem* = Pâli *pucchatī*.]

This tendency to assimilate *ñch* to *cch* is seen in the Jaina-pkt. verb *samucchaī* = *samuñchati*, to glean, sweep up.

“No pihe nayâva paṃguṇe daram suṇṇagharassa samjæ;

Putṭhe na udâhare vâyam; na samucche no samthare taṇaṃ.”

—(Sayagadamgasutta, I. ii. 3, 14, 129.)

The ascetic should not close nor open the door of an empty house. Being asked (the way), he should not give a (misleading) reply. He should not sweep up grass (in order to take it away), nor spread it out (to make a bed).

In Jaina-pkt. *samucche* would also mean “should cut up,” from the

¹ In Div., p. 491, we find *poñchate*, to clean (shoes).

root *chid* + *samud*, and the scholiasts thus explain the words, “na *samucche taṇaṃ*,” “tathâ na *samucchindyât tṛṇâni kacavaraṃ ca pramarjanena nâpanayet*.”

The Jaina monks carried no instrument for cutting grass, and the reference in the lines quoted above is doubtless to the gleaning and sweeping-up of grass. It is also supported by the Pâli *samuñchaka*, gleaning.

Hemacandra (D., i. 49) has the curious form *ammaṇu-aṇci-aṇahi paccuam* “*anugamanam*.” Does the first represent a Skt. **abbh-anu-vañjitam* (or *-vajjitam*), from the root *vraj*? The second might come from $\sqrt{1}$, with *abhi-prati-ud*, and represent an older *abhipaccudita*.

There is an *ahi-paccuāi* (H. D., i. 60) *grhṇāti*, *âgacchati*, which Professor Pischel would refer to \sqrt{cyu} + *abhipra* (H. D., iv. 163; iv. 209).

But we should expect *ahipacca-āi* = *abhipaccavaī*, answering to *abhi-pra-cyavati* if the root were *cyu*.

Cyavati is in Pâli and Jaina-prâkrit *cavati* (pp. *cuta*); *ca-āi* (pp. *cu-a*; ger. *ca-ittā* = *cyutvā*).

The root of *ahipaccavaī* can only be *cyu* on the supposition that the verb is formed from the passive participle *ahipaccu-a* = *abhipaccuta*.

Luñchāi, Luhaī.

Sometimes *ṇkh*, *ṇch* (*ñch*), represents an older *kkh* for *kṣ*. Thus *oṣuṇkhiya* (H. D., i. 159), explained by *utprekṣita*, must be referred to the root *sūkṣ*, through **ava-sukkhita*.

In H. P., iv. 105, *luṇchāi* and *luhaī* are given as substitutes for *kars*. The former goes back to **lucchāi*, **lukkhaī*, and **lukṣati*, from Skt. *rūkṣ*.

In H. P., iv. 71, we find *nīluṇchāi*, -zer-stampffen, which seems to be the same as *nīluṇchāi* in H. P., iv. 91.

Luhaī = **lukhaī* = *lukkhaī* = *lukṣati*, from Skt. *rūkṣ*. The adjective *luha* (*lūha*), rough, is found in Buddhist-Sanskrit and Jaina-pkt. representing Skt. *rūkṣa*. As a verb, “rubbed dry,” we find *lūhiya* = *lūhita* in *Kalpasūtra*, § 61, explained in the commentary by *lūsita*.

We have *ālūmkhai* (H. P., iv. 182), “touch,” which appears to go back to *ālukkhaī*, from *ālukṣ* = *ârūkṣ*; cf. *ahilaṃkhai* = *abhilakṣhati* = *abhilakṣati*.

In P. L. we find *nelaccha*, a eunuch, which Professor Bühler rightly refers to Skt. **nairlakṣa* or **nirlakṣa*, which are non-quotable forms. It represents *nīlaccha*, from the root *lacch* = *lañch* = *lakkh* =

laks. Pâli has *lakkha* and *lañcha*, a mark. In Theragâthâ, vers. 437, 459, 440, we have *nillacchatî*, to deprive of the marks of virility. The Com., p. 213, has “*Nillacchesî ti purisabhâvassa lacchanabhûtâni bîjakâni niccha[re]si nihari*.”

Vaccaï, to deceive (H. P.), is probably for *vañcaï* or *vañchaï*, from Skt. *vânks* or *vânch*, wish, desire.

In H. D., we find *a-amkha* (miḥ-snehâ) = **a-vânkṣa*; cf. Skt. *vânchâ*, desire.

XV. *Karamarî*.

Karamarî (H. D., ii. 15) signifies a woman carried off by force. The plural, *karamari(y)o*, occurs in P. L., 106, and is referred by Professor Bühler to Skt. *karamrgitâ*. This would produce *karami(y)iâ* or *karamari(y)â*. Pâli, however, has *karamara*, a servant or slave taken in war (Jat., i. 155; iii. 147). The P. W. has *karamarin*,¹ “ein Gefangener.” The word is probably formed from *kârâ*, a gaol, with *mara*, on the same principle as the modern Hindu formations *kâra-bhâra*, business.

Hâla has a variant reading, *kiri mirî*.

XVI. *Paḍi-ajjha-a*.

In Pâli *upajjha* occurs for *upajjhâya* = *upâdhyâya*. H. D., vi. 31, has the curious form *paḍi-ajjha(k)a* in the sense of *upâdhyâya*.

Upajjha would be represented in Pkt. by *avajjha* or *vajjha*. Compare *posotha* for *uposatha* = *upavastha*. *Paḍi-ajjhaka*, therefore, must be for an older **paṭi-vajjhaka* = **prati* + *upâdhyâyaka*. The Sanskrit *âdhyâya* becomes *ajjhâya* (Var., iii. 28), and not *ajjha*.

We meet with *avajjhâya* (H. D., i. 39 (37)) for *upâdhyâya*, showing a confusion between *ava* and *upa*, which we find elsewhere.

Âvi-ajjhâ, *navavadhâ*, *paratantrâ* (H. D., i. 77), cannot stand for *â-vi-badhyâ* or *âvi-vadhyâ*, but for *a-vi-bâdhyâ*, “not independent, tied, married,” or *api-badhyâ*, “connected, tied,” from the root *bandh*.

“*Pâḍi-ajjho yaḥ pitrgrhât patigrhaṃ vadhūṃ nayati*” (H. D., vi. 43). The first word is a puzzle; does it represent *pati-vajjha* = *pati-pakṣa*, the husband’s friend?

XVII. *Ahiḍḍaya*.

Pâiyalacchî, 190, has the very curious form *ahiḍḍaya*, “tormented,” for which Professor Bühler offers no etymology. Its mean-

¹ It is given on the authority of Trik., 2, 8, 63, and is only a loan-word from the Prâkrit.

ing answers exactly to Skt. *abhyardita*, which ought to be represented by *abbhaḍḍia* or *abbhaddiya* (compare Pâli, *aḍḍita*, and *addita*, hurt, from the root *ard*). This might become—(1) *âhaḍḍiya*, (2) *ahidḍaya*. We find in H. D., i. 15, *addaṇṇa*, *addaṇa*, *âkala*, with which we may compare Skt. *ardana*.

XVIII. *Âviya, Oviya.*

Where Pâli has often *i* or *u*, Pkt. has *i*, as in *âviya* (P. L., 268), pierced, stitched. Compare Pâli *âvuta* (*âputa*), in *âvutasutta* (Dîgha, ii. 84; Sum., i. p. 221). In Pâli *âvita* and *âvuta* mean guarded, enclosed. There is a Marâthî *ov-ṇem*, to stitch, thread, from the root *vr*. The Jaina-pkt. has *oviya*, “*parikarmmita*,” which looks as if it were connected with *ava-pri*, with which would be related *vyâvaṭa*, *vâvaṭa*, *vâvaḍa*. But according to Hemacandra (P., i. 63) *arpita* becomes *oppita*, whence comes *opiya*, *oviya* (H. D., i. 167) = *âropita*.

Compare Pâli *appita*, fastened, fixed, fitted.

Arpita should also become in Pkt. *appiya*, *âpiya*, *âviya*.

Professor Pischel compares Marâthî *op-ṇem*, which is identical with Hindî *opnâ*, “to polish.” As a noun, M. and H. have *opa*, polish, with which is connected Pkt. *oppâ*, polishing gems by means of a whetstone, &c.

Compare Sinhalese *opa-naganawâ*, to polish; *opaya*, polish, *opawû*, smooth.

XIX. *Oratta.*

Oratta (P. L., 198), split, torn, is referred doubtfully by Professor Bühler to the root *vrasc*. But *ava-vrasc* would probably produce *orikka*; compare *virikka*, *pâṭita* (H. D., vii. 64); *rikkia*, *çâṭita* (H. D., vii. 7); *rittudā* *çâtita* (H. D., vii. 8) = *rikkudā*, a causal from the pp. of *vrasc*.

Prâkrit has occasionally *a* for *u* and *u* for *a*,¹ and it looks at first sight as if *oratta* were a variant of *orutta* for *orugga* (*olugga*, *orukka*).

Compare Pâli *mukka* and *mutta*.

We also find *uratta* *sphâtita* (H. D., i. 90), probably for *oratta*.

We have *ullukka* *truṭita* (H. D., i. 92), which may be either from $\sqrt{\text{lunc}}$ or *lup* or *luj* (*ruj*); but *rikka* and *ritta*, empty, are from $\sqrt{\text{rinē}}$, as *sikka* and *sitta* are from $\sqrt{\text{sinc}}$.

¹ Compare *nikkaja* = *nikkujja* (H. D., iv. 33), *vallara* = *vallura*; *nijjhura* = *nijjhara* (H. D., iv. 26); *bhumai* = *bhamai*; *ullaṇḍiya* = *ullaṇḍiya* (P. L., 201), *undaṛa*, *unduru*; for *undura*, a rat.

Compare *aṇa-rikka*, *ava-rikka* = *kṣaṇa-rahita*, "without leisure, busy" (H. D., i. 20), from *riñc*.

Rikka (H. D., vi. 6), sloka, is Sanskrit *rikṣā*, a mote ?.

Oratta and *uratta*, however, seem regularly formed from the root *ramp* (? a variant of *rump*, *rup*), cut, break.

Rampai (*ramphaī*), *takṣṇoti* (H. D., vii. 3 ; H. P., iv. 194). This root exists in Marāṭhī, *orap-ṇem*, to strip off, scrape, scratch. We also find *orampiya* in P. L., 198, with the meanings of *naṣṭa* and *âkrānta* (H. D., i. 171). In the first sense *orampiya* is the causal of *ava-ramp*, but in the second *mp* = *mb*, and is perhaps to be referred to the root *rambh*, to go.

Compare *vilumpia*, from the root *lubh*. In H. D., i. 171, *oddampia* = *odampia* = *orampiya* ?.

Samrā-ia = *nipiṣṭa* (H. D., viii. 10) stands for *sam-rāp-ia* = *sam-ramp-ia* ? See H. P.

This substitution of *m* in the place of a long vowel is seen in Sinhalese *kumba* = *kūppa* = *kūpa* ; Pāli *uḷumpa* = *uḷuppa* = *udūpa* ; Pkt. *nālampia* = *nādāpita* = *âkrandita* (H. D., iv. 24). Compare too *naṃdia* = *nādita*, *simharuta* (H. D., iv. 19). So *viddampdia*, *vippiṃdia* (H. D., vii. 70) *naṣṭa*, represent respectively *vi-dādia* for *vidālita*¹ (or *vidārita*) ; *vi-pīdita* or *vipiḍḍita*. *Lālaṃvia* (*âkrandita*) H. D., vii. 27) = *lālāpita*.

The cerebral *d* may, of course, represent *l* or *r*. Occasionally we find the dental *d* becoming *r* or *l*. As for *r* and *l*, they are frequently interchanged. Compare Pāli *ālārika* = Skt. *ârālika*, a cook. In the *Divyāvadāna*, 285, l. 25, *ul-lād-ayati*, is rendered by "to cook." This seems to point to a Pkt. root, *rād* (*râl*, *lâl*), from $\sqrt{rādḥ}$, Marāṭhī *rādḥ-ṇem* "to cook." Compare Pkt. *hali-āra* for *haritāla*.

Ā-rad-ia (*vilapita*) H. D., i. 74 = *ā-lalita* ; Pāli *veluriya* = Pkt. *velulia* (H. D., vii. 77) = Skt. *vaiḍūrya*.

Ava-dāh-ia (H. D., i. 47) *ūt-krustā* may be connected with Hindī *u-lāhnā*, to reprove.

Ulludha, H. D., i. 100 = *ud-ruḥa*. Compare *Uddariya*, P. L., 181 ; H. D., i. 78 with *uddāliya*, F. L., 178 ; H. P., iv. 125 ; *oddālaī*, H. D., i. 166.

Ullūria, P. L., 117 ; H. P., iv. 116 = *uddūria*. See *vi(d)ūria*, H. D., vii. 72 from $\sqrt{dṛ}$. [Probably H.'s *lūra* in *nillūra*,² &c., is copied from the compounds].

In H. D., i. 111 we find "*aṃkiam tathâ avaruṇḍiam pariramabhā*."

¹ *Vi-ūria naṣṭa* (H. D., vii. 72) = *vidārita* ± (? *vilūrita*) = *vidārita*, a causal of a root *dur*, "split." We see *l* for *d* in Sinhalese *molok*, *melek*, for Skt. *mṛduka*, Pāli *muduka*.

² Of course *lūraī* might be a causative of *lā* with suffix (causal) *ra*.

The root of *ava-rumḍita* is not from *readh* or *rambh*, but from *luḍ*, "to adhere," so that *ava-rumḍia* = *ava-ruddia*, *ava-rūḍia* = *ava-lūḍita*.

P. L., 168, has *ava-rumḍana*, "embrace." This interchange of *r* and *l* explains *alamanjula*, *âlasyavân* (H. D. i. 46). It seems to be equivalent to **aṇa-lamj-ula* = *a-lañjula*, **a-rañj-ula*, "disinclined (to work), idle," from the root *rañj*; compare the use of Skt. *vi-rañj*, "to be indifferent to." Marâthî has *vi-raṅgulâ*, "play;" *vi-raṅgul-nem*, "to be idle."

Sinhalese *tôla* springs from *tunda* = *tonḍa* = *toḍa*. Old Sinhalese *danḍu*, "wood," is probably for *dādu* = *dāru*.

Compare Pkt. *kaṇḍura* = *kaddura*, *kāulla* = *kādulla* (H. D., ii. 8), "a crane." The Skt. is *karatu* = (1) *karalu*, (2) *kārula*, (3) *kādura*.

Pkt. *kuruda* = *kūrūḍa* = *kūrūla* = Skt. *krūra* (H. D. ii. 63).

Uttamṇia = *khinna* (H. D., i. 102), represents *ut-tâpita*, while *uttammia* must be referred to *ut-tāmyati*. (See P. L. 180.)

XX. *Osaddha*.

Osaddha (P. L., 194), "thrown down," appears correctly in H. D. as *osuddha*. See *Setubandha*.

S. Goldschmidt refers it to the root *sudh*; but *sumbh* is not uncommon in Pâli, and is met with in Buddhist-Sanskrit. See *Mahāvastu*, p. 14, l. 2; *Jât.*, iii. p. 185; *Petavattha*, iii. i. 7, 8. The *Dhâtupāṭha* has *ṣubh*, *ṣumbh*, in the sense of "hurting, injuring:" "ṣubhati, ṣobhâthe hiṃsâyâ ca." See P. W. s. v. *ṣubh*, 3, J. P. T. Soc., 1884, p. 296.

In *Setabandha* we find *nisumbhaï* corresponding to Pâli *nisumbhati*. *Therâgâthâ*, v. 302.

The Com. explains "bhumiyaṃ nisumbheyyaṃ" by "paṭhaviyaṃ pātetvâ bâdhana-vijjhanâdinâ vibâdhissâmi." The Com. to *Petavattha*, p. 89, has the following note on "bhumiyaṃ patisumbhitū ti (iii. 1, 8): Pāpate patitā viya jighacchâdidukkhena ṭhātumaṃ asamattha - bhāvena bhumiyaṃ patitā. Tattha vā gataṭṭhānaṃ ghāsâdināṃ alābhena chinnâsâ hutvâ kenaci paṭimukhaṃ *sumbhitā* patitā viya bhumiyaṃ patitā ti attho." It occurs also in Jaina-pkt.: "Dhāḍemti pahāḍemti ca hanaṃti vadhaṃti taha *nisumbhaṃti*" (*Suyag.*, ii. 1, 5, p. 263). See *Gaṇḍavaho*, l. 123, where *nisumbhanta* is explained by *âhanyamâna*.

[*Dhāḍemti* = *prerayanti*; *pahāḍemti* = *bhramayanti*. See H. D. i. 48; H. P. iv. 79. Compare *nid-dhāḍaviya* in *Aus. Erz.* in *Mâhârâshṭrî*, iii. 4.] Pâiyalacchi, 194, has *nisuddha*, "thrown down."

See H. P. iv. 268. The Com. to the Suyagadamga-sutta has the following note on the passage quoted above:—

“Nisumbhambīti kukātikāyaṃ grihitvā bhuman pātayaṃti adhomukhaṃ.”

We find *siddha* (H. D., viii. 30), paripāṭita. Is this for *suddha* or does it belong to the root *śbh*. We also find *siṃḍa* = *siḍḍa*? *siddha* = *moṭita* in H. D., vii. 49.

XXI. *Appāhai*, *Appāheī*.

Hemacandra (P., iv. 180) mentions *appāhai* as a substitute for *saṃdiḡ*. *Appāhiya*, “pointed out, shown.” (P. L. See H. D., i. 39, i. 37).)

Appāheī, “teach, show,” is the causal form. See *Hāla*, v. 634; *Setā*, x. 75; xi. 37.

The Sanskrit scholiasts explain these terms in various ways—by *adhyāpay*, *ābhāsh*, &c. S. Goldschmidt considered *appāhiya* to be a reflex of the Skt. **avyāhṛta*, through the intermediate steps **avvāhia*, **abbāhia*. Professor Weber rightly objects to this identification, and would refer it to Skt. *abhyāhar*, which would give *abbāhia*, *ābāhia*, but not, I think, *appāhia*.

Two etymologies of *appāheī* suggest themselves; one from Skt. **āspāçayati* = **āpassei* = *āpāheī* = *appāheī*. Marāthī has the verb *pāh-ṇem*, “to look, see,” from *pāsa* (H. D., iv. 181; cf. *ava-pāsaī* = *passati*, H. D., i. 59).

[*Uppāhala*, “longing,” in P. L., 242, is referred by Professor Bühler to Skt. **ut + paç*, to look for. But H. D., i. 136, has *uvvāhalaṃ*, *autsukyaṃ*, *dveṣyaṃ*. This would require a Skt. **ud-bāha-la* from *udbāha*, having the arms raised either as in the act of imploring or of attacking.]

The other and more likely source of the word may be found in Skt. *āprāthayati*, to spread abroad, divulge, show. This would appear in Pkt. as *appāheī* without any phonetic difficulty, and without resorting to any hypothetical forms. This etymology is suggested by the somewhat rare Pāli noun *vyappatha* (= Skt. **vyāpratha*), one of the synonyms of *vācā*, *girā*, *udīrana*, *ghosa*, in *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, p. 143). Compare Skt. *prathā*, fame, renown; Sinhalese *pā-nawā*, to show, display, which cannot be referred to *paç*.

In *Suttanipāta*, v. 158, we find *khīṇa-vyappatha*, which is rendered “harsh spoken” by Professor Fausböll, though “defamer” would perhaps be equally correct.

XXII. *Uḍḍiya-pâsa.*

There is a very difficult verse in Hâla, 787, p. 428 :—

“Uḍḍiya-pâsaṃ taṇachāṇ

(ṇ)a kaṇḍaraṃ nibua-saṇṭhiyâ vakkhaṃ.

Jûhâdiva parihaṛa

muhametta sarīyaṃ kala . . .”

The editor says, “Ich weis hiermit gar nichts zu machen.”

The reading of the MS. is uncertain with regard to kaṇḍaraṃ, saṇṭhiyâ, and sarīyaṃ. With respect to *uḍḍiya-pâsaṃ*, we see that it is an adjective compound, being an epithet of some neuter noun (nom.) in the first line of the verse. *Uḍḍiya-pâsa* would be good Pâli for “beset with snares.” The verb *uḍḍeti* or *oḍḍeti* is used (with pâsa and jâla) in the sense of to lay a snare, set a trap, cast a net. Compare Anguttara, I. xxiv. 4 ; Jât., ii. 52, 153, 183, 238. The phrase “luddo pâsaṃ iv’ oḍḍiya” (like a trapper setting a snare) occurs in Theragâthâ, v. 73.

“Taṇhâya *uḍḍito* loko” (the world is encased by lust), Saṃyutta, i. 78, vol. i. p. 40).

It would be good Pâli to write in prose—Uḍḍitapâsaṃ tiṇac-chaṇṇaṃ¹ kedâraṃ = a paddy-field covered with herbage (and) beset with snares.

Kaṇḍara means a pit, cavern, glen, and would hardly be used to denote an elephant-pit or a paddy-field.

Ava-di-a (= uḍḍita), in H. D., i. 21, is explained by *khinna*. It is from the root *dî*, to spend, waste. Compare Marâthî *uḍ-ṇem*, to fly, leap ; *uḍ-viṇem*, to scatter, waste.

Avadî is properly to fly down, and in a causative sense might come to mean to scatter, spread (a net). The Mahâvasta has *olīyati*, to fly down. The Sinhalese *aṭa-wanawâ* goes back to **uṭṭa-wanâwa* or **uḷḷa-wanawâ* for Pâli *uḍḍayati*.

Parihara muhamettaṃ = Pâli parihaṛa mukha-mattaṃ = (parihara bhojanamattaṃ), “observe moderation of mouth, be moderate in regard to food.” This is the motto of the verse.

For *kala* we ought perhaps to read *kalabha*. We are enabled by the aid of Pâli to get some meaning out of Hala’s difficult verse. The young elephant and leader of the herd wants to leave his native haunts (the Vindhyas ; see v. 788) and to gorge on the cultivated rice in the paddy-field. He is warned that the rice-field has snares laid in it, and the vicinity is guarded by those lying in wait for wild elephants. The leader of the herd

¹ Compare tiṇacchaṇṇakûba in “Sakuntala,” ed. Williams, p. 208.

is, therefore, bidden to observe moderation in eating, and to be circumspect.

Verse 790 contains an allusion to an elephant-hunt. The caupâsa in this verse probably refer to the sides of the paddy-field in verse 787.

XXIII. *Avahâsinî*.

In Hâla, v. 693, p. 349, *avahâsinî* occurs for *avakâsinî* (the nose-rope or bridle of a bullock). In H. D., i. 46, we find *avayâsinî* = *nâsa-rajju*.

Arasenîd = *lâsa-rajju* (*sic*) in S., is a crux which Professor Weber has to leave unsolved. It reminds one of Marâthî *vesaṇa*, the nose-bridle of a bullock. Can it be for *avasenîkâ*, from *si*, to bind? Compare *avayâna* (H. D., i. 24) = *avadâna* (= *âkarṣaṇa-rajju*), from the root *dâ*, to bind; Marâthî, *dâvaṇa*, a rope; Skt., *dāmanî*, a rope for tying cattle.

Professor Weber does not suggest any etymology for *avakâsinî**.¹

As a long vowel is often used instead of a conjunct consonant, *avakâsinî* is the same as *avakassinî* = *avakarṣinî*, from the root *karṣ*, draw, drag. Compare Marâthî *kâsara*, bullock-reins; *kasaṇî*, a tie, cord; *kasṇem*, to bind tightly; Hindî *kasnâ*, to tie.

The root *kṛṣ* or *karṣ* takes different forms in the various Prâkrit dialects. From the passive participle we have the well-known stem *kaddh*; but from *kṛṣ* we obtain *kas*; in Jaina-pkt. *âkasaï*, *ukkasaï*, *vokkasaï*; *kus* (kos) in Jaina-pkt. *ukkosa*, *ukkosia*. Compare *akkusaï*, *ukkusaï*, as substitutes for *gam* in H. P., iv. 162.

From *karṣ* we have *kass* in Pâli *okkassa*² and *kamṣ* in *ukkamṣeti* = *ukkasseti* or *ukkâseti* = *ut-karshayati*.

The root *ghas* has several forms: Pâli *ghaṃsati*, Jaina-pkt. *ghasaï*, *ghaṃsaï*, *ghâsaï* (*cf.* Marâthî *ghâsṇem*, *ghâṃs-ṇem* *ghasaḷ-ṇem*); Pkt. *ghas*, *ghus*, *ghis* in *Pari-haṭṭana*, *nihatṭha*; *ghusalaï* (H. D., ii. 110 [108]; *ugghusaï* (H. P., iv. 108). Compare Hindî *ghasnâ*, to rob; *ghusâ*, a blow. Sinhalese *gaha-nawâ*, to strike, beat.

Kammaï, "to cut."

The root *kalp*, originally "to trim," is represented in Pâli by the causal *kappeti*, to cut (*Jât.*, ii. 99; iii. 298). Compare Marâthî *kâp-ṇem*, Sinhalese *kap-anawâ*, to cut. In Prâkrit this root occurs

¹ *Ava-yâsinî* might, of course, be for *ava-pâsinî*, from *paç*, to bind. See *Ava-yâsaï*, to embrace, H. D., iv.

² *Cf.* Pkt. *ava-yaddhahia* = *raṇahrta*, H. D., i. 43. Pali *avakaddhati*, to remove.

much disguised in *kammai*, to cut. It is not easy, at first sight, to see how it has come from *kalp*; but the root *jalp* appears in Pkt. as *jamp* for *japp* (cf. *siṃpaṃ* = *sippaṃ* = *siṃcati*), so *kalp* might become (1) *kapp*, (2) *kamp* (3) *kamm*. With this change we may compare the Punjabi stem *limma* = *liṃba* = *lippa* from $\sqrt{\text{lip}}$. See Beames, iii. p. 59. We have, too, *thiṃpa* for *thippa* (H. D., iv. 140) from $\sqrt{\text{trp}}$ (Var., viii. 12).

In H. D., iv. 3, it is stated that for *upa* + *bhuj* *kammavaṃ* may be used. This is of course the causal of *kalp* formed from the new stem, and answers to Skt. *kalpayati*.

XXV. *Khammaṃ*, "to go."

The Pkt. *hammaṃ* (H. D., i. 74) corresponds to Pāli *ghammati*?, but we also find a root, *jhaṃ*, to go, in *ujjhamana*, *ojjhamana* *palāyana* (H. D., i. 103), which may be connected with Skt. *jhampa* and *jhampā*, springing, leaping (see H. P., iv. 161). There is, too, a root *khammia*, probably from *khamb*, which rests on the authority of the Dhātupāṭha, and occurs in the curious compound *aḍa-khammaṃ* = *anuvajjāṃ* (H. D., i. 41), to follow, look after. The prefix *aḍa* is here the Marāṭhī particle *aḍa* (half) used in the sense of sub, minor, like Skt. *anu*, as *aḍa-kāma*, a subordinate work; *aḍa-jūna*, half-worn; *aḍa-khal-ṇem*, to stumble, falter. We find it in the Pkt. verb *aḍa-ujjhaṃ* = *purushāyita* (H. D., i. 41), from *aḍa-(v)ujjhaṃ*, to play the hero. Compare *vujjha* = *yujjha*, fighting.

We also find *uru* in *uru-millāṃ*, *uru-sollāṃ* (H. D., i. 108); *ulu-phuṇṭia* = *vinipātita* *praḥānta* and *orummāti*? = *uru-māti* *udvāti* *ulu-(g)uṇḍia* = *praludḥita* (H. D., i. 117), *ulu-kasia* (H. D., i. 115). *Uru*-, *ulu*-, seem to have the force of *ud*, and may represent Skt. *ūrdhvaṃ*, above. Compare Sinhalese *uḍa*, above, upper (*uḍ* in inscriptions, as *uḍ-galu*, the upper hill).

The prefix *ku* appears to have the force of *vi* in *kokkāsia* (H. D., ii. 35); *ko(k)āsaṃ* = *kakāsaṃ* *vikasasi* (H. D., ii. 50); *kojjharia* = *ku-jjharita* *āpūrita* (H. D., ii. 50) for *vi-jjharita*?

Many nouns have this prefix, probably from old verbal compounds with *vi*. Cf. Skt. *ku-ddāla* = *ku-dāla*,¹ a spade or hoe, from **vi-dal*, split; *ku-liḥa*, axe, from **vi-liḥ* (*riḥ*), tear; Pkt. *ku-luncaṃ* = *vi-luncaṃ*.

¹ The explanation (go-dāraṇa, bhūmi-dāraṇa) given by the Hindu lexicographers shows that they probably connected it with the root *dal* or *dar*.

XXVI. *Vācanaka*.

Vyutpatti has *vāyaṇa*, a kind of sweetmeat, and this is registered in the P. W., together with *vāyanaka*, a kind of pastry. These are no true Sanskrit forms, but loans from the Prākṛit *vāyana*, *vāyaṇaya*, a present of food = *prahelaka*, *prahēṇaka*.

Childers has not any corresponding term, but we find *vācanaka* in Jāt. iii. 171, in the sense of present:—

“Ath’ ekadivasam ekasmā gāmā manussā āgantvā brāhmaṇa-*vācanaka*-tthāya ācariyaṃ nimantayim̐su. So Kāraṇḍiyaṃ māṇavaṃ pakkositvā: tātā, ahaṃ na gacchāmi, tvaṃ ime pañcasate māṇave gahetvā tattha gantvā *vācanakāni* paṭicchitvā amhākaṃ dinna-koṭṭhāsaṃ āhāra ’ti pesesi.”

We find *sotthi-vācaka* in Milinda, p. 309.

Professor Weber has a long note on these words in Hāla, p. 120–121. He is inclined to connect them either with *pācana* or *opāyana*. The Pāli shows us that the right reading is *vācanaka*, and signifies (1) a present, (2) a present of food.

For *prahēṇaka* and *prahelaka* the lexicographers and scholiasts are the only authorities. *Praheṇika* is no doubt the original form (see Divyāvadāna, p. 13, l. 26; 258, 19), and refers to some choice food; hence the expression “prānitāni prahēṇakāni.” See Childers, s.v. *pahēṇaka*. He has not registered the noun *pahiṇa* (not in Skt. dictionaries), which occurs in Sum., i. p. 78:—

“*Pahiṇa*-gamaṇaṃ vuccati gharāgharaṃ pesitassa khuddaka-gamaṇaṃ.”

XXVI. *Sihai*.

Sihai, one of the substitutes for *kāṅkṣ*, to desire (H. P., iv. 192; see H. D., viii. 32), cannot be referred to *sprh*. S.

Goldschmidt has shown that Pkt. *āsaṃghai* comes from *āsaṃs* (cf. Pāli *āsimsā*, wish, hope, with Pkt. *āsaṃghā* = *icchā*, H. D., i. 76), through **āsaṃhai*. In the same way *ḡims* or *ḡis* would give *sihai* for *siṇhai*.

Āhai, to desire, is probably a denom. from the noun *āśā*, wish, desire.

H for *s* is seen in *hanaī* = *ḡṇoti* (H. D., viii. 55, i. 62); *hamja*-a = *saṃjaka* (H. D., viii. 61); *hallappa* = *sallāpa*; *hakkoddha* (H. D., vii. 60) = **sakkhoddha* = *saṃkhuddha*, from *saṃ* + *ksubh*.

The form *kakkutta* (for *sâ-khutta*?) = *ut pātita* (H. D., viii. 60) = *utkṣipta* (H. D., iv. 144; P. L., 82), pulled out, thrown up, may

come. *Hakkoddha* or *sakkoddha* is merely another way of writing *sākhoddha* for *saṃkhoddha* or *saṃ-khuddha*.

We find *sā-haṭṭiya* (P. L., 233; H. P., iv. 82) for *saṃghaṭṭita*; *sāharaṇi* (H. D., viii. 27) = *saṃharati*. Cf. Jaina-pkt. *sāhaṭṭu* = *saṃharitya*, not from *ut + kṣip*, but from *saṃ + kṣip*, or perhaps from *khapp*, the stem of the passive of *kṣubh* (see H. D., viii. 64).

S. Goldschmidt refers *-khulta* to *khan*, through the passive stem *khupp*.

XXVI. *Udda, Uddhumāi*.

We can sometimes check the Pkt. forms by a comparison with the Pāli and Jaina idioms. Thus *udda* in H. D., i. 123, is explained by *jalāmānuṣa* and *kakuda*. The former is evidently a blunder, as *udda* is not “mer-man,” but is the equivalent of Pāli *udda*, Skt. *udra*, by some authorities explained as a “crab,” by others as an “otter.” There is no doubt that the latter meaning, as in Pāli, is the true one—the otter frequenting in past times, as now, holes in the banks of rivers.

The second use of *udda* = *kakuda* shows that it is for *udya*, from Skt. *udaya*.

Uddhamṭa, in *Kalpāsutra*, Jin., § 39, is explained in the Commentary by *Uddhāvat*. The correct meaning seems to be “blowing up, arising,” from the root *dhmā* or *dhām*. All the compounds in Pkt. but one are formed from the base *dhām*, but *ud + dhmā* gives rise to *uddhumāi*, always employed with the meaning of “to fill.” See P. L.; H. P., iv. 169; H. D., i. 117; Var., viii. 32. Compare Marāṭhī *dumḍumṭa*, filled out, distended.

In Pāli *uddhumāta* keeps the original signification of “blown up (with air or wind), swollen.”

In *Setubandha*, i. 8, the causal of *uddhumāi* seems to mean “extinguish.” The commentator K. explains *uddhumāia* = *uddhmāpita* by *pūrita*. R. has the following note:—“*Uddhmāpita* utdhamāpayitum nirvāṇīkartum ārabdhum.”

I have already pointed out that in Pāli and Buddhist-Sanskrit *niddhāpita*, “expelled, put out, removed,” is, as shown by the various readings, confused with *niḍḍāpita*. But *niddhāpita* = *niddhāvita* from *nir + dhāv* (caus.). In the case of Pkt. *uddhumāia* there is no such confusion, and *saliluddhumāia* should be rendered “filled with water.” If the quarters of the submarine fire were filled with water, the fire would be extinguished.

Reavaï, Ollunḍaï.

For *muc* in H. P., iv. 91, we find the substitutes *ussikka*, *reava*, and *dhaṃsāda*. The first may be compared with Pāli *ussitta*, from *ussīṇcati*, to bale out, empty (Jât., i. 497; ii. 72; iv. 16).¹ We find *ussikka* given in H. D. with the meaning of *utkṣipta*. There must have been the intermediate steps of **uk-khipta*, **ukkhitta*, **ucchitta*, **ussitta*.

Reavaï stands for *recavaï* = *recayati*, the causal of *riñc*. In P. L., 193, we have *reyaviya*, emptied. In H. D., vii. 11, *reavia* is explained by *kṣiṇīkṛta*. Compare Hindî *u-licnâ* (*u-ricnâ*), to bale out. *Dhaṃs āḍaï* is formed from *dhvaṃs*, with the causal suffix *-āda* or *-āla*. See P. L., 192, with Professor Bühler's remarks. Compare Marāthî *dhâsalṇem*, to give way. There is a Marāthî *u-sap-ṇem*, to bale out, which probably represents an older *ussippṇem* (cf. *simpai*, *sippaï*, for *sincati*, H. D., iv. 95). We find *u-pan-ṇem*, to winnow, for *ava-pû*. Compare Pkt. *uppuṇiya*, winnowed (P. L., 187), which is a variant of *oppuṇiya* or *opuṇiya*, usually referred to *ut + pû*.

A for *u* is seen in Marāthî *u-dhal*, bestrew = Skt. *dhûlāyati* + *ava*. See note on *Oratta*.

In H. P., iv. 26, *olunḍaï* and *ullunḍaï* are given as substitutes for *viric*.

In the P. L. we find a root *luṇḍ*, to plunder, a Pkt. variant *luṇṭh*, *luṭh*.² Cf. Hindî *luṭnâ*, to be plundered; M. *luṭṇem*, to plunder, strip.

There is also a root *laṇḍ* (which Benfey refers to $\sqrt{\text{lad}}$) in *ulaṇḍ*, *olaṇḍ*, to throw up or out. Compare *runj* and *ranj*, *rump* and *ramp*, &c.

Dhaṃkharasesa.

Dhaṃkharaseso vi hu mahu-areṇa mukko na mâlai-vidavo (Hâla, 755, p. 411).

Professor Weber says, "*dhaṃkhara* ist mir gänzlich dunkel." There is no such Pkt. word as *dhaṃkhara*.

The meaning of the verse seems to be this: the bees frequent the *mâlatî* branch, but abandon the *dhaṃkarasa* stalk. *Dhaṃkha* is the ordinary Pkt. for Skt. *dhvāṃkṣa*, a crow (see P. L., 44; H. D., iv. 13); Pāli *dhankā* = *dhaṃkha* (Jât., ii. 208; Theragâtha, v. 15, p. 21).

¹ Compare Sinhalese *i-hi-nawâ*, to bale out, scatter, for *u-si-nawâ*. In H. D., i. 142, we have *û-sukkiā* = *ussikkia* vi-mukta.

² In H. D., i. 119, *praluṭhita* = *virecita*.

Dhamkharasa seems to be the name of a plant like *dhvāṃksa* = *nāsa* (cf. our crowfoot). Dhamkharasa + īsa = the stalk of the Dh° plant. *Isa* = *issa* (see H. D.), = Pāli *īsā*, related to Skt. *īṣika*, stem, stalk.

Here there is evidently a strong contrast (1.) between the mean *crow-sap* plant and the beautiful *jasmine*; (2.) between the *stalks* of the former and the boughs or branches of the latter. The bees, of course, neglect the one and frequent the other.

Rosāṇāi.

Rosāṇāi is one of the substitutes for *marj*, rub, in H. P., iv. 150. We have *rosāṇiya* polished in P. L. 224. *Rosāṇāi* marṣti, H. D., vii. 12. It appears to be a causal form, and is a variant of *ros-āla* or *rosāda*, from the root *rūs*, *lūs*, to adorn. It meant originally (1) to beat, pound; (2) to hurt, kill. Jaina-pkt. has *lūsai*, to attack. (Āyâraṅga-sutta, i. 8, 3, 3).

Rasālāu, P. L., 237.

Sam-āṇa,¹ one of the substitutes for *bhuj*, seems like a causal of *çam* in the sense of to appease (one's appetite).

Sam-ārai, H. P., iv., a substitute for *sam* + *ā* + *rac* is also from the root of *çam* in the sense of to purify, cleanse.

Paṃgaī.

Paṃga is one of the substitutes for *grah* in H. P., iv. 9. Bearing in mind that *pumsai* = *pūsai* = *pussai*, and *aṃguṭṭhi*, a veil, is for ā-guṇṭhi, a veil, we see that *paṃgaī* = *pāgaī* = *paggaī*, a short form of *paggaṇhāti*, from *pra* + *grah*.

For *paṃgaī* = *paggaī* we may compare Sinhalese, *udaṅgu*, proud, haughty, with Skt. *udagra*; Pāli *udagga*, high, elated. E. Müller (Anc. Ins. in Ceylon) has *uḍaṅga*, height, with which he compares Maled. *uḍu*, sky.

Sinhalese, *polangā*, a terrible venomous snake = Skt. *punnāga* through *ponagga, *polagga; Pkt. *silimba = *silippa*, from *çitpa* (H. D., viii. 26).²

Other consonants are occasionally nasalised in this way, as Sinhalese, *kumba* (= **kubba* = **kuppa*) = Skt. *kūpa*; Pāli *ulumpa* = Skt. *uḍupa*, a raft; Hindi, *uñcā* = *uccā*, high.³

¹ It may be for *sam-aṇhai* (from *sam* + *aṇhāti*) *samaṇṇai* = *samāṇai*.

² Cf. Marāṭhi *kumpa* = Skt. *kāpa*.

³ Skt. *kalevra*, a dead body = Pkt. *kalimba*, for *kalirva*, *kalibba*.

Cilla.

Cilla, *ceda*, *bâla*, H. D., iii. 10 = Skt. and Pâli *ceta*, boy, slave. *Cilla* = *cela* = *ceda*. Compare old Sinhalese *salaya* = *calaya* = **ceṭaka*, a servant.

Cimcaï.

Cimca-i-a (P. L., 85) *maṇḍita* is probably from a *cad* or *cand*, to adorn, and represents a Skt. **cañcadita*.

See *cimca-ai*, H. D., iv. 115. *Cimcillaï* seems to be a frequentative of a denominative verb *cillaï*, from *citra*. Cf. Skt. *citr*, adorn, while *cimcaï* = *ciccaï* = *cittryati* = *citryati* = *riḍaï* seems to represent an older *lilaï* from a noun *lilā*, grace. Cf. Pâli *līḷhā*; Marâthî *līlā*; Skt. *līlā*, grace, skill.

Cimca-ia *calita* (H. D., iii. 13) for original **cancadita* = *cañcalita*. Compare Marâthî *câcar-ṇem*, to reel, stagger; Skt. *cañcala*.

Ciddavia.

Ciddavia = *nirnâçita* (H. D., iii. 13; P. L., 188) represents an earlier **cîdapita*?, for **cîrapita*, the causal of a root *cîr*, in Hindî *cîra*, a crack; Marâthî *cîḷa*, a sudden spurting forth (as of milk); *cîrakṇem*, to rend with a sound.

Ciddavia would probably mean to tear up, destroy entirely, so as to leave nothing remaining.

Paṃta = Praṇṭta.

“*Muṇi monaṃ samâdaya dhune kamma-sariyaṃ*.”

Paṃtaṃ [ca] *lūhaṃ sevanti vîrâ sammatta-damṣiṇo*.”

(*Âyâraṃga-sutta*, i. 2, 5, § 6; i. 5 3, § 5).

Professor Jacobi gives the following rendering of the foregoing passage:—

“A sage adopting a life of wisdom should treat his gross body roughly. The heroes who have right distinction use *mean* and rough food.”

“*Dhune kamma-sarîragam*” corresponds to Pâli “*dhune kamma-sarîrakam*” = should get rid of his body of Karma.” Compare *Âyâr.*, i. 4, 3, § 1; and *Suyagadaṃga-sutta*, i. 15, 22, p. 550; “*dhune purvakaḍaṃ kammaṃ, navaṃ vâ vi na kuvvati*” (See *Âyâr.*,

i. 4, 2, where we have “dhūṇe samassayaṃ”). Here dhūṇe = dhuniyât, apanayet.

In Pāli we find “dhunāti pāpake dhamme” = he shakes off (or gets rid of) evil conditions (Theragâthâ, v. 2, p. 1).

With respect to the Jaina text quoted above, Professor Jacobi has the following remarks: “These words apparently form a çloka, though the third pāda is too short by a syllable; but this can easily be corrected by inserting *ca*; paṃtaṃ lūhaṃ *ca* sevanti. The commentators treat the passage as prose” (Jaina Sûtrâs, S. B. E., vol. xxii. p. 26).

The difficulty does not altogether consist in the omission of a syllable, but in the employment of *paṃta* as here used in the sense of “mean or poor,” a signification not found in classical or Buddhist Skt., Pāli, the literary Prākritis of Hāla, Setubandha, &c., or in the modern Hindu dialects.

Paṃta represents, of course, Skt. *prānta*, “border,” whence Pāli *panta* (1.) border; (2.) remote, distant. Compare “Sevetha *paṇṭāni* senāsāni” (Saṃyutta, vi. 2, 3; Suttanipāta, v. 72, p. 11; Theragâthâ, v. 142, p. 20; Milinda, p. 402). “*Pantamhi* sayanāsane” (Jât., iii. 524. See Anguttara, iv. 138, 2).

In Buddhist-Sanskrit, *prānta* is not uncommon, and its use agrees closely with that of the Pāli *panta*: “*Prānta-çayanâsanabhakta*” (Divyâvadâna, p. 188, l. 15; see 132, l. 21); “*prānta-çayanâsanasevin*” (ibid., p. 312, l. 8-9). “*Prāntāni çayanâsanāni*” (ibid., p. 344, l. 10).

In the above quotations we get no trace of the sense of “mean” or “rude,” though, of course, the distant or remote seats and beds would be but poor affairs. In Jaina-prākrit, as far as the commentators go, *paṃta* seems to have the signification of “mean, poor:” “*Aṃta caraga . . . paṃta caraga lūha caraga . . . aṃtāhārā paṃtāhārā . . . aṃtajīvī paṃtā jīvī*” (Sūyogad., ii. 2, 72, pp. 758-759). Compare also Sūyogad., i. 15, 15, p. 547, where the first *aṃta* is employed in the sense of “a poor state:” “*Aṃtāni dhīrā sevanti tena aṃtakarā ihā*.” The Dīpikā has the following note:—“*Aṃtān aṃta prāṃtāhārān sevanti vīrāstena saṃsārasyāṃtakarāste*.” The Tīkā is somewhat fuller:—“*Aṃtān paryāṃtān viṣayakaṣayatrīṣṇāyāstatparikarmanārthaṃ udyānādinam āhārasya vāṃta-prāṃtādīnī dhīrā mahāsatvā viṣayasukhaṇiṣṇīhā sevanti bhyasyanti tena cāṃta-prāṃtābhyasanenāṃta karāḥ saṃsārasya kṣayakarīṇo bhavanti*.”

In Kalpasūtra (Jaina, § 17) we find *paṃta* (and *aṃta*) applied to kula (family):—

"Jaṇ naṃ arahantā vā cakkavattī vā . . . aṇṭa-kulesu vā paṇṭa-kulesu vā daridda-kulesu vā . . . āyāṃsu vā āyāṃti vā āyāssaṃti vā" = For it never has happened, nor does it happen, nor will it happen, that Arhats, Çakravartins . . . should be born in low families, *mean* families, poor families . . . (Sac. B. of the E., vol. xxii. p. 225).

According to Buddhist authorities, a Buddha could not be born in an obscure or out-of-the-way place; and a similar rule held good for the Jaina Arhats; hence Mahāvīra was born in the Brahmanical (and best) part of the town of Kuṇḍagrāme.

The epithet *paṇṭa* therefore defines the locality of the kula or family (and not the condition), so that it would be possible to take *paṇṭa* here in its older sense of "border;" a border or frontier family being in reality equivalent to a mean or poor family. In fact, *paṇṭa*-kula has much the same meaning as Pāli *paccanta*-visaya (= *pratyantā*-visaya) in Saddhammopāyana, v. xi.

So much, then, for the original signification of *paṇṭa* (in *paṇṭa*-kula), which might have acquired the secondary meaning of "mean or rude." But while this is not at all unlikely with regard to its employment with kula, it is not so easy to see how it has, against older and widespread usage, become associated with *lūha*—(1) rough, coarse, as applied to food; (2) used also substantively in the sense of "coarse fare," "hard life" (*saṃyama*), and even "one who lives the hard life of a mendicant, bhikkha." Compare the following passages, where *lūha* (= *lukkha* = *rukkha*) is employed in Jaina-pkt. in the senses above mentioned.

"Atha javittha, *lūheṇaṃ*" (Āyar., i. 8, 4, § 4); "Aha, *lukkha*-desie bhatte" (ibid., i. 8. 3, § 3); "Tamhā, *lūhāo* parivittasejjā" (ibid., i. 6, 5, § 3).

"Sūraṃ manṇati appāṇaṃ yāva *lūhaṃ* na-sevae" (Sūyagad., i. 3, 1, § 3, p. 161).

"Viratā carissahaṃ *rukkhaṃ*" (ibid., i. 4, 1, § 25, p. 239).

"Nikkimcaṇe bhikkhū su *lūha*-jīvī je gāraṇaṃ hoī salogagāmī" (ibid., i. 13, 12, p. 497).

The note in the Dīpikā is as follows:—"Bāhyarthena niṣkimcano bhikṣuḥ su-rūkṣa-jīvī valla-caṇa kādī-*prāṇtāhārā* eambhūto pi kaṇṇid gauravapriyo."

"Ahaṃ aṃsi bhikkha lūhe" (ibid., ii. 1, 10, p. 578. See also i. 1, 60, p. 605-606; ii. 2, 72, p. 758-759).

Here the Jaina *lūha* corresponds to Skt. rūkṣa or *lūkṣa*, and is common in Pāli and Buddhist Sanskrit. (See Academy, August 12, 1890.)

In Pâli, however, *lūkha* is never associated with *panta* (as regards food), but with *paṇṭa* (dressed, cooked, delicate). Compare the following uses of the term:—

“Jarasiḡālo bhojanam paṭilabhitvā na vicināti *lūkham* vā *paṇṭaṇi* vāti” (Milinda, p. 395).

“*Paṇṭam* yadi vā *lūkham* appam vā yadi vā bahum.”

“Yāpanattham abhunjimsu āgiddhā nādhimucchitā” (Theragāthā, v. 923, p. 84; see also v. 436, p. 46; 579, p. 60).

“*Paṇṭam* pi *lūkham* denti” (Dhp., p. 214).

“*Lūkha*-paṇṭādisu yaṃkiñci dento” (ibid., p. 374).

“*Lūkham* denti no paṇṭam” (Saṃgutta, xv. 4, 5).

In Divyāvadāna, p. 425, we find *lūha*-*paṇṭa*:—“Sa praçyati āyushmato Vītaçokasya pāmçukālam ca cīvaram mṛṇmayam pātram yāvad annabhaikṣyam *lūha*-*paṇṭam* dṛishtvā ca rājnah pādāyor nipatya kṛitanjalir uvācā.”

In the light of the foregoing illustrations of *lūha* and *paṇṭa*, we would venture to amend the faulty lection in the third pāda of the Âyār., i. 2, 6, § 3, by reading (in deference to the older usages of the Skt. and Pâli) “paṇṭam lūham¹ sevanti sammattadaṃsino,” which would correspond in Pâli to “pāṇṭa-lūkham sevanti vîrâ (dhîrâ) sammattadassino.” But *sammattadaṃsino* was probably not in the oldest form of the Jaina text, and perhaps the true reading is *samattadaṃsino*, as in Âyar., i. 5, 3, § 5, p. 24), “observing indifference” with respect to dainty and coarse fare. Compare the previous çloka, beginning “naratim,” which has a parallel in Anguttara, iv. 283, and Pâli *aratiratisaha* with Jaina *arairaisaha*.

We must bear in mind that the language and traditions of both Buddhists and Jains were derived from the same source, and would, as a matter of course, have many points of similarity in common. It is true that the redaction of the Jaina canon was very much later than the settlement of the canonical books by the Buddhist redactors, and the latter may have kept the dialect of their sacred books in a less corrupt state than Jainas; but, on the other hand, as Dr. Jacobi has pointed out, the Jaina-pkt. is nearer to Pâli than the literary prakrits, and the earliest works of the Jaina canon are probably older than such Northern Buddhist texts as the Lalita-Vistara, Mahāvastu, Divyāvadana, &c.

It is quite possible that the Jainas, although using many well-known Buddhist terms of a technical character, may have purposely altered their opponents' phraseology, and changed phrases like paṇṭa-lūha into *panta-lūkha*. Or perhaps the later Jaina scribes,

¹ Or paṇṭalūham, &c.

not understanding the older use of *paṇṭa* with reference to food, may have substituted the more familiar *paṇṭa*, which originally denoted locality, and not state or condition.

In one passage, however, of the Âyâraṃga-sutta (i. 8, 3, § 2, p. 43), we find *paṇṭa*, as in Pâli, employed as an epithet of *seyya* and *âsana*, in the sense of remote, out-of-the-way :—

“ Aha duccara-Lâḍhaṃ acârî
Vajjhabbhûmiṃ ca Subbhabbhûmiṃ ca
Paṇṭaṃ seyyaṃ sevimsu
Âsanaḡâiṃ c’eva paṇṭâiṃ.”

“ He travelled in the pathless country of the Lâḍhas, in Vajjhabbhûmi and Subbhabbhûmi; he used there *miserable* beds and *miserable* seats ” (Jacobi).

The Jaina-pkt. *viyatta-chauma* (Kalpasûtra, Jin., § 16), an epithet of Arhats, is another form of the Pâli *vivatta-cchadda*, an epithet of the Buddha. According to Professor Jacobi, the Jaina epithet means “ who has got rid of unrighteousness; ” the Pâli signifies “ one by whom the veil (of human passion) is rolled away. ” According to Buddhaghosa, it means also “ free from rebirth ” and “ free from illusion; ” by virtue of being free from rebirth, Buddha is an Arhat, and by being free from illusion (or veils), he is sammâsambuddha.

Samiti.

Trenckner has pointed out in his Pâli Miscellany how the Skt. *smṛti* has been turned into *sammuti*. Something like this has taken place in Jaina texts. In them we never find *sai* (= *sati* = *smṛti*), or *sao* (= *sato* = *smṛta*), used in a technical sense, as in Buddhist phraseology. In their place we have *samii* = *samiti*, and *samiya* = *samita*. *Samiti* in the P. W. is referred to the root *i*, but *samita* to the causal of the root *saṃ* or *ḡram*.

In the scholiast’s explanations *samita* and *smiti* are associated together as regards their meaning, but disconnected as to their etymology. But they ought strictly to be connected, just as *sato*, *sati*, and *satimâ* are in Pâli. In meaning, Pâli *sati* answers to Jaina *samiti* and *sato* to *samita*.¹ Strictly speaking *samita* ought to mean restrained, calm, but the exact sense is “ circumspect. ” The commen-

¹ In Pkt. *smṛti* becomes *sumarati* and *sarati*. We find, however, *visamia* referred to *vismṛti* and to *viaṣamita* or *viḡrâmita*. Skt. *smṛti* could become *sumiti* or *samiti* in Prâkrit, and *smṛta* could give rise to *sumita* or *samita*.

tators are often in doubt as to the etymology of *samita* ; sometimes it is connected with *samatā*, and at others with *samyak*. If we examine a few passages where *samia* or *samiya* occurs in Jaina texts, we shall see that it answers in meaning to Skt. *smṛta*, and not to *samita* or *ṣramita* :—

“Jae naṃ samane bhagavaṃ Mahāvīre aṇagāre jae iriya-samīe bhāsa-samīe esaṇā-samīe, āyāna-bhaṇḍa-matta-nikkhevanā-samīe, uccāra-pāsavaṇa-khela-siṅghāna-jalla-pāritthavaṇiyā-samīe, maṇa-samīe, vāya-samīe, kāya-samīe” (Kalpasūtra, Jin., § 118 ; see also Sāmācārī, § 53–54). The scholiasts explain *samīe* by *samyat pravṛta*.

The following is, with some slight alteration, Dr. Jacobi's translation of the foregoing extract :—“Henceforth the venerable Mahāvīra was houseless, (1) *circumspect* (*samita*) in his walking, (2) *circumspect* in his speaking, (3) *circumspect* in his begging, (4) *circumspect* in his acceptance of anything, in the carrying of his outfit and drinking-vessel, (5) *circumspect* in relieving himself, (6) *circumspect* in his thoughts, words, and acts.” (See A. Sāyagad., ii. 2, 23, p. 704 ; ii. 2, 73, p. 758.)

“Taṃ ca bhikkhu pariṇṇāya sabbate . . . samite, care” (Sāy., i. 3, 1, p. 214).

“Suvratoḥ ṣobhanavrata yuktaih samitah pañca-samitibhiḥ caret saṃyamānuṣṭhānaṃ karyāt” (Com.).

“Paṃ ca mahavvayajutto pañca-samio tiguttigutto ya” (Uttarā-dhyāyana, 19, 19, p. 606).

“Mṛgāputro pañcamahāvratayuktaḥ Mṛgaputra pañcamahāvratasahita pañca-samiti samitah triguptaguptaḥ pañce samite, samato, trihumgupto” (Com.).

“Je khala bho vīrā . . . samitā sahita sayā jayā saṃghaḍa-daṃsiṇo ōovaraya uhatahā logaṃ uvehamānā iti saccamsi parivutthiṃsa” (Āyār., i. 4, 4, § 1–4).—“There are those who have established themselves in the truth, . . . heroes endowed with knowledge, always exerting themselves, full of equanimity, valuing the world (as it deserves).”

[Here *samita* is left untranslated. . *Sahita* is wise ; *jayā*, restrained. *Saṃghaḍadaṃsiṇo* cannot mean full of equanimity (*nirantaradarsinaḥ ṣubhāṣubhasya*), but signifies having a right view of matter (and the impermanency of its forms, whether beautiful or otherwise).

Saṃghaḍa I take to be an error for *saṃkhaya* = Skt. *saṃskṛta*, Pāli *saṃkhata* (see Sūy., i. 2, 10, p. 150). Pāliyalacchī has *saṃghayaṇa* with the sense of “samu saya.” Hemacandra (Deçī, viii. 14) has *saṃghayaṇa* ṣarīra, with the v. l. *saṃkhaṇaya*, ? for *saṃkhayaṇa* = *saṃkhataṇa*.]

Here the Com. connects *samita* with the five *samitis* mentioned in the quotation from the Kalpasutra. According to Mâdhava's Sarvadarçanasamgraha *samiti* is one of the divisions of samvara (the stepping of the âçravas), and signifies the acting so as to avoid injury to all living beings,¹ or the keeping the attention properly alive (so as to see immediately if an insect is in the way).²

This *keeping the attention alive* is not the true meaning of Skt. *samiti*, but of *smṛti*, and *circumspect* is *smṛta*, and not *samita*, as far as the original signification of these words are concerned.

With the passage cited from the Kalpasûtra we may compare a somewhat similar one from the Mahâparinibbâna-sutta, p. 19 (see Buddhist Suttas, p. 29), where the Pâli sampajânakârî = sato sampajâno, in full presence of mind, answers exactly to the Jaina *samita*.

The Jainas seem to have been fond of the number *five*. The Buddhists had *four satipatthânas*, and this technical term appears to have been turned by the Jainas into samti patthâna = çrâmtē-pratiṣṭhâna.

Uddâna.

Ullî tathâ uddâna *cullî* (H. D., i. 87).

Uddâna appears in the P. W., on the authority of the Hindu lexicographers, as meaning (1) oven, (2) the submarine fire. In the Deçî. it has the sense of *fire-place*, but in the verses quoted by Hemacandra it signifies the submarine fire:—

“Tali-oggi-ulli-uvvâ-samtattâ uṇhayâla-*ukkole*.

Kâsadhûâ vaccaï o ukkâkaḍḍhia-jalammi.

Uddanaṃ va samuddaṃ laṃghaï vaḍavâṇ-al'-*uvvaraṇ*.³

Kass-*uvvâhaṃ* na jaṇaï ukkaṃḍi-bhuo paï majjha.”

Uddâna may be a variant of a form allied to Pâli *uddhana*,⁴ Sinhalese *uduna* (Old S. *uddun*), upon the etymology of which Skt. throws little or no light.

But I think *uddâna* may be a contraction of an earlier *ud-dahana*, from *dah*, to burn. Cf. Pkt. *bibboyana* = Skt. *bimbopadhâna*, Pâli *bimohana*.

Uddhana might even be referred to the same source; but I am inclined to regard it as another form of *iddhana*, from *indh*, kindle.

¹ Colebrooke's Essays, vol. i. p. 449.

² Wilson's Essays on the Religion of the Hindus, i. p. 311.

³ Compare *uvvara* tâpa, H. D., i. 132.

⁴ *Uddâna* may have originally been *uddana* for *uddhana* and altered so as to connect it with Skt. *uddâna* from root *dâ*, “bind.”

We may compare Pâli *undura*, a rat, with the variant *indūra* preserved by Hindu lexicographers. The true form would seem to be *undūra*, from the root *dur* (a causal of which we have in Pkt. *vidūra*), to split, tear, a variant of *dar*.

In the verses quoted above, *uvvâ*, heat, may be the Skt. *ûva*, the submarine fire. Marâthî has, however, *ûba*, heat; *ubneṇ*, to swelter; Hindî *ûbha*, excessive heat; *ûbhnâ*, to be oppressed with heat.

Ukkola = *uk-kolla* = *ukkulla* = *uk-kûla*, from root *kûḷ* or *kûl*, to burn. See note on *ahikûlāi*.

Ka-kkula, hot ashes, probably comes from the same root.

Andolana, Hindola.

These words, meaning a swing, rest chiefly on the authority of the lexicographers. The root appears to be *dul* (? for *lul*), as in *dola*, a swing.

Andolana is referred by Benfey to *dandul*, an anomalous frequentative of *dul*, for *dandul*, swing.

Bearing in mind, however, such forms as Marâthî *amtharṇem* = *attharṇem* = *â-tharṇem* from *â* + *str*; *amḍāna* = *addana* for *ādāna*, and Pkt. *am-gumai* = *aggumai* = *â-gumai*, &c., we may take *andolana* to be a Prâkritism for **âddolana* = **âdolana*.

Hindola may be referred either to a curtailed form of **ahi-ddola* = **abhi-dola* or to **sindola* = **sandola*, from *dul* + *sam*.

Cf. Marâthî, *hindolṇem*, joy, swing; *hindulâ*, *hindolâ*, a swinging cradle; Hindî *hiṇḍulâ*, *hindolâ*, a swing, cradle.

Avahai, Avahei, Avahavei.

In H. P., iv. 151, *avahei*, to compassionate. Kṛipâṃ karoti, H. D., i. 48, represents Skt. **ava + dhāpayati* (causal of *avadhâ*), to show consideration or care for.

Avahea *anukampya*, H. D., i. 22, corresponds to Skt. *avadheya*.

Avahei, H. D., i. 37, *racayati* may be compared with Pâli *odheti* from **ava-dhāyati* (causal of *-dhâ*). *Avahai*, a substitute for *rac* (H. P., iv.), is the equivalent in form to Pâli *avadahati*, but in meaning corresponds perhaps to Skt. *upadhâ*.

Ohāvai = *avahāvai*, a substitute for *âkram* (H. P., iv. 160) is to be referred to Skt. *ava-dhāvati* from $\sqrt{\text{dhāve}}$, "run."

Professor Pischel compares Marâthî *odharṇem* to drive, tend, a causal of *odh-ṇem*. There is, I venture to think, no real connection

between *ohāvaï* and *oḍhavañṇ*. There would be with *oḍhāvaï*, and with *āḍhavaï*. See H. D., iv. 155.

Ubbhāvaï.

Ubbhāvaï, one of the substitutes for *ram* (H. P., iv.), is probably *ubbhāvaï* = *uddhāvaï*, "to roam at large." Compare Pāli *ubbharaṇa* and *uddharaṇa*.

Samkhuddaï is also a substitute for *ram*. H. D., ii. 75, has *khuddiax* surata from *khûrd*, "play, hop." Compare the Skt. *chudd*, *chull*, "dally," which are evidently loan-words from the Prakrit dialects.

Agghāṇa, Agghādaï, Agghavaï.

Agghāṇa (tripta, H. D., i. 19) = *â-ghâṇa*, Skt. *â-ghrâṇa* from *â + ghrâ*, to satiate, satisfy; cf. *â-ghrâta*, satisfied; Hindî *âghânâ*.

Agghādaï and *agghavaï* are causals and represent Skt. *âghrâpayati*, "to fill, satiate." See H. P., iv. 169, where these verbs are given as substitutes for *pûray*, to fill (H. D., i. 37).

Aṇgumaï = *âgumaï*, to fill. Compare *aṇḡutthi* = *âḡutthi* (a veil).

Ahinemaï = *abhiremaï*, perhaps from *abhi + ram* through the caus. **remayati* = *riramayati*.

An-illa, Anolaya, Anudavi, Anualla.

These words in H. D., i. 19 = *prabhâta*.

Anilla = *anela*. Compare Pāli *anela-ka* = Skt. *an-ena + ka*, faultless, unspotted. The original meaning of *ena* seems to have been spotless, bright.

Anolaya = **anolaka* = **alṇaka* = **alunaka* = Skt. *aruṇa + ka* "dawn."

Anu-alla = **anu-kalla* from Skt. *kâlya* "dawn."

Anu-dair = *anu + dair*, from *davi*, probably connected with *dava*, or from the root *du*, "burn."

Uggahaï, Uvachatthaï.

Uggahaï, a substitute for *rac*, H. D., iv. 94 = *ug-gathaï* = *uggrathati*, from Skt. *ud + granth* (*granth*).

Hemacandra recognises *ganth* only as the representative of Skt. *granth*, but Pāli has *gathita* = *granthita* as well as *ganthita*.¹

¹ Cf. Hindî *gaṭhânâ*, "tie;" *gaṭhnâ*, "to be tied;" *gaṭṭhâ*, "bundle;" Marâṭhî.

Uva-hatthāi, a substitute for *samārac*, (H. D., iv. 95) = **upa-ghatthāi* from Skt. *upa* + *granth*, the aspiration being due to the following *r*, as Pkt. *ukkhandaï* = Skt. *ut* + *krand*.

The Sinhalese verb *gata-lanawâ*, "to tie with a knot," and *gætaya*, "a knot," are from the root *granth*, and serve to explain Pkt. *geṇḍa* and *geṇṭhuka*, "a cloth tied in a knot over the breast."

Pa-risāi, Paḍisāi.

The above forms are given as substitutes for *naç*.

The cerebral *ḍ* = *r* or *l*, and the root is probably *riṣ*, *riç* (*liç*), to hurt, kill. Compare *resi(t)a chinna* (H. D., vii. 9).

Pari-aṭṭa-li-a (*paricchinna*, H. D., vi. 33) = *pari-katṭa-lita*, a causal of *pari-katṭāi*, from root *kṛt*, cut. Cf. *kattāri* (H. D., ii. 4) = Pāli *kattāri* (J. iii. 298) = Skt. *karttari*, scissors, shears.

Pari-aṇṭa, Avayāsaï.

The above are substitutes for *çliṣ*, embrace (H. D., iv.).

Pari-aṇṭāi = *pari-aṭṭāi* = *pari-vattāi*, from *pari* + *vṛt*. Compare *abbhāyatto pratyâgata* (H. D., i. 31).¹

Avayāsaï = *ava-vāsaï* = *avapâsaï*, from *ava* + *paç*.

In H. D., iv. 161, *tala-aṇṭāi*, a substitute for *bhram*, seems to stand for *tala-aṭṭa* = *tala-āla* = *tala-tāla*. Compare M. *tara-tara*, in a rapid manner, and Pkt. *ṭiriṭṭillāi* = *bhramati*.

On the root *mlā*.²

In Pāli and Pkt. we find *milāyati* = *mlāyati*. With *t* for *l* we have in Marāṭhī *miṭṇem*, to subside; Hindī *miṭṇā*, to be effaced; *meṭṇā*, to efface. Beames would connect these modern forms with Skt. *mṛṣṭa*, rubbed.

M. has a causative *mâlavṇem* corresponding to Skt. *mlāpayati* and *vā-vavṇem*, to fade. Sinhalese has *vēlenawā* and *mālawenawā*, to wither; Marāṭhī has *v* for *m* in *viṭṇem* = *mitṇem*. In Pāli *amla* becomes *ambila*, which seems to explain Hindī *kumbhilānā*, *kumhlānā*, to fade, wither; *kumhlāt*, *kumbhilāṇt*, fading, from *mlā* + *ku*. In H. D. we have *kummāna* and *kurumāna* = *mlāna*, fading. The former goes back to **kummāna* = **kumbhāna* = *kumbhlāna* = *kumbilāna* = *ku-mlāna*. The latter represents *ku-lumāna*, *ku-mulāna* =

¹ Cf. *paḍi-aṇṭa-a* (*karmakara*, H. D., vi. 32) = *paḍi-aṭṭa-ka* = *prati-varttaka*.

² As *vā* is a substitute for *mlā*, there may have been a form *vā*.

kumilāna = *ku-mlāna*. Benfey connects *ku-mala* and *ku-māra* with *ku* and *mlā*.

Suṇhasi(k)a, Soma(t)i(k)e.

Suṇhasia and *somaia* = *swapnaçīla* (H. D., viii. 39). The *suṇha-* in *suṇhasika* seems to stand for **sumha-* = **subbha* = **supna* = *swapna*. Compare S. *sumhaṇu*, to sleep; *somatika* = **sovatika* = **suwatika* = **swapatika*. Compare Pkt. *sovaṇa*, sleep.

Asia.

Asia (dâtra, a sickle; H. D., i. 14) = *asita*, as in Pâli. It is probably related to Skt. *asi* and *asira*.

Ajjhellî for **dajjhellî* = **dadhya* + *illî*, from the intens. of *dhâ*, sack; or for *â-jhellî*, from *â* + *dhyâ*, with suffix *-illî*.

Avattaya (H. D., i. 34, *visamsthûla*) = *a-vyaktaka*.

Ruṇḍa, Ruṇjaï.

Ruṇḍa (*vipala*, *mukhara*, H. D. = *rudda*, Skt. *rudra*, from *rud*). To this root must be referred *ruṇjaï* (H. D.) = *rujjaï* for *rudyate*.

Compare *oruṇjaṇ* *nâstîti* *bhaṇitagarbhâ* *krîdâ* (H. D., i. 156).

Khumṇpa (*trṇâdimaya*, H. D.) = *khuppa** = *khûpa*, seems to be connected with Marâthî. *Kumbhâ*, a bush; Skt. *ksupa*, a bush.

Saṇṇāmaï, Saṇṇattēi.

In H. P., iv. 83, for *a* + *dar* the substitute *sannāmaï* may be used. Here two roots are possible to which it may be referred: (1.) *nam*, "bend," in which case *sannāmaï* = *sannammaï*, Skt. *saṃ* + *namyate*; (2.) *yam*, "strive, reach." Here *sannamaï* = *saṇṇāmaï* = *saññāmmaï*, Skt. *saṃ* + *yamyate*; cf. Pâli *saññāmeti*. In H. D., viii. 19, we have *saṇṇāmaï* *âdriyate*.

Saṇṇattia (*paritâpita*, H. D., viii. 10) = *saṃ-yâtia* = *saṃ-yâtita*, from the root *yat* (causal).

Compare *avaṇṇa* = *ava-jña*; *aṇṇatti* = *aññatti* = *â* + *jñapti* (H. D., i. 17).

Peṇḍava.

Peṇḍavaï, a substitute for *pra* + *sthâ* (H. P., iv. 37); = *piṇḍavaï* = *piḍḍavaï* = *pîlavai*, the causal of *pîḍ*, "press." Compare *vip-piṇḍia* = *vipîdita*, H. D., vii. 70; and Pâli *pîleti*. Compare *peṇḍa* (for *piṇḍa*) = *khaṇḍa*, *valaya* (H. D., vi. 81).

Rañjāi.

In H. D., iv. 106, the following are among the substitutes for *bhañg*, "break :"—*ka-ramjāi*, *nī-ramjāi*, *pavi-ramjāi*. In H. D., v. 32, we find *paḍi-rañjia* bhagna.

The radicle *rañj*, "break," is not in the Sanskrit dictionaries, but *rañjāi* may be a nasalised form of *rajjāi*, for *radīyati*, from root *rad*, from which we have in Skt. *virad* and *prarad*; cf. *nī-rāda*, *naṣṭa*, H. D., iv. 30.

Ve-aḍāi = Vi-galati.

Ve-aḍāi, a substitute of *khac*, H. P., iv. 89. *Ve-yāḍiya*, P. L., joined, studded; *ve-aḍia*, *pratyupta*, H. D., vii. 77. *Ve-aḍāi* = *vegaḍāi* = *vi-galati*. Compare *saṃgalāi* = *saṃghaṭate*, H. D., viii. 19. In H. P., iv. 113, *galāi* is a substitute for *saṃ* + *ghaṭ*.

Marāthī has *sāṃgaḍṇem*, to join, unite; *sāṃ-gaḍa*, a float or raft; Pāli *nī-gaḷa* = Skt. *nī-gaḍa*, a chain.

But *ve-aḍāi* may also be for *ve-jāḍāi*, for H. D., iii. 41, has *jāḍiya* = *khacita*. Cf. *ghaṇa-loha-jāḍiya-moggura* (Aus. Erz. in M., p. 22, l. 8).

Alampa.

Alampa (*kukkuṭa*, H. D., i. 13) = *allampa* = *ālāpa* = *ālāva* = *ārāva*,¹ from *â + ru*, signifies "a crower." Compare Marāthī *āravṇem* and *āraṇem*, to crow, *āravṇī*, cockcrowing.

The interchange of *l* and *r* is seen in *āi-rimpa* = **ati-limpa* = **atilipa* (H. D., i., lipi). In the sense of *doṣa* *apabhraṣṭa*, *ati-rimpa* must be referred to *ripṛa* = *rippa* = *rimpa*.

The Sanskrit dictionaries have *alipaka*, a dog, bee; *alimpaka*, *alimbaka*, *alimaka*, Indian cuckoo, bee, frog, which seem to be from *alampa*, with suffix *-ka*, with an attempt upon the part of the lexicographers (upon whose authority only these words rest) to connect them with *ali*.

Nittiraḍi (*nirantara*, H. D.), must be connected with *nit-tiraḍia* *truṭita* (H. D., i.), from **nir + trad* (= *trd*, split, bore). *Trad* would become, by separation of the conjunct consonants, *tirad*.

Allaṭṭa palatṭa (*pârçva parivartana*, H. D., i. 47).

At first sight these forms seem to suggest a root, *laṭ* = *luṭ* (Skt. *luṭiyati*, to roll upon the ground, which rests, however, only on the

¹ Crying, howling, humming (of bees).

authority of the Hindu grammarians), so that *allaṭṭa palaṭṭa* = *â-laṭṭa pralaṭṭa*.

In Pâli this would be *âvaṭṭa parivaṭṭa*. In Udâna, ii. 6, p. 14, we have *âvaṭṭati parivaṭṭati*, to roll about on the ground (in pain):—"So dukkhâhi tibbâhi kharâhi kaṭukâhi vedanâhi phuṭṭho *âvaṭṭai parivaṭṭati ca*."

Prakrit *âllaṭṭa-palaṭṭa* (= *pallaṭṭa*)¹ would represent an older *â-vaṭṭa pari-vaṭṭa*, the first being assimilated to the second through a false etymology. Hindî has *ulaṭ(a) pulaṭ(a)*, topsy-turvy; *ulaṭnâ palaṭnâ*, to overturn. M. *ulaṭṇem*, to turn over, upset.

Pkt. has *utthala* (otthala) *patthalla* in the same sense. Cf. Hindî *uthal(a) pathal(a)*, topsy-turvy; *uthalnâ pathalnâ*, to be overturned. M. *uthalṇem* = *ulaṭṇem*.

Hemacandra, iv. 117, has *pahallaï* (a substitute for *ghûṛṇ*), which is merely a variant of *pathalaï* = *pra-thalati*?. *Utthallaï* (H. D., i. 96) = *parivartati*.

The same root is seen in the intensitive *tharatharaï*, *tharaharaï*; Marâthî, *thar(a) tharṇem*; Bengâli, *thur(a) thurite*; Hindî, *thal(a) thalnâ*, tremble, shake, all of which seem to go back to Skt. *toar*, Prakritised into *thur*, *thul*; *thar*, *thal*; cf. *thulla* (H. D., v. 27) = *parivartita*.

The *u* in Hindî *u-laṭnâ* and Pkt. *ut thalla* is a corruption of *ava*. We find in Pkt. *o-alla*,² *pa-alla*, *parialla*, which might be referred to the root *val*, roll, but are, I venture to think, variants of *ava-aṭṭa*, *pla-aṭṭa*, &c. (through *ava-aḍḍa*, *pa-aḍḍa*), from *vṛt*.

For other views of these forms see Hâla, 898; Prâcrita, p. 11; Index to Setubandha, s.v. *alla*.³

In Kalpasûtra (Jin., § 92) we have *allîna* = *pallîna* = *â-lîna-pra-lîna*, rendered by Professor Jacobi as "stiff and motionless."

Perhaps such modern Hindu form as Hindî *loṭnâ poṭnâ*, to turn over and over, M. *laṭ(a)*, *puṭ(a)*, wild, overflowing, are formed in imitation of the foregoing.

Thaha = *nilaya* (H. D., v. 24). Compare Hindî *thāṅga*, a den of thieves; M. *thāmga*, spot, place.

Thagha = *thaga*, from root *stha*g, hide, conceal.

¹ *Pari-aṭṭa* would become *pallaṭṭa*, just as *pallaṭṭha*, *palhattha* = *paryasta*, *pallaṅka* = *pari-aṅka*, &c.

² H. D., i. 165, "paryasta;" and cf. *â-alla* *cancala*. H. D., i. 75, *â-alla* *roga* = *akalla* = *akalya*.

³ Hindî *aṭṭhalânâ*, to swagger = ? *atthalânâ* = ? *â-thalânâ*.

Phamṣaī, Ud-dhacchavī.

Phamṣaī,¹ in H. D. iv., is one of the substitutes for *visam-vad*. Here the *ṃ* is merely graphic, and *phamṣaī* = *phassaī* = *phāsaī*, with which we may compare Marāthī *phas-viṇem*, *phāsāviṇem*, to cheat; *phasphasṇem*, to fizz; Skt. *phās*, idle talk.

With *phas* or *phās*, evidently of onomatopoeic origin, we may compare *phus* in M. *phuskā*, hollow, worthless (used of persons and speech); *phusphus*, *phassa*, spitting, hissing; *phuslāviṇem*, to cajole.

Hindī *phus*, sound, noise; M. *phusāri*, bragging; Skt. *phu*, idle talk.

In Pāli we have *pussaka*, a large barn-cock (Ariguttara, iii. 64, 6). For *phussaka* applied to a boaster compare *pūsa*-(k)a, *pūsa*, a parrot (P. L., H. D.).

We have in Sanskrit *pha*, *phā*, idle talk, and in Pāli *sam-pha*, useless speech. The Skt. *phi* means idle talk and a wicked man, perhaps *upphāla*, a wicked person; *upphālāi*² (*uppālāi*), to speak (H. P., iv. 2; H. D., i. 117); *saṃbhulla*, a bad man = *samphū-la* (H. D.).

Ud-dhacchavī (*visamvādita*, H. D., i. 114) = *ud-bhacchavī*, ? from *ud-bhacchāiāi*, the causal of *bacch* = *bharts*.

See *uddhacchia* = *ud-bhacchita* *niṣiddha*, H. D., i. 111.

Vilia = *vīlita* = *vrīḍita*, from *vrīḍ* *viddūna* = **vidūna* = **vrīḍūna* *vedūna* = *velūna* = **villūna* = *vrīḍūna* *velanaya* = **villanaka* = **vrīdanaka* (H. D., vii. 67). In H. D., vii. 61, *vidḍa* = *vrīḍa*.

Guṇṭha (*adhama-haya*, H. D., ii. 91) = *guṇṭha* = Skt. *ghuṭa*. The loss of aspiration in the initial is due to the aspiration in the following syllable.

Gaṃdhellī (*madhu makṣikā*, H. D., ii. 200), *gandha* + *illī*; cf. Skt. *gandhālī*, *gandholī*, a wasp. In the sense of *châyâ* *gaṃdhellī* = *gādha* + *illī* from root *gāh* ?

Gutthamḍa (*bhāsa paksī*, H. D., ii. 92) = **gutthāḍa* = **gutthāla* = **gotthāla* = *goṣṭha* + *ala*. In Skt. *bhāsa* = *goṣṭha*.

Go-amṭā (*gocaranāḥ*, H. D., ii. 98), either *go-vatṭa* or *go-vāṭa*.

Ālamba (H. D., i.), an umbrella = *ālappa* = **ādappa* = **âtappa* = **atapta* = *âtapatra*. The Skt. *ālamba* = *asylum* is not to the purpose.

Āraṃbhi(k)a *mālākāra* (H. D., i.) = *āraṃbika* = *ārāmika*. Compare Sinhalese *ārāmba* = *ārāma*, a grove; Pāli, *kumbhaka* = *umbaka* = *kūpaka*, a mast.

Aṃbettī *muṣṭi-dyūta*, the game of odd or even (H. D.) ? = *ā-vetṭī* = *ā-veṣṭī*, from the closing of the hand or fist in the game.

¹ Compare *-phaṃsa* = *-phassa* in Pkt. *sukha-phaṃsa*, P. L.

² In H. P. *uppālāi* and *pīsuṇāi* are mentioned together.

Aṅga-vaddhaṇa (roga, H. D., i. 47), *aṅga-varddhaṇa*, ? swelling of the limbs, dropsy. Cf. *aṅga-marṣa*, rheumatism.

Aya-tañcia, *ava-accia* (*apacita*, *māṃsala*, H. D., i. 47), *ava-tañcita* or *apa-tañcita*, uncontracted, full, &c., from the root *tañc*, to contract.

Aṇahappaṇaya (*anaṣṭa*, H. D., i. 48), ? *aṇa-sâpaṇata* = *ana-sampranata* = a *sampra* + *nata* from *nam*. See note on *h = e*.

Ava-acchāi (*hlâdate*, *hlâdayati*, H. D., i. 59) = *ava-vacchati* = *ava-vâñchati*, from *vâñch* to desire; in the sense of "to see;" it stands for *ava-pacchāi*.

Ā-mora-ja (*viṣeṣa-jña*, H. D., i. 66).

Ā-mūra-ja from the root *mūr* in *muraī* (divide). See H. P.; or it may mean one going to the root of the matter, in which case we should have read *ā-molaka* for *mūla* + *ka*.

Ahisāya (*âkrânta*, H. D., i. 20) = *abhi-sâta* = *abhi* + *çrânta*.

Ammāi-â (*anumârgagâmiṇī*, H. D., i. 22) = *â-mâgikâ* = *â-mârgika*.

Ava-gadia (*viṣṭûna*, H. D., i. 30) = *ava-gala* from *ava* + *gal*. Compare *ni-gal*, to fall down.

Anekajjha (H. D., i. 30) *cancala*, ? *a-nekujjha* from *nikkrudhyati*. Compare Pâli *kujjhati*.

Ava-akkhia, *ava-acchia*, *ajjhavasia* (H. D., i. 40) *nivâpitaṃ mukhaṃ*. The first two are from the root *takṣ*, to cut; the last is from *adby* + *ava* + *ça*.

Acchi-harulla, *acchi-gha-rulla*, *acchi-harilla*, *duesya* (H. D., i. 41) = *akṣi-garulla* = *akṣi-karûlla*, from *akṣi-krûra*. The form *kurûda*, *kurula*, pitiless, cruel, occurs in H. D., ii. 63, *karulla* = *krûrya*?. *Acchigarulla* would seem to be a Prakritism from *garula-acchi* = *krûra-akṣi*. Compare *krûra-driç*, cruel.

A-paḍicchara (*jaḍamati*, H. D., i. 43), ? **a-pratîksa-ra*.

Aṇacchiâra (*a-cchinna*, H. D., i. 44) = *aṇacchidâra* = *ana-cchidra* = *acchidra*. Cf. *aṇa-râma(k)a* = (*arabi*, H. D., i. 45).

Atthuda (*laghu*, H. D., i. 9) = **a-tthula* = **a-thûla* = *a-sthûla*, not large, not coarse.

Aṇappa, (*khadga*, H. D., i. 13) = *anarva* = *an-arva*?

Appajjha (= *âtma* + *âdhya*) *âtma-vaça* (H. D., i. 15). Compare Pâli *ajjhatta* (= *adhyâtman*).

Aṇnai (*tripta* H. D., i. 19) = *aannavita* from *â* + *jnapita*.

Thûrî (*tantavâyopakarana*, H. D., v. 28) or **thorî*, from Skt. **sthavarî*. Cf. *sthavi*, a weaver.

Thûṇa (*açva*, H. D., v. 28) = *thûla* = **sthûra*. Cf. Skt. *sthûrin*, a pack-horse.

Imghia (ghrâta, H. D., i.), if not for *simghita*, may perhaps be for *igghi(t)a* = *jigghita*. See H. D., iii. 46, and cf. *â-igghaï* = *âjighrâh* (ibid., i. 71)

Ikkana (cora, H. D., i.) = *ikkhana* = Skt. *ikṣaṇa-ka*, a fortune-teller. For loss of aspiration compare Pâli *ikka* for *ikkha*, a bear.

Irâva (gajja, H. D., i.) = *erâva* = **airâva* for *airâvaṇa*.

Illa (lavitra, H. D., i. 82) = Pâli *illî* = Skt. *ilî*, probably a hunter's knife. Marâthî has *ilâ*, a curved instrument for cutting grass, and *ilî*, a kind of blade set in a stock for cutting vegetables.

Illa (daridra, H. D., i.) presupposes an older *iddra* (not a curtailed daridra) for *ittra* = Skt. *itvâra* = Pâli *ittara*, poor.

Illî varṣtrâṇa and *illîra* vṛṣṭi-vâraṇa (H. D.) may be compared to Marâthî *iraleṃ*, a sort of screen used in rainy weather.

Illîra grḥadvâra may be connected with Pâli *ela-ka* (= *illa-ka*), a threshold ?.

Veddha-i-a (carmakâra, H. D.) = *vaddhavika* = **vardhrâ-pika*, from Skt. *vardhira*; Pâli *baddha*, *vaddha*, *vaddhaka*, a leather strap; *vaddha-maya*, of leather.

Vâ yada (çuka, H. D.) = Skt. *vâcâṭa*, talkative. Compare note on *pûsa*, a parrot.

Ri-miṇa (rodanaçîla, H. D.) = *riviṇa* or *ri-maṇa*, from root *rî*, *rî*, howl.

Ririta (lîna, H. D.) is a frequentative of *rî*, melt, a variant of *lî*.

Villa (accha, H. D., vii. 88) = Pâli *viddha*, bright, clear, applied to the bright sky; Skt. *vidhira*.

The Pkt. *villa* = *vela* = *vedha* = *viddha* = *vidhira*. We see that *dh* passes into *l* in *vedhia* = *vellita* = *veshṭita* (H. D., vii. 96).

Vi-olon (âvigna, H. D., vii. 63) cannot stand for *vi-jâkula* or for *vikula*. It seems to be equal to *vikola* = **vikalava* = **vikavala* = Skt. *vî-klava*. To the root *klav* I would refer *khavalîa* = **kavalita* = **kalavita* = *klavita*, kupita, H. D., ii. 72.

Vilumka (virûpa, H. D., vii. 63) = *vi-lukka* = *vilugga* = *virugna* ?. Cf. *niriṃka* = *nirikka*. See H. P., iv. 116.

Vi-rallia (vistarita, H. D., vii. 71). In H. P. *virallaï* is given as one of the substitutes for *tan*. This seems to be connected with a causal *vi-râl* = *vilâl*, from *vi* + *lî*. Cf. Skt. *virala*, then, and *viralita*.

Viggova (vyâpala, H. D., vii. 64) looks, at first sight, as a variant of *vikkopa* = *vekopa* = *vaikupa*, but Jaina-pkt. has *viggovittâ* = *vigopya*, from **vigup*, to reject. The adjective *viggova* is to be referred to root *gup* in the sense of "to be confused, troubled," and stands for *vai-gopa*. The double *gg*'s are quite correct.

Viāla (cora, H. D., vii. 90) = Pāli *bāla* = Skt. *vyāla*. In the sense of *saṃdhā* *viāla* = *vi-kāla*.

Vīla-ia (adhijya, H. D., vii. 92) = *vilagita*; but *vila-ia* *dēna* = *vilavia*, from *vi* + *lī*. Cf. *o-lai* = *olagai* = *ava* + *lag*.

Vuṇṇa (bhīta, *udvigna*, H. D., vii. 94) = **vud-na*, from root *vud*, to sink, hence to be depressed. *Uv-vuṇṇa* *udvigna* (H. D., i. 123). With this is probably connected *vāvonaya* (*vikîrṇa*, H. D., vii. 59) = *vy-â-vuṇṇ-aka*. It can hardly represent *vy-â-(v)unnata*, from *nam*. The form *vud* seems to be identical with the Skt. *bul*, *bolagati*, dip, dive, sink, in the *Dhâlapâṭha*.

Satthara (H. D.) is usually referred to Skt. *srastara*, and by some lexicographers connected with the root *sraṃs* or *sras*, from which it has not certainly derived its meaning of "layer, bed." The Pāli for bed, couch, is *santhara* = *saṃstara*. Cf. Hindî *sathara*, a mattress. The form *srastara* (= **sraṃstara*) is probably an old dialectical variant of *saṃstara*. The Pkt. *satthara* might, of course, be for *sâ-thara* = *santhara*, as *sâ* for *saṃ* is by no means uncommon.

Ārādī, Ā-rādia.

Ārādī, ārādita (*vilapita*, H. D., i. 75), probably for *â-rāt-ī*, *â-rāt-ita*, from the causal of *raṭ* + *â*, yell, cry. Compare Marāṭhī *rad-nem*, cry, bewail, *aradnem* (= *ârādnem*), cry out, bawl; Hindî *raṭnā*, call out; *rādī, rārī*, a wrangler.

Ā-moḍa (*jūṭa*, H. D., i. 62), from *â* + *maula*. Compare Pāli *moli*, top-knot of hair, crest; Skt. *mauli*. In H. D., vi. 117, we find *maudi*, *moḍa*, *murumuṇḍa*,¹ *juta*; also *mukkuṇḍī* = Skt. *mukuta* a crest.

Ve-ālla (*asâmarthya*, H. D., vii. 75) = Pāli *ve-kalla*, deficiency, Skt. *vaikalya*.

Ve-alla (*mṛda*, H. D., vii. 55), ? for *vegalla* from *vi* + *gal*.

Ā-laṃkia (*khanjîkrta*, H. D., i. 68) = *â-laṃgita*, from *laṅg*, to limp. Cf. Marāṭhī *laṃgaḍa*, lame; *laṃgaḍnem*, to limp, halt; Hindî *laṃga*, limping.

Ā-roggia (*bhukta*, H. D., i. 69) = **aruggita* = **â-rāgita*. Compare Marāṭhī *â-roḡna*, eating. We have here probably a causal of a root *rug*, chew.

¹ This seems to be a reduplicated form for *muḍu-muḍa* = *moḍa-moḍa*.

Pabbālaī.

Pabbālaī (H. D., vi. 73) has the double meaning of *plāvayati* and *chādayati*.

The second meaning shows that *pabbālaī* = *pra-vâl-ati* from the root *val*, cover, but the first sense would point to **plāvati* becoming —(1) *palāvati*, (2) *parvâlati* *pabbâlati*. Cf. Pâli *opilâpeti*, from *avaplu*. H. D., vi. 76, has *pâlappa* (*vipluta*) = *palâpa* = *plâva*.

Ojjha.

Ojjha (*acokṣa*, H. D., i. 148) is a difficult form to explain, and there is a v. l. *avokṣa* for *acokṣa*.

O-jjha may be a curtailed form of *o-kkha-ra* = *avaskara*, unclean. Cf. Skt. *anavaskara*, clean.

If the reading *avokṣa* be the true meaning, then *ojjha* would mean clean, as *avokṣa* = *ava + ukṣa*.

Pâli has *vokkha nimmala*, for which there is the variant *cokkha* = *cokṣa*.

[Owing to the sad calamity which has befallen Dr. Morris, he has now become quite unable to use his eyes, and has not been able, therefore, to correct the proofs of this paper. This has kindly been done by Professor Rhys Davids, at the request of Dr. Morris.]

X.

DEUX TRADUCTIONS CHINOISES DU MILINDAPAÑHO.

PAR

EDOUARD SPECHT.

INTRODUCTION PAR M. SYLVAIN LÉVI.

UN dialogue socratique sur les doctrines du buddhisme, à l'ombre d'un portique grec, dans la capitale du Panjab, en présence de moines à la robe jaune et d'hoplites dressés à la macédonienne ; une controverse entre la dialectique des sophistes et le dogmatisme subtil des âcâryas ; d'un côté Ménandre, un lointain héritier d'Alexandre, souverain de la Bactriane, du Caboul et de l'Indus ; d'autre part Nâgasena, le docteur invincible, venu de la terre sainte pour défendre la religion ébranlée ; un siècle et demi avant l'ère chrétienne, cent ans après Açoka, l'église militante, deux cents avant Kanîska, l'église triomphante : voilà le Milindapañho, les " Questions de Ménandre," livre unique que l'histoire des religions, l'histoire des littératures, l'histoire des civilisations interrogent avec une curiosité fiévreuse, impatientes d'éclairer l'époque obscure où l'Inde en contact suivi avec l'hellénisme sent dans son sein l'éveil d'activités et de tendances nouvelles. La science ne connaissait jusqu'ici de cet ouvrage qu'un texte écrit en pâli et incorporé dans le canon singhalais ; M. Trenckner en a donné une édition excellente, et M. Rhys Davids en a entrepris une traduction complète dont un volume a déjà paru dans la collection des " Sacred Books of the East." Mais l'éditeur et le traducteur ont dû loyalement faire des réserves sur la valeur des données fournies par leur texte. La composition, le style, aussi bien que le sujet en rendent l'authenticité suspecte ; le Milindapañho laisse apercevoir

comme par transparence un original sanscrit ou sanscritisant, sur la nature duquel les informations manquent. L'auteur de l'imitation a-t-il suivi son modèle avec fidélité, ou ne l'a-t-il pas traité plutôt avec une liberté orientale? La critique doit-elle tenir compte du sentiment littéraire, et éliminer à ce titre les trois quarts de l'ouvrage où le dialogue, commencé avec l'art consommé d'un Platon ou d'un Xénophon, dégénère en controverse lourde et massive? Le Milindo pâli n'est-il plus qu'un fantôme légendaire ou sort-il d'une tradition vivante? Où s'arrête l'histoire, où commence le roman? Des citations empruntées aux textes sacrés qui encombre le texte, faut-il conclure à l'existence fort ancienne d'un canon étendu? Faut-il y reconnaître au contraire l'aveu maladroit où se trahit l'âge tardif du livre? Problèmes qui semblaient désespérés, et dont la solution s'obtient ou s'entrevoit aujourd'hui. Par un retour étrange et significatif, c'est la Chine qui fait ici jaillir la lumière. Le catalogue du Tripiṭaka chinois, compilé par M. Bunyiu Nanjio, trésor de documents encore explorés, classe sous le numéro 1398 un "Sûtra du bhikṣu Nāgasena," traduit entre 317 et 420 après J.C., et dans lequel figure comme interlocuteur un roi Mi-lân. Le savant japonais en signale dubitativement l'analogie avec le Milindapañho, car l'introduction ne répond pas avec exactitude au début du texte pâli. Frappé de cette indication, je m'empressai de la communiquer à M. Specht, que ses connaissances spéciales me désignaient autant que son inépuisable complaisance comme le plus sûr des guides. M. Specht se mit aussitôt à l'œuvre. Son premier examen, tout superficiel qu'il dût être en portant sur l'ensemble, a donné des résultats trop précieux pour n'en point hâter la publication. Qu'il me soit permis de réunir et de résumer ces conclusions; le mémoire qui suit fournira les pièces justificatives. Les "Questions de Ménandre" appartiennent en principe à la collection du Nord; l'auteur résidait à l'extrême nord-ouest de l'Inde, alors que l'expansion indienne dépassait les rives de l'Oxus et atteignait pour le moins l'incertain Chi-pi-i-eul, l'Iaxarte peut-être: il est contemporain des derniers Indo-Grecs ou des premiers Çakas. Il connaît Ménandre par une tradition encore fidèle, car la transcription chinoise conduit à un type plus voisin du grec Ménandros que l'altération pâli, le nom même des officiers grecs semble préservé avec une certaine fidélité dans l'original. La rédaction primitive n'embrasse que l'introduction et les deux premiers chapitres du texte pâli, désignés par excellence dans cette imitation même sous le titre de Milindapañho; dans ces étroites limites, la recension méridionale

suit l'original avec une fidélité suffisante ; mais tout le reste n'est qu'une agglomération de controverses adventices coulées dans un moule commode. Les deux recensions nord et sud du Milindapraçna primitif se ressemblent assez pour que la comparaison du chinois puisse résoudre certaines difficultés d'interprétation du pâli, que ces difficultés viennent des mots ou des idées. Enfin, l'universelle autorité de ce dialogue profane sur les questions de doctrine est affirmée par l'existence de deux rédactions parallèles dans le canon des deux grandes églises buddhiques, et sa popularité dans l'église du nord n'est point douteuse puisque les Chinois en ont connu et traduit deux recensions assurément concordantes dans l'ensemble, mais très-divergentes dans le détail. Fondée sur ces données essentielles, la critique n'hésitera plus désormais à tirer parti des riches matériaux du Milindapraçna pour l'histoire des doctrines et des écritures buddhiques, si incertaine encore ; et tous les orientalistes seront d'accord avec moi pour souhaiter que M. Specht poursuive et achève à bref délai les recherches dont il nous offre aujourd'hui les primeurs.

LE Milindapañho, par son importance, a attiré depuis longtemps l'attention des savants européens.¹ Dans cet ouvrage philosophique le roi Ménandre, souverain de la Bactriane, interroge Nâgasena, docteur buddhique, sur les doutes qui se sont élevés dans son esprit, et sur la doctrine de Çâkyamuni. Le roi, convaincu par les réponses de son savant interlocuteur, finit par se convertir.

M. Levi, mon dévoué confrère de la Société Asiatique, a, dans sa remarquable thèse, "Quid de Græcis veterum Indorum monumenta tradiderint," mis à profit les renseignements fournis par le Milindapañho. Il a attiré mon attention sur la traduction chinoise de ce livre, et a bien voulu comparer le texte pâli avec les divers passages que j'ai traduits.

Selon plusieurs auteurs, les ouvrages buddhiques se sont répandus dans le Céleste Empire dès le 1^{er} siècle de notre ère. D'après M.

¹ Parmi les auteurs qui se sont occupés du Milindapañho nous citerons :—

Turnour—"Examination of some points of Buddhist chronology." The Royal Asiatic Society, Sept. 1836.

Burnouf—*Un mémoire malheureusement resté inédit.*

Spence Hardy—"A Manual of Buddhism and Eastern Monachism."

Trenckner—"Pâli Miscellany."

Le texte pâli a été publié par Trenckner, et traduit par M. Rhys Davids, "The Questions of King Milinda," dans "The Sacred Books of the East" (1890).

Vassilief ils se seraient propagés au IV. siècle ; aussi nous trouvons beaucoup de livres sanscrits ou pâlis rendus dans la langue de Confucius sous la dynastie des Tchin (317-420).

Les deux traductions chinoises du Milindapañho, intitulées 那先比丘經, Na-sien-pi-kieou-king, "Le livre du bhikshu Nâgasena," datent de cette époque. La première fut insérée dans la collection de Corée que le roi de ce pays fit publier en 1010 ; la seconde fut imprimée dans le grand recueil buddhique, paru en 1239 sous les Soung, et réimprimée dans les recueils des Youan et des Ming.¹ Ces deux ouvrages ne comprennent que les trois premiers livres du texte pâli. A partir du 4^e livre de la recension pâli, la conversation entre le roi Milinda et Nâgasena prend une forme plus ample ; les réponses du docteur buddhique sont aussi plus longues que dans le 2^{me} et le 3^{me} livre, lesquels d'après leur facture forment un tout complet. Les traductions chinoises comprennent donc l'introduction, les deux parties intitulées : questions de définitions (lakkhanapañho), et questions de doutes à dissiper (vimaticchedanapañho) ; ces deux parties sont embrassées dans la table des matières du texte pâli sous la rubrique spéciale de Milindapañho, "Questions de Milinda."²

Un simple examen suffit pour constater que nous avons trois rédactions du même ouvrage qui a été successivement remanié. La première nous a été conservée par la traduction chinoise qui a été insérée dans la collection de Corée ; la seconde par celle du recueil des Soung ; la troisième est celle dont le texte pâli est le seul représentant.

La première version (A) est la plus courte, et comprend 13,752 caractères ou mots chinois ; la seconde (B) a 22,657 caractères, soit une augmentation de deux cinquièmes ; le second livre de la version amplifiée traite de l'âme et de ses facultés, de la renaissance et de la transmigration ; toutes ces questions, qui n'existent pas dans la

¹ Ces deux traductions ont été de nouveau imprimées dans la collection publiée au Japon en 1881 sous le titre de Ta-ts'ang-king. Grâce à la générosité de M. Ryauon Fujishima, la Société Asiatique de Paris possède un exemplaire de cet ouvrage.

Nous désignons la première rédaction par A, la seconde par B ; elles ont été insérées dans le troisième fascicule de la xxiv. section ou boîte.

² Voici ce passage entier ; nous empruntons la traduction de M. Trenckner (Pali Miscellany, p. 30) : "Here we must stop to relate the previous history of those two persons (Milinda and Nâgasena), which must be done by dividing the subject into six parts, viz., the Pubbayoga (or merits acquired in former existences), the Milinda questions, the discussion on definitions, the equivocal problems, the questions concerning inductions, and the discussion of similarities. The Milinda questions, again, are twofold : those turning on definitions, and those aiming at dispelling of doubt. The equivocal problems likewise are twofold : the great chapter, and the discussion on yogis."

première rédaction, forment dans le texte pâli la plus grande partie du chapitre 2 (Nos. 3 à 9), ainsi que le troisième chapitre.

Quoique le développement de l'ouvrage soit identique, les questions ne sont pas toujours placées dans le même ordre ; le pâli a plus de rapport avec la seconde version qu'avec la première ; ainsi les paragraphes 8 à 15 du 7^{me} chapitre du texte pâli se suivent également dans la seconde rédaction, tandis que l'ordre en est très altéré dans la première, où la correspondance s'établit ainsi : Nos. 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 9, 10, 11. Nous donnons comme spécimen la traduction de ces passages :—

“Le roi demanda à Nâgasena :¹ ‘Du sage qui fait le mal ou de l'homme ignorant lequel mérite la plus grande punition ?’

“Nâgasena dit : ‘L'homme ignorant qui fait le mal mérite une grande punition ; l'homme sage qui est coupable doit avoir une punition moindre.’

“Le roi répondit : ‘Je ne comprends pas ce que dit Nâgasena ;’ et il ajouta : ‘Moi, je gouverne mon royaume par les lois ; si les grands ministres commettent une faute, ils sont grandement coupables ; si le petit peuple² commet une faute, il est moins coupable. C'est pourquoi je pense que le sage qui commet une faute mérite une grande punition, et que l'ignorant qui en commet une doit avoir une punition moindre.’

“Nâgasena dit : ‘O roi ! écoutez cette comparaison ; du fer chauffé est sur la terre, un homme sait que cela est du fer chauffé, l'autre ne sait rien ; tous deux ensemble veulent prendre le fer chauffé. Quel est celui qui aura les mains abîmées ?’

“Le roi répondit : ‘Celui qui ne le savait pas aura les mains abîmées.’³

“Celui qui ne peut défendre son corps et sa bouche, ne peut

¹ *Na-sien-pi-kieou-king*, A fol. 51 recto, B fol. 64 recto, texte pâli, p. 84. Voici la traduction de M. Rhys Davids, p. 129 :—

“The king said : ‘Whose, Nâgasena, is the greater demerit—his who sins consciously, or his who sins inadvertently ?’

“‘He who sins inadvertently, O king, has the greater demerit.’

“‘In that case, reverend Sir, we shall punish doubly any of our family or our court who do wrong unintentionally.’

“‘But what do you think, O king ? If one man were to seize hold intentionally of a fiery mass of metal glowing with heat, and another were to seize hold of it unintentionally, which would be more burnt ?’

“‘The one who did not know what he was doing.’

“‘Well, it is just the same with the man who does wrong.’

“‘Very good, Nâgasena !’”

² B : met “le peuple ignorant,” 愚民.

³ A partir de ces mots, la seconde rédaction diffère complètement ; voici la traduction de ce passage :—

“Nâgasena dit : ‘L'ignorant qui commet une faute ne peut se repentir, à cause de

saisir les préceptes de la doctrine. C'est pourquoi la multitude des hommes ne peut avoir la quiétude du corps.' Nâgasena [ajoute et] dit : 'L'homme qui a la connaissance parfaite (Hio-tao) peut défendre son corps, peut défendre sa bouche ; il peut comprendre les préceptes de la doctrine. Son cœur peut entièrement atteindre les quatre Dhyâna.'¹

"Le roi dit : 'Bien ! bien !'

"Le roi demanda à Nâgasena :² 'Qu'est-ce qu'on nomme mer ? est-ce l'eau que l'on appelle ainsi ou donne-t-on ce nom à autre chose ?'

"Nâgasena répondit : 'Ce que les hommes nomment mer, c'est de l'eau qui se joint avec du sel par moitié ; à cause de cela on dit la mer.'"

On peut dire en général que les questions sont les mêmes ; les arguments et les exemples se ressemblent sans pourtant être reproduits textuellement. Ainsi le passage qui parle du maître d'écriture est bien d'accord avec le texte pâli.

"Le roi demanda ensuite à Nâgasena :³ 'Peut-on savoir si le Buddha n'a pas de supérieur ?'

cela il mérite une grande punition. Le sage qui commet une faute a du remords et dit, Je me repentirai de ma faute ; c'est pourquoi il mérite une petite punition.'

"Le roi dit : 'Bien.'

¹ Nous nous sommes contenté de mettre le terme sanscrit toutes les fois que les caractères chinois se trouvent dans Eitel, "Handbook of Chinese Buddhism."

² *Na-sien-pi-kieou-king*, A fol. 51 recto, B fol. 64 verso, texte pâli, p. 85, dont voici la traduction de M. Rhys Davids, p. 131-12 :—

"The king said : 'There is the expression ocean, Nâgasena. Why is the water called ocean ?'

"The Elder replied : 'Because there is just as much salt as water, O king, and just as much water as salt ; therefore it is called ocean.'

" 'Very good, Nâgasena !' "

[M. Rhys David n'a pas, semble-t-il, saisi le *sel* de ce passage. "Il est difficile," écrit-il en note, "de concilier la réplique avec la question," et il propose une sorte d'interprétation désespérée. Le chinois éclaire heureusement ce passage. Il faut traduire ainsi :—"Le roi dit : 'Vénérable Nâgasena, on appelle l'océan (samudda) océan (samudda). Pourquoi donc *de l'eau* (udaka) s'appelle-t-elle océan (samudda) ?' Le Vénérable dit : 'Autant il y a d'eau, seigneur, autant il y a de sel ; autant il y a de sel, autant il y a d'eau. Et c'est pourquoi on dit : L'océan (samudda).'" Ménandre s'étonne, paraît-il, que de l'eau soit désignée par un nom spécifique au lieu du nom générique. C'est ce que le chinois fait entendre clairement en posant la question dans ces termes : "Est-ce l'eau qu'on appelle mer, ou donne-t-on ce nom à autre chose ?" Nâgasena justifie le nom de samudda, samudra, par une interprétation étymologique : "C'est de l'eau (uda) en combinaison avec (sam) un autre corps."—S. L.

³ *Na-sien-pi-kieou-king*, A fol. 48 verso, B fol. 61 verso, texte pâli, p. 71, dont voici la traduction de M. Rhys Davids, p. 110-3 :—

"The king said : 'Is it possible, Nâgasena, for others to know how incomparable the Buddha is ?'

" 'Yes, they may know it.'

" 'But how can they ?'

" 'Long, long ago, O king, there was a master of writing, by name Tissa the

“Nâgasena demanda au roi : ‘Quel est le maître qui composa ¹ l’écriture?’

“Le roi répondit : ‘Le maître qui composa l’écriture se nomme Tchi 質.’²

“Nâgasena dit : ‘O roi, avez-vous vu Tchi?’

“Le roi répondit : ‘Tchi est mort depuis longtemps ; je n’ai pu le voir.’

“Nâgasena dit : ‘O roi, si vous n’avez pas connu Tchi, comment peut-on savoir qu’il composa l’écriture?’

“Le roi répondit : ‘On se sert depuis longtemps de lettres, et cet enseignement s’est transmis de génération en génération ; cette raison m’a fait connaître le nom de Tchi.’

“Nâgasena répliqua : ‘C’est parce que celui qui voit les préceptes de la doctrine du Buddha, voit le Buddha très admirable, lequel a enseigné aux hommes de bonne volonté la doctrine très profonde des sûtras ; j’ai connu ainsi les préceptes de la doctrine du Buddha, ils se sont perpétués jusqu’à présent, c’est pourquoi je reconnais que le Buddha ne peut avoir de supérieur.’”

Cependant plusieurs questions des traductions chinoises ne se trouvent pas dans le texte pâli ; nous n’avons pas rencontré les suivantes :—

“Le roi demanda ensuite à Nâgasena :³ ‘Le Buddha fit-il connaître entièrement sa doctrine et les préceptes des sûtras?’

“Nâgasena répondit : ‘Buddha fit connaître entièrement sa doctrine et prescrivit les préceptes des sûtras.’

“Le roi dit : ‘De quel maître Buddha reçut-il les préceptes des sûtras?’

“Nâgasena répondit : ‘Buddha n’eut point de maître. Dans le Elder, and many are the years gone by since he has died. How can people know of him?’

“‘By his writing, sir.’

“‘Just so, great king, whosoever sees what the Truth is, he sees what the Blessed One was, for the Truth was preached by the Blessed One.’

“‘Very good, Nâgasena!’”

¹ Le mot que nous traduisons par *composer* est 造 *tsao*, c’est le même caractère dont les auteurs chinois se servent lorsqu’ils écrivent la phrase suivante : Fou-hi composa l’écriture (voy. *Wai-ki*, fol. 13 ; le dict *Khang-hi* au mot 書 *chou*).

² D’après le dict. de *Khang-hi*, ce caractère se prononce aussi *tchat* (voy. Eitel, *Chinese Dict. in the Cantonese Dialect*, p. 50), il pourrait représenter en Sanscrit la syllabe चत *tchat* ou चद् *tchad*. Le caractère chinois ne peut donc rendre la prononciation de *Tissa* du texte pâli. [Le texte pâli porte *Tissatthero*, qui suppose un Sanscrit *Tishyasthavira* ; la seconde partie du nom semble rendre raison de la finale chinoise *t* ; quant au personnage ainsi désigné comme un très ancien lekhâ-cârya, “maître d’écriture,” il est entièrement inconnu jusqu’ici, à moins qu’on l’identifie avec *Tissatthero Moggaliputto*, lequel est mentionné, p. 3.]—S. L.

³ *Na-sien-pi-kicou-king*, A fol. 49 verso, B fol. 62 verso.

temps qu'il obtint la Bodhi, Buddha fit connaître alors entièrement la doctrine des sùtras ; ne pouvant l'enseigner à tous ses disciples, il instruisit ses premiers adeptes, tous la reçurent de ceux-ci." ¹

Il est de toute probabilité que le texte primitif de notre ouvrage a été composé dans un pays où le roi grec Ménandre avait laissé des souvenirs directs. Les traductions chinoises ne font que confirmer cette hypothèse. Cinq fleuves sont mentionnés dans la seconde question du cinquième chapitre du texte pâli ; ce sont le Gange, la Jumna, l'Aciravatî, la Sarabhû, et la Mahî. Les traductions chinoises nomment le Gange, le Sindhu, la Sîtâ, l'Oxus, et le Chi-pi-i-eul. Les auteurs des deux premières rédactions du Milinda écrivaient donc dans le nord de l'Inde, peut-être dans la Bactriane ; nous en trouvons encore une preuve dans la question précédente. Voici du reste les traductions du texte chinois de ces deux questions : ²—

“ Le roi demanda ensuite à Nâgasena : ‘ Avez-vous vu le Buddha ? ’

“ Nâgasena répondit : ‘ Non, je ne l’ai pas vu.’

“ Le roi dit : ‘ Les maîtres de Nâgasena ont-ils vu le Buddha ? ’

“ Nâgasena répondit : ‘ Mes maîtres aussi n’ont pas vu le Buddha.’

“ Le roi dit : ‘ Comment ? si Nâgasena et ses maîtres n’ont pas vu le Buddha, alors il n’y a pas de Buddha ! ’

“ Nâgasena dit : ‘ O roi ! avez-vous vu les cinq cents fleuves qui convergent au même point ? ’

“ Le roi dit : ‘ Moi je ne les ai pas vus.’

¹ B ajoute : “ Le roi dit : ‘ Bien.’ ”

² *Na-sien-pi-kieou-king*, A fol. 48 verso, B 61 verso, texte pâli, p. 70, dont voici le traduction de M. Rhys Davids, p. 109 :—

“ The king said : ‘ Have you, Nâgasena, seen the Buddha ? ’

“ ‘ No, sire.’

“ ‘ Then have your teachers seen the Buddha ? ’

“ ‘ No, sire.’

“ ‘ Then, venerable Nâgasena, there is no Buddha.’

“ ‘ But, great king, have you seen the river Ūhâ in the Himâlaya mountains ? ’

“ ‘ No, sir.’

“ ‘ Or has your father seen it ? ’

“ ‘ No, sir.’

“ ‘ Then, your majesty, is there therefore no such river ? ’

“ ‘ It is there. Though neither I nor my father have seen it, it is nevertheless there.’

“ ‘ Just so, great king, though neither I nor my teachers have seen the Blessed One, nevertheless there was such a person.’

“ ‘ Very good, Nâgasena.’ ”

[Ici encore la traduction chinoise suggère une meilleure explication du pâli. La Ūhânâdî, située dans l’Himâlaya, est inconnue aussi bien à la cosmographie budhique qu’à celle des brahmanes. Le mot ūhâ signifiant, en vertu de son étymologie, groupement, réunion, ne serait-il pas naturel d’y reconnaître la rivière centrale “ où convergent les cinq cents rivières.” Cette conception, connue des Purâṇas brahmaniques, réalisée sur les cartes chinoises de l’Inde, avait fait son chemin dans l’occident, car on la retrouve dans la cosmographie d’Honorius.]—S. L.

“Le père du roi, son grand-père, ont-ils vu ces fleuves ?”

“Le roi dit : ‘Ils ne les ont pas vus.’”

“Nâgasena dit : ‘Le roi, son père, son grand-père n’ont pas vu ces fleuves, il n’est pas donc certain que sur la terre ces cinq cents fleuves se réunissent au même point.’”

“Le roi dit : ‘Quoique mon père, mon grand-père et moi nous n’ayons pas vu ces fleuves, il est vrai cependant que ces fleuves existent.’”

“Nâgasena dit : ‘Quoique ni moi, ni mes maîtres n’ayons pas vu le Buddha, il est cependant vrai que le Buddha a existé.’”¹

“Le roi demanda de nouveau :² ‘Pourquoi le Buddha n’a-t-il pas de supérieur ?’”

“Nâgasena répondit au roi : ‘Comment l’homme qui n’a pas pénétré dans la mer pourra-t-il savoir que les eaux de la mer sont grandes ; qu’il y a cinq fleuves, cinq cents petits fleuves qui pénètrent dans ces grands fleuves, lesquels sont le Gange, le Sindhu, la Sîtâ, l’Oxus, et le Chi-pi-i-eul,³ et que les eaux de ces cinq fleuves coulent jour et nuit, et que l’eau de la mer n’augmente ni ne diminue.’ Nâgasena s’adressant au roi : ‘O roi ! peut-on apprendre par oui-dire ?’”

“Le roi dit : ‘Vraiment oui, on peut apprendre ainsi.’”

“Nâgasena dit : ‘Ceux qui confessent la voie (Tao), qui l’ont obtenue, affirment que le Buddha n’a pas de supérieur, c’est pour-quoi je le crois.’”

¹ Entre les deux questions il y a : “Le roi dit : ‘Bien !’”

“Le roi demanda : ‘N’a-t-il pas de supérieur ?’”

“Nâgasena répondit : ‘Non ! il n’y a pas de supérieur au Buddha.’”

² Voici la traduction de M. Rhys Davids de la seconde question :—

“The king said : ‘Is the Buddha, Nâgasena, pre-eminent ?’”

“‘Yes ; he is incomparable.’”

“‘But how do you know of one you have never seen that he is pre-eminent ?’”

“‘Now what do you think, O king ? They who have never seen the ocean would they know concerning it : “Deep, unmeasurable, unfathomable is the mighty ocean ! Into it do the five great rivers flow—the Ganges, the Jumna, the Akiravati, the Sarabhû, and the Mahi—and yet is there in it no appearance of being more empty or more full !” ?’”

“‘Yes, they would know that.’”

“‘Just so, great king ; when I think of the mighty disciples who have passed away, then do I know that the Buddha is incomparable.’”

“‘Very good, Nâgasena !’”

³ 恒 heng (Gange) 信他 sin-t’a (Sindhon) 私他 sse-t’a (Sîtâ) 博叉 po-tch’a (Vaxus=Oxus) 施披夷爾 chi-pi-i-eul. Nous reviendrons sur ces fleuves et nous donnerons la traduction du passage du Commentaire du livre des eaux (Chouï-king-tchou, 水經注), qui mentionne les divers cours d’eau de l’Inde et du centre de l’Asie.

“ Le roi dit : ‘ Bien ! bien ! ’ ”

Les renseignements fournis sur Milinda par les traductions chinoises sont semblables à ceux du texte pâli. Ainsi, dans la 5^{me} question du 7^{me} chapitre Nâgasena demande au roi :¹ “ ‘ Dans quel royaume êtes-vous né ? ’ ”

“ Le roi répondit : ‘ Moi je suis né dans l’empire Ta-thsin,² dans le royaume nommé Ho-li-san, ’ ” 阿 荔 散 (Alasanda).

Nous lisons dans l’introduction que le roi Milinda régna à 舍 竭, Che-kie (Sagala), et gouverna son royaume d’après de justes lois.³ Comme dernier extrait nous donnerons le passage suivant qui se rapporte à la conversation entre le roi et un disciple du Buddha nommé Âyupâla dans le texte pâli, et 野 想 羅, Ye-ho-lo,⁴ dans les traductions chinoises.

“ On rapporte⁵ qu’un homme du bord de la mer régna sur ce royaume ; son fils, nommé 彌 蘭, Mi-lan (Milinda), dans sa jeunesse avait eu peu d’amour pour l’étude des sûtras, il professait la doctrine hétérodoxe et en connaissait entièrement les préceptes. Les docteurs de cette doctrine ne pouvaient résoudre ses doutes. Le père de Milinda étant arrivé à la fin de sa vie, Milinda lui succéda et fut souverain. Le roi demanda aux officiers des frontières de droite et de gauche : ‘ Dans ce royaume y a-t-il un docteur ou un homme du peuple qui puisse avec moi (examiner) mes doutes sur la voie (Tao) et sur la doctrine (King). ’ Les officiers des frontières dirent : ‘ Ceux qui étudient la doctrine du Buddha, les çramanas sont des hommes sages, bons et intelligents, et peuvent avec le roi examiner ses doutes sur la voie (Tao) et la doctrine (King). ’ . . .⁶ Le roi dit aux officiers de sa suite : ‘ Qui d’entre vous connaît

¹ Na-sien-pi-kieou-king, A fol. 50 verso, B fol. 63 verso, texte pâli, p. 83, dont voici la traduction de M. Rhys Davids :—

“ ‘ In what town, O king, were you born ? ’ ”

“ ‘ There is a village called Kalasi ; it was there I was born. ’ ”

² À partir du premier ou second siècle de notre ère on désigne ainsi chez les auteurs chinois l’empire romain aussi bien en Europe qu’en Asie (la Palestine ou la Syrie). Ta-thsin doit indiquer ici les successeurs d’Alexandre.

³ Na-sien-pi-kieou-king, A fol. 44 verso, B fol. 53 recto.

⁴ Le premier caractère n’est pas dans la Méthode de St. Julien ; il rend la première syllabe de Kaus’eya (Eitel, Handbook, p. 55 a), et aussi la première de Yavana (ibid., p. 174). Ho synonyme de 和 ho=va (St. Julien, Méthode, No. 392), la transcription chinoise ne nous éclaire pas plus que le texte pâli sur ce personnage ; on peut lire aussi bien Yavala ou Kahola, ce dernier a l’avantage d’être cité comme nom de docteur (voy. Weber, Hist. de la Litt. Indienne, p. 235 ; Târanâtha, p. 85 (Kakola)).

⁵ Na-sien-pi-kieou-king, A fol. 44 verso, 45 recto, B fol. 53 verso, texte pâli, p. 3 ; voir la traduction de M. Rhys Davids, p. 6.

⁶ Dans le texte il y a ici la description de Sagala que nous n’avons pas traduite.

un çramaṇa très éclairé dans la doctrine, capable (d'éclaircir) mes doutes et de m'exposer la voie' (Tao). Thien-mi-li, Wang-khiun,¹ 沾彌利望群, officiers de la suite du roi, dirent respectueusement au roi : 'Oui, il y a le çramaṇa, nommé Ye-ho-lo,' 野瑟羅. Le roi envoya en mission Thien-mi-li et Wang-khiun lesquels allèrent trouver Ye-ho-lo, et lui dirent : 'Le grand roi désire voir le grand maître.' Ye-ho-lo répondit : 'Le roi désire me voir, c'est très bien. Il peut venir, moi je ne puis aller vers lui.' Thien-mi-li et Wang-khiun retournèrent aussitôt auprès du roi, lui rendirent réponse. Le roi monta dans un char avec 500 Ki, 伎,² et tous allèrent au vihâra pour voir Ye-ho-lo; ils se saluèrent réciproquement. Le sage les pria de s'approcher des sièges; les cinq cents chevaliers acquiescèrent et s'assirent.

"Le roi demanda alors à Ye-ho-lo : 'Seigneur, pour quelle raison avez-vous quitté votre maison, rejeté la famille; pourquoi avez-vous les cheveux de la tête rasés, et êtes-vous couvert du Kachâya comme un çramaṇa? Seigneur, je désire savoir qu'est ce que la doctrine (Tao).'"

"Ye-ho-lo dit : 'Moi, je suis fidèle à l'enseignement du Buddha, à sa doctrine,³ qui dans cette vie peut donner le bonheur, et dans les autres vies peut nous rendre aussi heureux; c'est pourquoi j'ai les cheveux de la tête rasés; je suis couvert du Kachâya comme un çramaṇa.'

"Le roi demanda à Ye-ho-lo : 'Comment celui qui a l'habit blanc, qui demeure dans sa maison, et suit les devoirs de la famille, ne peut-il donc pas avoir le bonheur dans cette vie ainsi que dans les autres vies?'

"Ye-ho-lo répondit : 'Celui qui a l'habit blanc, qui demeure dans sa maison, qui a femme et enfants, qui accomplit les devoirs de son état, peut être heureux dans cette vie et dans les autres.'

¹ Nous avons considéré Thien-mi-li Wang-khiun comme le nom de deux des quatre officiers mentionnés dans le texte pâli; le caractère 3 王 wang, se prononce mong dans le dialecte de Canton. [Il est impossible de ne pas reconnaître Thien-mi-li dans le personnage désigné en pâli par Devamantiya et où M. Trenckner n'hésitait pas à reconnaître le nom grec de Demetrios. La transcription chinoise confirme cette opinion. Wang-khiu est sans doute identique au pâli Mankura, nommé avec Devamantiya et deux autres officiers.—S. L.]

² B : a la place de Ki, 騎 K'i terme, que nous rendons par *chevalier*. Wells Williams, (Dict. Chin. Lang.) le traduit par cavalry, horsemen, a rider. Ce mot rentre en composition dans les titres de la noblesse héréditaire de la Chine (voy. Mayer, "The Chinese Government," No. 455).

³ Le texte porte 學佛追行中, hio-Fo-tao-hing-tchong, mot à mot étudier de Fo (Buddha), dans le chemin de la voie.

“ Le roi dit : ¹ ‘ Seigneur, c’est donc inutile de quitter sa maison, de renoncer à la famille, de raser ses cheveux, de porter le Kachâya comme un çramaṇa.’ ”

“ Ye-ho-lo resta silencieux, ne trouvant pas de réponse. Le roi s’adressa aux officiers de sa suite et leur dit : ‘ Ce çramaṇa par sa grande et lumineuse intelligence est un sage. Est-il urgent de l’interroger davantage ? ’ ”

“ Les officiers de la suite du roi le saluèrent en levant les mains, et dirent : ‘ O roi victorieux ! Ye-ho-lo, réduit au silence, est vaincu.’ ”

“ Le roi observa à droite et à gauche les Upāsakas qui n’étaient point déconcertés, et voyant la figure calme de ces Upāsakas, il pensa qu’il n’y avait qu’un çramaṇa fort et intelligent qui pût avec lui examiner tous ses doutes. Le roi dit à Thien-mi-li, officier de sa suite : ‘ N’y a-t-il pas un çramaṇa sage et intelligent, capable avec moi [de dissiper] mes doutes sur la doctrine (King) et la voie (Tao).’ ”

“ ‘ C’est Nâgasena, maître des çramaṇas, qui connaît toute la doctrine, qui peut résoudre vos doutes.’ ” . . .

Nous espérons que les quelques extraits que nous venons de donner des traductions chinoises suffisent pour faire saisir la différence qui existait entre les deux premières rédactions du Milindapaṇho dont les originaux sont perdus et le texte pâli qui nous a été conservé. La première, la plus courte, avait été rédigée peut-être dans la Bactriane ou au nord de l’Inde, dans un pays où l’Oxus, la Sîtâ, le Gange et le Sindh étaient également connus. La seconde avait été remaniée en maints endroits et complétée ; mais elle conservait encore le caractère de la première, tandis que le texte pâli entièrement refondu sur la seconde version a été écrit probablement dans le centre de l’Inde, loin de l’Oxus. Le Gange et ses affluents avec le Mahi sont les seuls fleuves cités. Les noms propres sont changés ; Tissa a remplacé *Tchad* ; Ayupala, *Ye-ho-lo*. Il ne faut pas oublier qu’au IV^e siècle de notre ère les deux premières versions existaient encore dans l’Inde ou au nord de ce pays ; c’est alors qu’elles ont été apportées en Chine et traduites ; et c’est ainsi elles nous ont été conservées.

¹ Selon B, “ si celui qui a l’habit blanc, qui demeure dans sa maison, ayant femme et enfants, accomplissant ses devoirs peut de même dans cette vie et dans l’autre être heureux, c’est sans raison que vous avez quitté votre maison,” &c., comme A.

XI


ERANICA.


VON

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I.

UNTER den wenigen Zeichen des altpersischen Alphabetes, über deren eigentliche Geltung noch Zweifel bestehen, ist  hervorzuheben, welches SPIEGEL mit *tš*, WESTERGAARD mit *pr*, OPPERT mit *thr*, HÜBSCHMANN mit *šr*, LEPSIUS in seiner Abhandlung „Über das Lautsystem der altpersischen Keilschrift“ (Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie 1863) p. 408 mit *š* und BARTHOLOMAE mit *s* umschreibt. Cf. BARTHOLOMAE: B. B. 9, 126. Dabei muss bemerkt werden, dass zwischen den älteren und den neueren Umschreibungen eine beträchtliche Verschiedenheit hinsichtlich des zu erreichenden Zieles besteht. Die älteren Orientalisten und Sprachvergleichler betrachteten die Umschreibung orientalischer Wörter in die heutige Schrift nur als Nothbehelf; es lag ihnen bloß daran, für jedes Zeichen der einheimischen Schrift ein bestimmtes Aequivalent zu finden, welches dem Leser es möglich machte, die Umschreibung in seinen Gedanken wieder in die ursprüngliche Schrift zurückzusetzen, wie das betreffende Zeichen dieser Schrift auszusprechen sei, musste der Leser aus anderen Quellen wissen. Die moderne Umschreibung legt aber den grössten Wert darauf die genaue Aussprache zu geben, eine bessere und genauere als selbst die der ursprünglichen Schrift ist. Für sie wird es sich also vorzüglich darum handeln festzustellen, welchen Laut das in Frage stehende Zeichen gehabt hat.

Die Zahl der Wörter, in welchen das Zeichen  sich findet, ist eine ziemlich beschränkte, nämlich: *Artakhshatřā*, *khshatřa*, *khshatřapāvan*, *Atrina*, *Atriyādīya*, *třitiya*, *putřa*, *hamitřiya*, *pitřa*, *Citřātakhma*, *niyatřārayam*. Die meisten dieser Wörter sind be-

kannt und etymologisch sicher; es kann kein Zweifel sein, dass in ihnen *tr* ursprünglich gestanden hat, und es ist nur die Frage, ob zur Zeit des Darius noch so gesprochen wurde, wenn auch vielleicht in der Weise, dass der eine der beiden Laute stärker hervortrat als der andere. Um dies zu ermitteln, müssen wir suchen, ob wir verfolgen können, wie andere gleichzeitige Völker die betreffenden Wörter wiedergeben. Es lassen sich verschiedene Ansichten aufstellen, für jede derselben spricht etwas, für keine genug, um sie zur Gewissheit zu erheben.

1) Für die Ansicht, dass das Zeichen $\overline{\text{tr}}$ die Aussprache *tr* gehabt habe und dass beide Laute noch gehört worden sind, spricht der Name *Artakhshatrā*, der noch auf den Inschriften des ersten Sāsāniden in der Form *Artashetr* erscheint. Ferner spricht dafür das Wort *khshatrapāvan*, für welches der anarische Text Bh. 2,80 und 3,22 *saksapavan* bietet. Die Griechen schreiben dafür $\sigma\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\pi\eta\varsigma$ und die spätern Bücher des Alten Testaments סַטְרָפָאן . In dem letzteren Beispiele erscheint *dr* für *tr*. LEPSIUS will dieses Beispiel nicht gelten lassen und glaubt a. a. O. p. 410, dass das Wort den Griechen durch nicht näher nachweisbare Vermittler zugekommen sei, bei welchen sich die alte Aussprache erhalten habe oder dass die alte Aussprache in einigen érânischen Dialecten noch fort dauerte. Die erste dieser Annahmen, welche durch nichts bewiesen werden kann, scheint mir sehr zweifelhaft, mehr Wahrscheinlichkeit hat die zweite, angesichts des sāsānidischen *Artashetr* jedoch, das uns in dieselbe Gegend weist, in welcher das Altpersische gesprochen wurde, dünkt mir auch diese zweite Annahme sehr ungewiss. Zwei Wörter sind hier noch zu berücksichtigen: *Bākhtrish* = Βακτρία und *Uvakhshatara* = Κυαξάρης , in welchen beiden Wörtern immer 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎶 , niemals $\overline{\text{tr}}$ geschrieben wird, also *tr* mit zwei getrennten Zeichen ausgedrückt wird. In dem ersten dieser Wörter könnte der dem *tr* vorhergehende Consonant den Übergang in *tr* verhindert haben, denn dieser Laut erscheint sonst nur im Anlaute oder im Inlaute zwischen Vocalen, wie die oben angeführten Wörter zeigen. In *Uvakhshatara* wollte man offenbar, dass beide Laute deutlich gehört werden sollten. Wenn also in *tr* beide Laute noch gehört wurden, so lässt sich doch nicht leugnen, dass einer der beiden überwog und dass die Perser diese Verbindung für einen einfachen Laut hielten und darum durch ein besonderes Zeichen wiedergaben, um ihn vom *thr* zu unterscheiden. In letztere Buchstaben sollte das ursprüngliche *tr* eigentlich übergehen, aber im Altpersischen wird dafür nur *tr* in einem Zeichen $\overline{\text{tr}}$ geschrieben. Cf. BAR-

THOLOMAE: Handbuch der altiranischen Dialekte § 73b, 105,
BRUGMANN: Grundriss der vergl. Gramm. d. indogerm. Sprachen
Bd. I, § 261, 353. 473,2.

2) Wenn aber einer der beiden ursprünglichen Laute in *tř* das Übergewicht erhalten hat, so fragt es sich, welcher von beiden dieser sei. Mit Recht weist LEPSIUS die Ansicht von LASSEN und BENFEY zurück, dass *t* der überwiegende Laut sein könne, das würde eine Rückbildung sein. LEPSIUS sieht darin einen Zischlaut, den er mit *š* umschreibt und von dem er glaubt (p. 407), dass er dem *sh* nahe gekommen sei, *t* und *r* wären natürlich in diesem Zischlaute aufgegangen. Es musste mithin *tr* bereits zu *sr* geworden sein, wie dies in den neueren érânischen Sprachen mehrfach der Fall ist, und *s* dann das *r* sich assimiliert haben. cf. *hamitřiya* = avest. *hamistô*, *usha* = *ushtra*. JUSTI, Kurd. Wörterbuch 488. Es ist manches, was für diese Ansicht zu sprechen scheint, so der Umstand, dass das Wort *tritiya* im Neupersischen zu *sa* oder *si* wird, ferner, dass in der anarischen Übersetzung Eigennamen wie *Atřina*, *Citřātakhma* durch *Assina*, *Cissantakma* wiedergegeben werden; nicht unwahrscheinlich wird vermutet, dass der Name *Tissaphernes* ursprünglich *Citřāparna* gelautet habe. Dagegen ist zu bemerken, dass auch *thr* im Anarischen durch *ss* wiedergegeben wurde, wie *Missa* für *Mithra* erweist, ferner dass neben das altpersische *niyatřārayam* das avestische *nistrārayāo* (Vd. XVIII, 109 ed. Sp. = 51 Westerg.) gestellt werden muss, neben *putřa* sogar das neupersische *pūsar*.

3) Eine weitere Möglichkeit wäre die, dass in den mit *tř* geschriebenen Wörtern statt *sr* oder *ss* die später auftretende Entartung zu *hr* schon eingetreten wäre wie im Neupersischen. Darauf könnte die Schreibung *Κυαξάρης* für *Uvakhshatara* leiten. An *putřa* hätten wir dann das sâsânidische *puhr* und neupers. *pûr* anzuschliessen, das neben *pūsar* gleichberechtigt dasteht, und *Ardashér* für *Artakhshatřā*; *khshatřa* wäre *khshahra* zu sprechen. *Ardashér* ist aus *Artashahr* oder vielmehr *Ardashehr* hervorgegangen, ähnlich wie im Neupersischen *شار*, *shâr* neben *شهر*, *shahr*, das sâsânidische *puhr* neben dem neupers. *پور*, *pûr* steht. Cf. *Mupo*, *Mîhr* = *Mithra*, Rev. ling. IV, 225, *Meherdates* Tacit. Ann. XII, 43. Während man im Deutschen in *nehmen*, *mahlen* ein *h* zusetzte, das etymologisch dem Worte nicht angehört, so hat man umgekehrt im Érânischen ein etymologisch berechtigtes *h* weggelassen, weil man es durch den langen Vocal genügend bezeichnet glaubte. Dies scheint die Ansicht von FR. MÜLLER zu sein, der für *tř* vorzieht *r̥* zu schreiben.

4) Eine fernere Möglichkeit, die ich noch nirgends angedeutet gefunden habe, wäre die, dass *t* und *r* umgesetzt und *r* nach der Analogie des Neupersischen in *sh* verwandelt worden wäre. Für diese Aussprache würde die hebräische Form des Namens *Artaxerxes*, nämlich ארתחששתא sprechen, die nur auf diese Weise entstanden sein kann. Dieser Übergang des *r* vor *t* in *sh* ist im Neupersischen ganz gewöhnlich. Will man einwenden, dass auf diese Weise unser Zeichen wieder einem Doppellaute entsprechen würde, was ja vermieden werden soll, so darf man nur an das 𐬯 *ś* des Avesta erinnern, das unter seinen mehrfachen Bestimmungen auch die hat, *rt* zu ersetzen. Über dieses eigentümliche *ś* mögen hier noch einige Bemerkungen folgen.

II.

Der Laut 𐬯 *ś* ist von jeher eine Verlegenheit für den Erâ-nisten, da er blos im Awesta vorkommt und in allen übrigen érânischen Dialecten vollkommen fehlt. Cf. BRUGMANN, Grundriss der vergl. Gramm. etc. Bd. II, pag. VIII. BARTHOLOMAE, B. B. 7, 188—193. Fragen wir nun, um über die Aussprache ins Reine zu kommen, wie die Wörter, welche dieses Zeichen enthalten, in andern Dialecten vertreten sind, so zeigt sich hier eine sehr verschiedene Vertretung. Folgendes sind die verschiedenen Arten:

1) Dass 𐬯 *ś* einem *rt* entspreche, hat zuerst FRIEDRICH MÜLLER gesehen. Cf. KUHN und SCHLEICHER, Beiträge für vergleichende Sprachforschung V, 382. Erânica in den Wiener Sitzungsberichten 66, 369. Dies ist der Fall in folgenden Wörtern: *maśya*, Mensch = altpers. *martiya*, scr. *martya*, neupers. مرد, *meśa*, töt = scr. *mṛita*, dem im Altpersischen *marta* entsprechen würde, *ameśa*, unsterblich = scr. *amṛita*, im Altpers. würde *amarta* entsprechen, *aśa*, *aśavan*, wahr, rein = scr. *ṛita*, *ṛitāvan*, altpers. *arta*-, *peśana*, Schlacht = scr. *pṛitanā*, im Altpers. möglicher Weise *partanā*, *peśu*, Furt, wofür man im Altpers. *partu* erwartet, parsî *puhal*, neupers. *pul*. Wir ziehen ferner hierher: *qāśa*, *qāśaya* Vd. III, 115 Sp. = 33 Westerg., *qāśar* = *qaretar*, *bāśar* = *baretar*, *fravaśi* = altpers. *fravarti*, welches als Eigenname in den Keilschriften vorkommt, *aśa-vahishta* = neupers. *ardi-bihisht*, auch die Zusammensetzungen *aśish-vanuhi*, *aśemaogha* sind hierherzuziehen, da letzterer Form im Altpersischen *artemaogha* entsprechen würde. cf. SPIEGEL, Vergl. Gr. p. 25 fg. Es dürften dies wohl alle die Wörter sein, in welchen *ś* einem *rt* entspricht. Dieser Ersatz

scheint aber verschieden gelesen worden zu sein. Für *Mašya* und *Mašyâna* (welche Wörter sicher auf das avestische *mašya* zurückgehen, wenn sie auch in der Avestasprache selbst nicht vorkommen) finden wir bei BERÛNI nicht bloß میشی و میشیانه (p. 100,5), sondern (p. 99,14) auch میشی و ملشیانه, nach der Aussprache von Quarezm مرد و مردانه. Dagegen schreibt TABARI (I, 148) ماری و ماریانه. Im Pehlevi entspricht (cf. SPIEGEL, Gramm. der Huzvâreshsprache § 24, Anm. 4) *ar* oder *ahr* in diesen Wörtern, wo sie vorkommen, es kann aber auch *ash* stehen. Das erstere entspricht obigem *melhi*, das zweite dem *meshi*. Man beachte auch die Verlängerung des Vocals in *bâšar*, *qâšar*, dem die obige Schreibung *mâri* entspricht. Die Frage ist nur, ob wir ړ, ږ als Ersatz für *rt* betrachten sollen oder als Ersatz für *r*, nach welchem *t* abgefallen wäre. Wir entscheiden uns für letzteres aus Gründen, die wir unten angeben werden.

2) Andererseits giebt es auch Wörter, die mit *ś* geschrieben werden, in welchen dasselbe nicht dem *rt* entspricht, sondern dem *khy*, *cy* oder etwas ähnlichem. So in *haśa*, *haśê* für scr. *sakhyâ*, *sakhyê*, in *tăśyâo* für *takhyâo*, in *aśo* für *akhyo* von *aka*, böse. Ob im Avesta dem *ś* ein *y* noch nachgelesen werden muss, wie SPIEGEL in seiner vergl. Gramm. p. 27 vermutet, ist durch *śu* = altpers. *shiyu*, *śâiti* = *shiyâti* doch noch nicht erwiesen, vielmehr zeigt sich, wo das *y* erhalten bleiben soll, statt *ś* ein *shk* wie in *saoshkyâs*, *varshkyamna*, *shkiti*, wo *ś* in vielen Handschriften steht, aber entschieden spätere Orthographie ist. Wie es sich auch damit verhalten mag, in diesem Falle ist *ś* sicherlich palatal und dem sind auch noch Wörter wie *daśina*, *kaśa* beizuzählen, die also dem prâkritischen *dacchina*, *kaccha* entsprechen (Var. 3,30 LASSEN, Instit. p. 263).

In vielen Fällen, welche diesem ähnlich sind, erscheint im Altpersischen *sh* an der Stelle des *ś* oder Palatals, cf. *cishciy*, *aniyashciy*, *avashciy* = avest. *ciṭ-ciṭ*, *anyat-ciṭ*, *avat-ciṭ*, wo *t* dem folgenden Palatalen assimiliert ist. Anlautend ist *ś* = *khsh* in Wörtern wie: *śiti*, *śudha*, *śdithra* im Avesta. Dass das Altpersische *khy* in *sh* auflöse, lässt sich nicht belegen, dagegen wird *thy*, das im Avesta unversehrt bleibt, zu *shiy*, was auch nichts anderes ist als die Verwandlung in den Palatalen, cf. altpers. *hashiya* = av. *haithya*, *uvâipashiya* = *qaêpaithya*, *marshiyu* in *uvâmarshiyush* = *merethyu*. SPIEGEL: Altpers. Keilinschriften. 2. Aufl. p. 165, § 27. In der That ist der Zischlaut *sh* am meisten geeignet den Palatalen zu ersetzen, wenn derselbe nicht vorhanden ist. So sehen wir im Arabischen, dem die Palatalen fehlen, das

neupersische چ durch ش vertreten und auch im Neupersischen selbst kommen Beispiele dieses Wechsels vor, cf. شهرزاد = چهرزاد (i. e. *cithrem âzâta*) کاشکی und کاش, کاش و کاج, تاراش و تاراج (i. e. *cithrem âzâta*).

3) Eine grosse Menge von Wörtern — wohl die meisten — welche im Avesta mit *ś* geschrieben werden, entsprechen dem *sh* der übrigen érânischen Sprachen. Dies zeigt besonders die Vergleichung mit dem Altpersischen, cf. altpers. *patiyakhshaiy* und avest. *aiivyâkhśayēinti*, *gausha* und *gaōša*, *khshatṛa* und *khśathra*, *khshapa* und *khśapan*, *frâishayam* und *frâēšyēiti*, *shaiy* = *śē*, *niyashādayam* und *niśādhayaṭ*. Dabei scheint man im Avesta das *ś* dem *sh* gegenüber als aspiriert angesehen zu haben, denn es tritt in Fällen ein, wo in andern Buchstabenreihen Aspirierung einzutreten pflegt, cf. Wörter wie *âšnûshca*, *iśya* (aber *ishti*), *uśanh*, *urvûkhśna*, *khśathra*, *khrvîšyañtahê*, *khśaodanh*, *guśôdûm*, *gûśatâ* (aber *gûštâ*), *caśman*, *caēšyân* und viele andere. Aber schon den Schreibern unserer ältesten Handschriften scheint das Bewusstsein von einem Unterschiede zwischen *ś* und *sh* geschwunden zu sein, sie setzen bald den einen, bald den andern dieser Buchstaben. Aus diesen Thatsachen scheint mir nun folgendes hervorzugehen. Als Sibilant ist *ś* vollkommen überflüssig, wir müssen also auf die übrigen Functionen dieses Lautes zurückkommen. Am leichtesten ordnet sich derselbe in das altérânische Alphabet ein, wenn wir ihn als die Spirans von *c* fassen in Beispielen wie *aśyô* für ursprüngliches *akhyô*, *achyô* und weiter zugeben, dass hinter diesem *ch* ein *y* auch verschwinden konnte. Auch die altpersischen Wörter wie *hashiya*, *shiyu* würden sich so erklären lassen. In dem ersteren Worte wäre der Dental unter Einfluss des folgenden *y* zum Palatalen geworden. Thut man dies, so bleibt immer noch zu erklären, in welcher Weise *rt* zu *ś* umgestaltet wurde. Um dies zu ergründen, müssen wir, wie bereits bemerkt worden ist, vor allem wissen, ob *ś* dem Doppellaute *rt* entspricht oder nur einem Teile desselben, so dass der andere Teil abgefallen wäre. Gewiss ist, dass man bei dem Vorkommen von *ś* nicht den Zischlaut als den ursprünglichen ansehen darf, sondern *r*. Das zeigt die Etymologie nicht bloß der oben unter 1) aufgezählten Wörter mit *ś* und ihrem Wechsel im Avesta, sondern auch die Pehleiwörter, in welchen *sh* mit ش oder س wechselt. Das Verhalten des *r* vor harten Consonanten ist ein doppeltes im Avesta, cf. *karapan*, *zarazdâ*, *zarazdâiti*, *maraka* (in *marakaêcâ* WESTERG. GELDNER yasna 31, 18); *erethwô*, *garefš*, *carekarethra*, *carekeremahî*, *terefyâṭ*, *tares*, *dares*, *kerefš*, *narepi*, *narefs*, *pareq*, *peretata*, *pereteñtê*, *peretha*, *barethra*, *berekhdha*,

bereghmya, bereja, marekhtar, marekhstar, vareca, as-varecô, varešva; taršu, taršna, darši, paršaṇta, paršuya, barešnu, maršaona. Dagegen finden wir *vehrka* (in den Handschr. auch *vahrka*), *kehrpem, mahrka*. Hier ist *r* ohne Svarabhakti an den Guttural und Labial getreten und die Folge davon war, dass *r* zu *hr* umgestaltet wurde. Dies ist jetzt die allgemeine Ansicht. Nur vor *t* findet sich meines Wissens kein *r* ohne Svarabhakti, ebensowenig ein *hr*, dafür wechselt, wie wir bereits gesehen haben, *rt* und *š*. Vergleichen wir nun das Neupersische, so finden wir, dass *rt* entweder zu *rd* wird oder zu *sht*, so dass unter dem Schutze des *sh* der dumpfe Dental erhalten bleibt. So stammt داشتن von *dar* und Beispiele der Art finden sich viele. Bei manchen Wörtern sind auch Doppelformen vorhanden, wie نگذاشتن und نگذاشتن, نگذاشتن und نگذاشتن. Wo die Tenuis sich erhalten hat, da wurde *r* in *sh* verwandelt, wo *r* erhalten blieb, hat sich auch die Erweichung des *t* in *d* eingestellt. Wie mir scheint, ist auch bei *š* die Umwandlung des *r* in *sh* die Hauptsache und der zweite Consonant wurde nur sehr schwach gehört, was in dem Lautzeichen *س* *š* durch den Strich, wie ich glaube, angedeutet ist. Allerdings ist die Verwandlung des *rt* in *š* ein Vorgang, welcher den Avestadialect unter das Neupersische herabdrückt. Man kann vielleicht den Vorgang auch so erklären, dass in Pehlewiwörtern wie *سولس, سولس, سولس* etc. Umsetzung des *rt* in *hr* (wie oben unter 3) stattgefunden hat, aber der Übergang von *rt* in *š* lässt sich wohl nur durch Übergang des *r* in *sh* und die Assimilierung des folgenden *t* erklären.

An dieser Stelle mag auch einer Erscheinung gedacht werden, die eine gewisse Verwandtschaft mit den vorher genannten Fällen hat, ich meine den Wechsel zwischen *r* und *sh* auf den indo-érânischen Münzen. Dort findet sich bekanntlich PAO König, was neuerlich STEIN als identisch mit dem neupersischen *shâh* erweisen wollte. Länger bekannt und unzweifelhaft sind die Doppelformen OOHPKI = *huvishka*, KANHPKI = *kanishka* und KOPANO = *kushan*. Die Formen *huvishka, kanishka* sind mit den érânischen Lautgesetzen wohl vereinbar, sie sind nur eine Ausdehnung des Gesetzes, welches lehrt, dass *r* vor *t* in *sh* zu verwandeln sei, auch auf den Guttural *k*. Welche Form die ursprünglichere sei, die mit *rk* oder *shk*, lässt sich leider nicht bestimmen, da die beiden Namen, in welchen diese Lautverbindung vorkommt, einer fremden, uns sonst unbekannten Sprache angehören. Anders steht es mit KOPANO = *kushan*. Hier ist die Vertauschung der Laute *r* und *sh* nach den sonst geltenden érânischen Lautgesetzen nicht zulässig, aber auch hier haben wir

es mit einem Fremdworte zu thun und wissen nicht, welche der beiden Formen die frühere ist. Anders verhält es sich mit dem Worte *PAO* = شاه. Hier haben wir ein ächt érânisches Wort und ohne Zweifel ist *sh* oder *khsh* der ursprüngliche Laut, der — und zwar im Anlaute des Wortes — in *r* übergegangen sein müsste, wofür eine weitere Analogie nicht vorhanden ist. Sonst ist diese Erklärung sehr ansprechend. Was mich verhindert, ihr zuzustimmen, ist der Umstand, dass mir *PAONANO* = شاهنشاه sehr bedenklich erscheint. Die Gründe, welche gegen diese Identifizierung sprechen, hat schon KIRSTE in der Wiener Zeitschrift f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl. II. Bd. p. 240 flg. ausführlich erörtert. KIRSTES eigner Deutung kann ich aber noch weniger beitreten.

III.

DIE FORMEN AUF *ARE* UND *ARESH* IM AVESTA.

Zu den noch nicht mit voller Sicherheit bestimmten grammatischen Endungen in der Avestalitteratur gehören die Formen, welche auf *âre* und *âresh* endigen. Cf. BARTHOLOMAE, Arische Forschungen I, 69. Es ist ein Unterschied, ob man diese Formen vom ALLGEMEINEN SPRACHVERGLEICHENDEN Standpuncte aus betrachtet oder vom speciell ÉRÂNISCHEN. Auf den letzteren habe ich mich gestellt.

Wer vom Sanskrit ausgeht, der wird von Anfang an geneigt sein, die Formen auf *âre* und *âresh* dem Medium oder Passivum zuzuweisen, denn nur dort kennt das Sanskrit solche Formen. Für das Avesta ist indessen wohl allgemein zugestanden, dass die Formen auf *âre* nicht dem Medium, sondern dem Activum zugehören. Über die Entstehung dieser Formen wollen wir uns nicht weiter äussern, sondern nur bemerken, dass wir unter den Nominibus Wörter auf *are* finden, die mit solchen auf *an* wechseln. Dies vorausgeschickt wollen wir hier die Stellen verzeichnen, auf die es ankommt:

Vd. XVII, 28 Sp. = 9 Westerg.: imâose tê srvâo maregha asô-zushta *hyâre* arshayasca etc.

Yt. VIII, 55: mânayen ahê yatha hazanrem narâm ôyum narem âdarezayôiṭ yôi *hyân* asti aojanha aojishta.

Ys. L, 4,2 Sp. = LI, 4,2 Westerg.: kuthra yasô *qyén* asem kû speṇta ârmaitish.

JUSTI rechnet alle diese drei Formen zum Potentialis Activi. Die übrigen Formen gehen auf *ârish* oder *âresh* aus.

Vd. VII, 64 Sp. = 22 Westerg.: *vasô pascaeta mazda-yasna ahê nmânahê myazdem daithyâresh.*

Vd. V, 36 Sp. = 10 Westerg.: *thrâyô kata uzdaithyân aêtahê yaṭ iristahê.*

Vd. V, 41 Sp. = 12 Westerg.: *uzbaodhām tanūm nidaithyān.*

Ys. LIX, 2 Sp. = LX, 2 Westerg.: *tâo ahmi nmânê jamyârish* (Sp.), *jamyâresh* (Westerg. Geldner).

Ys. LIX, 7 Sp. = LX, 4 Westerg.: *jamyân ithra aśaonām vanuhîsh surâo speñtâo fravaśayô.*

N. III, 11: *cithra vô buyâresh masânâo.*

Ys. LIV, 7 Sp. = LV, 2 Westerg.: *tâo nô buyân humizhdê.*

Yt. XVI, 3: *atha nâ âkhshta buyân.*

Yt. VIII, 56: *yaṭ zî spitama zarathushtra airyâo danhâvô tishtryêhê raêvatô qarenanhatô aiwi-sacyâresh dâitīm yasnemca vahinemca.*

Vd. VII, 141 Sp. = 57 Westerg.: *yatha aêtahmi anhvô yaṭ astvaiñti yūzhem yô (yôi Westerg.) maśyâka qaretha qâsta huyâresh gāmca qâstem qaraiti.*

Ich kann hier nirgends einen syntaktischen Unterschied finden, welcher die Formen auf *-âre*, *-ârish* von denen auf *ân* trennte und uns nötigte, dieselben als Medialformen aufzufassen. Da nun auch die Perfectformen auf *-âre* dem Activ angehören, so fasse ich diese Formen auf *-âre*, *-ârish* oder *âresh* ebenso und sehe, wie bei den Nominibus auf *-are* nur ein Hinüberspielen der *-ar* Formen in die *-an* Formen.

IV.

DER PLURALIS MAJESTATICUS IM AVESTA.

Es ist schon die Frage aufgeworfen worden (von Williams JACKSON), ob man nicht einen Pluralis majestaticus im Avesta annehmen solle. Ich stimme dem vollkommen zu und glaube folgende Stellen des jüngeren Avesta lassen sich für diese Ansicht anführen.

Ein grosser Teil des 2. Fargard des Vendidâd handelt bekanntlich von der Einrichtung eines *Vara* durch Yima. Dass nur von einem einzigen Raume die Rede ist, kann nicht bezweifelt werden. Dabei muss aber auffallen, dass Vd. II, 92. 127 Sp. = II, 30. 38 Westerg. die Form *varefšva* vorkommt und dass dies eine Pluralform sei, zeigt *aêtaêšva varefšva* in II, 130 Sp. = II, 39

Westerg. Diese ganz alleinstehende Pluralform hat schon viele Schwierigkeiten gemacht, mir scheint sie zu beweisen, dass wir als Thema des Wortes nicht *vara* anzusetzen haben, sondern *vare*, welches als masc. nach Analogie von *nare* flectiert wurde. Ein Locativ pluralis eines auf *r* endigenden Wortes ist im Avesta bis jetzt nicht gefunden worden, es kann aber mit Sicherheit vermutet werden, dass die regelmässige Form desselben *varešva* gelautet habe. Dazu würde *varefšva* stimmen, nur dass der Endung noch ein *f* vorausgeschickt wäre wie in *fshtâna*¹ = scr. *stana*. Diese Vorsetzung eines *f* ist zwar bis jetzt nicht zu erklären, steht aber als vorkommende Thatsache durch dieses Beispiel fest. Die Anwendung des Plurals gegenüber dem Singular kann man nur als einen Beweis der Hochachtung ansehen.

Ganz ähnlich liegt der Fall mit *varena*. Mit diesem Namen bezeichnet man bekanntlich das Land, wo Thraetaona geboren wurde. Der Name kommt demgemäss gewöhnlich im Singular vor, so Vd. I, 68 Spieg. = I, 18 Westerg. Yt. IX, 13; XV, 23. Aber an einer Stelle Yt. V, 33 heisst es: *upa varenaêšû cathru-gaošaêšû*. Bei der sonstigen Gleichheit der Anschauungen ist ein Grund für diesen Plural nicht gegeben, er dürfte auch hier nur für einen Beweis der Achtung gelten.

¹ BARTHOLOMAE: Indogerman. Forschungen I, S. 187. Anmerk. sagt: „Unklar ist mir das Verhältniss von np. *pistân* zu av. *fštâna*. In Übereinstimmung mit *hušnud* wäre **fistân* zu erwarten.“ Mir scheint in np. *pistân* wegen Eindringens des Vocales *i* die Aspiration unterblieben zu sein.

XII.

ON THE PROGRESS OF ARMENIAN STUDIES.

BY

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INTRODUCTORY.

THE International Congress of Orientalists has already on several occasions given the Armenian language a place in its Aryan Section. Unfortunately, the papers presented on this subject generally dealt with special points, and could therefore only interest a few rare specialists. Now it seems to me that the main object of a Congress like ours ought to be to spread, and even, to a certain degree, popularise the studies with which it purposes to deal. I would submit that we have met not so much to exhibit our individual knowledge, as to learn from one another, and thus widen the circle of our information. In the vast and ever-increasing field of Oriental philology and history there cannot be too many workers, and each of us ought to endeavour to enlist as many recruits as possible. This can, however, only be accomplished successfully if, instead of enshrouding ourselves in specialties inaccessible to outsiders, we allow any one who chooses to peep behind the scenes and judge for himself of what has been done and of what yet remains to be done. Special researches will then follow in due course, and, it is to be hoped, meet with suitable encouragement.

Among the Oriental languages to which these remarks apply, I beg leave to-day to call your kind attention to one which, considering the peculiarities of its philological structure, the importance of its literary monuments, and the wonderful intellectual activity of the people who speak it, still awaits that justice to be done to it which has not been denied to its kindred. Shall the present century, which has achieved the glorious merit of erecting philology into a science, be allowed to end its course without having paid a

befitting tribute to that beacon of civilisation which St. Gregory kindled on Mount Ararat and the dauntless sons of Hayk ever since kept ablaze during the dark and troublous history of Western Asia? Nay, is it not our bounden duty to testify our gratitude to that noble Armenian nation—for, in spite of political complications, it does remain a nation—when we consider how bravely it withstood the brunt of every invasion which threatened to sweep away our European institutions, and how generously it saved our adventurous Crusaders from utter annihilation? And, gentlemen, who knows but that at no distant date the Armenians may be called upon to fulfil the mission apparently reserved for them by Providence, of becoming an efficient regenerating factor in the development of Asia Minor?

Apart, however, from these purely sentimental considerations, which evoke in every student of Armenian history a feeling of just enthusiasm for the pursuit he has undertaken, we have here to consider chiefly the scientific value of Armenian studies. What claims has Armenian to our notice as regards philology and history? What help does it afford us in bridging over the gaps between certain branches of the Aryan family of languages? What light are its archæology and history calculated to throw on the past of Asia Minor, many a period of which is still concealed in obscurity? To answer these questions, it will be necessary to examine what has been achieved hitherto, in order to solve the problems involved; and should the importance of Armenian thus be placed beyond a doubt, what remains to be done to make it available for the investigations of modern science? It is my intention to develop these two points in the course of this paper, and I propose to discuss—

(1.) *The importance of Armenian for the science of language or comparative philology.*

(2.) *The historical value of Armenian archæology and literature.*

In each of these two chapters I shall first attempt to review the existing materials and describe how they were obtained; secondly, I shall endeavour to indicate what we have still to do in order to give these materials their proper value, and to add to them as many new ones as possible.

I.

First, then, as to the *philological importance of Armenian*. Some forty or fifty years ago the place of Armenian in the classification of languages was still unsettled, and when, through the researches of Petermann, Windischmann, Gosche, and Lagarde, it was at last

placed beyond a doubt that Armenian belongs to the Aryan (Indo-European) family of languages, there still remained the question as to its proper position among these languages. Lagarde and Dr. Friedrich Müller, for instance, held the view that it was merely a branch dialect of Eranian until Professor Hübschmann demonstrated in 1877, by an article in *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, "*Die Stellung des armenischen im Kreise der indogermanischen Sprachen*," that it is entitled to an independent place, and shares certain features common to Slavo-Lithuanian on the one hand and Eranic on the other. Lagarde died unconvinced, but Dr. F. Müller now on the whole adopts the conclusions of Hübschmann, while he considers Armenian a descendant of the Thracian group of dialects. Dr. Sophus Bugge of Christiania has recently called attention to some striking resemblances between Armenian and Etruscan, and we are still awaiting the further results of his patient and ingenious investigations. To every unprejudiced person, however, who is acquainted with the present condition of Armenian philology, it must be clear that we should not be too hasty in arriving at conclusions. In spite of the etymological and linguistic discoveries of Hübschmann, Lagarde, F. Müller, Bugge, Bartholomæ, Meillet, &c., there is still so much to be accomplished before a final judgment can be passed that it would be more advisable to reserve any decided opinion until we have collected the necessary linguistic materials.

Among these materials we must, of course, first and foremost rank the dialects, both literary and popular; and, moreover, under their historical as well as under their topographical aspects, that is, both as regards time and as regards locality. A brief review of the work that has already been done in this respect, as well by native Armenians as by other scholars, may perhaps be opportune at this moment. To make everything perfectly clear, I would preface, however, that Armenian presents itself to us in two principal forms: (1) *literary*, and (2) *popular*. The literary, again, has its various historical periods; from the fifth to the twelfth centuries it appears purest, and bears the name of *Grabar*, or "book-language," which, like classical Latin, was probably never spoken by the people at large. During and after the thirteenth century this *Grabar* was unable to maintain its purity, but was forced to submit to an invasion of popular, and even foreign elements, until about the beginning of the present century there emerged a modern literary dialect, accepted as normal by Western Armenian writers, and having its centre at Constantinople. Some time later, thanks especially to the Lazareff Institute of Moscow, a similar literary dialect sprang

up among the Armenians of Russia, with Tiflis at present for its intellectual centre. These two modern literary dialects, the Western and the Eastern, are getting more and more polished every day, through numerous books, papers, and reviews; but it is to be desired that they may some day coalesce into one single form.

By the side of the literary dialects we have to consider the numerous popular dialects (*ašzarhabar*), not only in Armenia proper, but also among the Armenian emigrant colonies, as in Poland, Persia, and India; these are often very interesting, because, like Canadian French, they have preserved old relics of the speech of the mother country. Unfortunately, as a rule, we can only study the popular dialects in their contemporary form, since, with a few rare exceptions, all records of their past forms have vanished. Nor can we say as yet what dialect, if any, the ancient literary or *Grabar* was founded on. Was it a court language in the sense of Luther's *Hochdeutsch*, or the language of a capital (*Ostanie*)? As far as we can go back it appears to us fully developed and polished, and it remains to be seen whether inscriptions will some day reveal a prior state; at any rate, along with the invention of the national alphabet attributed to Mesrob there springs into existence the *Grabar* as the sole literary form of the Armenian written language. Was Armenian employed for literary purposes before that period? This does not seem probable, and it is much more likely that the three great neighbouring languages, Greek, Persian, and Syriac, were the only written and cultivated languages in the respective portions of Armenia bordering upon them. In a paper read by Dr. Adalbert Mera at the fourth session of our Congress (Florence, 1878), it was remarked that there must have existed an Armenian translation of the Bible from the Syriac previous to the one which was made from the Greek. No doubt it is possible to conceive that Armenian may have been used sometimes for local administrative purposes and then written in a Semitic alphabet without the vowels, for Mesrob's invention seems to have chiefly consisted in the introduction of vowel signs based on the Greek model. These are, however, merely conjectures, and we have no clear facts.

Although the origin and early development of the *Grabar* are plunged in obscurity, it is fortunate that there exists a large number of popular dialects which require to be investigated scientifically; but since, as a rule, until very recently, they had no written literature, we cannot trace their history any more than that of the prototype of the *Grabar*. We can, however, gain a good deal of valuable information by comparing their vocabularies and phonology, and, as

a considerable amount of popular literature has been preserved by oral tradition, we need not despair of obtaining good results yet. The great point, of course, is to study these dialects by the scientific method. This has scarcely been done hitherto, but a good deal of preliminary material has been collected which may enable us to make a fair start. With your kind permission, I will now enumerate the chief books published in the Armenian dialects.

A good beginning was made by the late Professor K. Patkanian, of the University of St. Petersburg, who issued various works on the subject. A few of the dialects he wrote on have, however, received more attention since. Thus in the *Tiflis* dialect (not the Eastern literary, but the spoken dialect of the people) we have of last century the charming lyric poems of the weaver-poet Sayâth-Nowa, carefully edited with a grammar and commentary by Achwerdoff, Moscow, 1852, on which edition Petermann based his interesting papers on the Tiflis dialect in the transactions of the Berlin Academy of Sciences for 1866. Then we possess the excellent comedies of Gabriel Soundoukiantz, where the Tiflis dialect is so profusely introduced that they are well-nigh unintelligible to a stranger, though he be an Armenian. One of them, "The Ruined Family," has been translated into German by Dr. Arthur Leist in the *Armenische Bibliothek*, published by W. Friedrich of Leipzig. A valuable store of information is Gêorg Têr Alexandrian's *Tiflisecoc mtavor keangê* (masn â), Tiflis, 1886, pp. 451. The author began to collect as early as 1859, and gives us in eighteen sections a large number of popular songs, tales, proverbs, &c. Only last year Mr. Alexander Thomson of St. Petersburg compiled from these various materials a Historical Grammar of the Tiflis dialect, which is a most valuable contribution to comparative philology. The *Van* dialect is exhibited, for instance, in the *Vanay Saz*, a collection of songs and tales edited by Gêorg G. Šêrenc, gathered from the people of the vilayet of Van in the old province of Vaspourakan. The dialect of *Karabagh*, the black garden, so called on account of the fertile soil of its valleys, between the Kur and the Arax, now in the government of Elisavethpol, has been exhibited by Mr. Vardan Barxoudareanç in his *Pêlê-Povyi* (the fool Paul), Tiflis, 1883, a collection of the jests of the fool of Šahnazar, one of those Meliks or chieftains who long maintained their independence against the Turks, in the village of Avetaranç, in the province of Verand. Povyi is supposed to have died about 1810, and the jests were gathered by the editor from the reminiscences of the old people of the locality. There are also various sketches of village life published

in the Karabagh dialect by Awšabeantz and others. The dialect of *Agoulis* (or *Zok*) in the "Golden Valley," the district of Goyθēn, in the old province of Vaspourakan, the land of mire and song, the gay province of Armenia, where Moses of Khoren still heard the Pagan hymns, and which, with Davith Beg, defied the Osmanli at the beginning of last century. This dialect forms the subject of a brilliant work by a native of the province, Professor Sargis Sargsian of the Lazareff Institute, who has just been snatched away by death at the age of thirty-seven, when so much good work was still expected from his pen. It was once thought that the *Zok* dialect was merely a conventional language used by the population of *Agoulis*, chiefly silk-merchants and money speculators; but this is now disproved, and "*Zok*," which Petermann failed to explain, is probably a nickname derived from a demonstrative pronoun peculiar to the people of *Agoulis*. The dialect of *Achalzik*, a town on the road between Tiflis and Batoum, was studied by Mr. Alexander Thomson in his "*Linguistic Researches*," St. Petersburg, 1877. Owing to immigrations from Erzeroum, it much resembles the dialect of the latter town, but seems to have preserved older forms than the *Grabar*. The dialect of *Zeyθoun*, the ancient Ulnia, a highland town in Cilicia, where the Armenians once founded a flourishing kingdom during the Middle Ages, can be studied in *Oulnia Kam Zeyθoun* by Yakob Y. Allawertian, Constantinople, 1884. The dialect of *Nakhitchewan* (i.e., New Nakhitchewan on the Don) is exhibited by Patkanian in the first part of his "*Dialectical Researches*," St. Petersburg, 1875, a work which contains three tales by the celebrated national poet, Raphaël Patkanian, cousin of the late Professor, translated by Dr. Arthur Leist in the *Armenische Bibliothek*. The second part of K. Patkanian's "*Dialectical Researches*" treats of the dialect of *Moush*. The dialect of *Djulfā*, the Armenian suburb of Ispahan in Persia, much resembles that of India. I know of no work describing it, but I fancy some manuscripts—as, for instance, in the British Museum—might help us in determining some of its older forms. The *Polish Armenian* dialect was carefully studied by the late Dr. Jan Hanusz of Vienna University in the *Vienna Oriental Journal* for 1887, after the publication in 1886 of a vocabulary of the words collected at a place named Kutý. It is known that many Armenians are settled in Poland and Hungary (they even have a monthly review in Hungarian), as may be seen in Demeter Dan's recent brochure, *Die orientalischen Armenier in der Bukowina*, reprinted from the *Czernowitz Zeitung*.

With the study of the dialects is intimately connected that of

the folklore. Here some valuable collections have already been made. First and foremost, the *Groç ou Broç* ("Pen and Spade"), by Bishop Sruantzianz, who collected near Van and Moush, besides other similar works by the same writer, and the *Märchen und Sagen*, published in the *Armenische Bibliothek* by Professor G. Khalatianz of the Lazareff Institute, and collected in the circle of Alexandropol, while the folklore of the Armenians settled in Transylvania and Galicia was collected and translated into German by Heinrich von Wlislöcki, *Märchen und Sagen der Bukowinaer und Siebenbürger Armenier*, Hamburg, 1892. Last May, Professor Tchéráz of King's College read a paper before the Folklore Society which greatly interested and entertained a large and attentive audience, and I understand he has promised a similar lecture for the autumn session. Only yesterday he read a similar paper in our Anthropological Section.

Already as early as 1850 the late Professor Mgrditch Emin of the Lazareff Institute called attention to the old Pagan songs and mythology of Armenia. Dulaurier criticised Emin's essay in the *Journal Asiatique* of 1852, and partly reproduced it in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of the same year. Since then little was done until the time of Sruantzianz, who in his *Groç ou Broç*, published the fragmentary remains of a popular heroic legend, *Sasounçi Davith Kam Mheri dour*, Constantinople, 1874, reproduced by Patkanian in the second part of his "Dialectical Studies," 1875, with a brief grammar and vocabulary, translated into German by Professor Khalatianz in his *Märchen und Sagen*. This is evidently a reminiscence of a lost Armenian popular epic, for how should the old mythology (so ably described by Emin in an article translated into French by Stadler in the *Revue de l'Orient* for 1864) have perished without leaving any traces whatsoever. Have the songs which Moses Khorenaci still heard, accompanied by the pampirn, vanished without leaving an echo behind them? Is there no recollection of Vahakn, the dragon-slayer (wišapakaγ, δρακοντοπνίκτης), the Heracles of Armenia, and the other diuçazu or demi-gods? Is there no longer a reflection left of that magnificent temple of Aštixat in the province of Daron, the richest in Armenia, and the sacrificial place of its sovereigns? Surely the discovery of David of Sassoon raises the hope that something else may be discovered soon, and that Armenia, as recently Finland, will some day yield its Kalevala. This hope is still further encouraged by the fact that in 1889 Mr. M. Abeghean was able to publish at Souši, *David ev Mher*, where he even restores the metrical form, based on accentuation, of the greater

number of the passages. The story was told him at Etchmiadzin by an old man named Nahapet of the village of Ginekanç in the district of Moks. On this publication a clever writer under the pseudonym of Léo based a searching critique, published in 1891 at Tiflis (a reprint from the *Moscow Literary and Historical Review*), in which he endeavours to show that David of Sassoon is a personification of beneficial strength, while David Mher, by way of contrast, impersonates destructive, and therefore useless strength. A short time ago, the *Nor-Dar* of Tiflis announced that the Tiflis Society for the publication of old Armenian texts had just received for the press a manuscript from Deacon Karekin of Etchmiadzin, containing numerous variants and additions to David Mher.¹ Mr. Abeghean, in fact, had already been told by this informant, Nahapet, that there were people who knew more passages than he (the narrator) did, and it now appears that these people have been discovered by Father Karekin.

I hope that this somewhat lengthy enumeration has at any rate made one thing clear, namely, that it is worth while in the interests of science to turn our attention to the dialects and folklore of Armenia. The hindrances for such a study are great, as Armenia is now under the sway of powers who are equally jealous of any movement that might awaken national aspirations among their Armenian subjects; it will not be an easy matter to collect materials on the spot, not to mention that the natives are themselves very suspicious when asked to give information respecting themselves. However, a start must be made, and as this is a case for applying the proverb *l'union fait la force*, I shall presently venture to propose to your kind consideration a scheme for the formation of an *Armenian Dialect and Folklore Society*, but I defer the details of this proposal till the conclusion of my paper.

II.

Meanwhile I pass on to the second portion of my programme, viz., the *historical value of Armenian archæology and literature*.

This opens a vast field for investigation. In archæology we have already a huge mass of preliminary material collected on the antiquities of Armenia by Father Lucas Indjijian and the greater works of Father Ghevond Alishan of the St. Lazarus Congregation of Mkhitharists at Venice (Aïrarat, Siunik, Sisakan, &c.). Excellent directions for the study of the details are given by Brosset in his

¹ It has since been published.

Ruines d'Ani and similar works, whereas quite recently Prof. Joseph Strzygowski of the Vienna University has shown by his *Etchmiadzin Evangelary* what light the study of even minor art may throw on the solution of important problems. With regard to the inscriptions, those in the cuneiform, so-called Vannic, writing, have been shown by Patkanian and Professor A. H. Sayce not to be in Armenian, but time may yet reveal to us some ancient records engraved on rocks in some Armenian dialect anterior to the *Grabar*. The Russian Government fully appreciates the importance of Armenian archæology, for only a few weeks ago Mr. N. Marr, Patkanian's successor at the University of St. Petersburg, was sent to Ani to make researches, and he has already been fortunate enough to discover an old buried chapel of architectural value.

Turning to the history of Armenia, there is a very comprehensive Armenian history by Tchamitch, which reaches to the end of last century; but the author did not know many of the sources which have been made known since his time. A modern work on the subject was begun by Garagaſean, but, after the publication of the first volume in 1880, it was stopped by the Turkish Government. There are, of course, many smaller histories. As to the older historians of Armenia, the late Professor Patkanian published in the "Transactions of the International Congress of Orientalists," third session, St. Petersburg, 1876 (pp. 455-511), a "Bibliography of Armenian Historical Literature." This list, unfortunately somewhat faulty and incomplete, requires to be revised and republished in a second edition, for many texts have been edited since its appearance, more especially through the exertions of the Armenian Text Society of Tiflis. Among the best of these are the histories of Ghevond and Asoyik, edited by His Excellency Councillor G. A. Esoff of the Russian Ministry of Public Education at St. Petersburg, who read a paper on Armenian studies at the Stockholm Congress.

A detailed bibliography of the whole Armenian literature is supplied in the works of Father Karekin of Venice, which are indispensable to every student of Armenian literature. I will not try your patience with a lengthy enumeration of titles of works; it will suffice to remark that Armenian literature affords abundant material towards extending our knowledge of ecclesiastical as well as of political history. This very year Dr. Arſak Têr Mikelian, who studied theology at Jena, published a brief and readable account of the history of the Armenian Church in its relations with the Greek Empire. A perusal of the copious notes appended to this work, quoting the testimony of Armenian, usually contemporary,

writers, amply demonstrates the value of Armenian literature in this respect, and its importance is not less in matters concerning the interpretation of the Scriptures, the lives of saints, the liturgy and ritual, &c.

Then Armenian literature is most valuable to us, inasmuch as it has preserved many translations of Greek, Syriac, and other writers, whose original works are either lost, or, if still extant, can have their accuracy tested by the aid of the Armenian versions. Father Karekin's work on the translation from the Greek alone is a stout closely printed volume, and enables us to judge of the abundance of the material, much of which is still unpublished. Mr. F. C. Conybeare of Oxford is at present making researches in this direction, his last production on the subject being an article "On the Armenian Version of Plato's Laws" in the *American Journal of Philology*, vol. xii. pp. 399-413.

Besides the importance of Armenian for the study of ancient Greek literature and for the history of the Byzantine Empire, it affords great aid to the reconstitution of the apocryphal books. M. Carrière has already given us some specimens, and in the last number of the *Vienna Oriental Journal* Father Kalemkiar of the Vienna Mkhitharist Congregation has an article on the so-called Seventh Vision of Daniel, of which he prints the Armenian version according to a manuscript in the Lambeth Palace Library. I may add that the vexed question of the pseudo-Callisthenes also derives much light from the Armenian translation, as has been shown by Zacher, and quite recently by Father J. Dashian of Vienna.

As to the value of Armenian with regard to political history, I may be permitted to select at least one instance. In 1866 Professor Patkanian published a memoir on the history of the Sassânian dynasty according to Armenian sources. This essay was translated into French by Evariste Prud'homme, and inserted in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1866. Among the historians who throw most light on this obscure period of Persian history, the most prominent no doubt is Sebêos, who is supposed to have been a bishop in the seventh century, and therefore a contemporary, perhaps even an eye-witness, of the events which led to the fall of the Sassânian kings and to the earlier invasions of the Arabs in Persia, and a manuscript of Sebêos, entitled the "History of Heraclius," but preceded by two long chronological summaries, which, at first sight, do not appear to belong to the work at all, was preserved in the Etchmiadzin Library, and in 1851 Mihrdatian published a printed edition, while eleven years later (1862) Patkanian issued a Russian translation. In 1879

the same scholar also edited the text, but he had to rely on the Constantinople edition of 1851, as the Etchmiadzin manuscript was no longer to be found, and on a modern copy of it preserved in the Asiatic Museum of St. Petersburg. The text is therefore still in a very unsatisfactory condition, and, in virtue of its importance, demands a critical edition.¹ M. Néandre de Byzance (Norayr) of Stockholm, already distinguished by his French-Armenian Dictionary, based on Littré, has prepared a number of emendations, and restored misplaced folios, passages, and words to their proper places both of Sebêos and of other writers. He offers here amended texts at prices varying from 800 to 3000 francs, and it is to be hoped that some learned Society will purchase them for publication. Meanwhile M. Carrière, of the École des Langues Orientales, has nearly completed a French translation of Sebêos, and judging from his previous performances, among which I need only mention his pamphlet on the "Patriarchal Genealogies in Moses of Khoren," there is every reason to hope that his work on Sebêos will be a success.

What I have said of the importance of Sebêos applies more or less to at least fifty or sixty other Armenian historians, and there exists ample material to sift and study for a number of years to come. We want critical editions, and good translations based upon them, and such editions can only be obtained if we search for reliable manuscripts. A good beginning has been made by the Mkhitharists of Vienna and the Berlin Academy of Sciences, and careful lists of MSS. have already been compiled and published for the libraries of Berlin, Vienna, the Vatican, Munich, St. Petersburg, &c. The Rev. S. Baronian of Manchester has promised the Vienna Mkhitharists to describe the manuscripts in the British Museum, while Mr. F. C. Conybeare is attending to those in the Bodleian. What is meant by critical editions may be gathered from Gutschmidt's essays on "Agathangelos and Moses of Khoren," as well as from Prof. A. Baumgartner's essay on the "Rhetoric Attributed to Moses Khorenaci," published in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. xl. I may add that Dr. Baumgartner is preparing a complete edition of Moses's works, and I believe Mr. Conybeare is engaged on one of David Anahaght, one of the old translators of Plato, Porphyry, Aristotle, and other Greek writers.

¹ The Etchmiadzin MS. used by the editor of the Constantinople edition could not be found by Patkanian, but Father Galoust of Etchmiadzin told me a few days ago at Paris that it has again been discovered.

CONCLUSION.

Now, when I look back on what has been done (and I have published a fairly complete account of it in Prof. Tchéráz's *Armenia*, which has been translated into Armenian and published in the *Mourtch* of Tiflis, as well as in the *Basmavép* of Venice, in each case with notes by the respective translators, while the Mkhitharists of Vienna have asked me to print a revised édition in German, which they will also issue in Armenian), when I look back upon all these volumes which it took me some three years to peruse in a cursory way only, and to give a mere superficial description of them, I cannot help feeling very sanguine indeed as to the future of Armenian studies. We have now reached a period when the abundant material which has been gathered requires patient and careful sifting, when new material must be collected and utilised, and when we are called upon as Orientalists to see that all the advantages which Armenian presents shall be obtained from it to their utmost value. Surely it is high time that the philological study of Armenian should be placed on a sound scientific footing, and I submit that this result would be best achieved through the united efforts of both Armenian and non-Armenian scholars. On the other hand, the archæology and history of Armenia urge similar claims, and the natural conclusion that suggests itself to me is that there ought to be formed an International Society for the Promotion of Armenian Studies, consisting of two sections: (1) one for the Armenian dialects and folklore, as I mentioned before; (2) the other for the archæology and history of Armenia. The subscriptions might be devoted to the publication of suitable Transactions and to the awarding of prizes for meritorious essays (there already exist certain funds for such prizes), and the Society might solicit donations for sending out competent scholars to make researches in Armenia. If we consider that the French, Prussian, and Russian Governments have repeatedly sent out scientific missions to explore Armenia, surely it is not a utopian idea to hope for similar aid. If the pecuniary resources of the Society were not sufficient for the publication of critical editions of the Armenian authors or for scholarly translations in the European languages, an appeal might be made to similar Oriental Societies interested in the work, in order to induce them to accept essays recommended by the Armenian Society for insertion in their Journals or publication in their Series.

The task of promoting Armenian studies is indeed not one for

mere individual capacities, but requires the efforts of a number of men working in the same direction and with a common object. If I rightly understand the significance and usefulness of such gatherings as the International Congress of Orientalists, it is to bring together such men. I therefore venture to move the following resolution:—

“The ninth International Congress of Orientalists, held in London in September 1892, recognising the great scientific importance of Armenian philology, archæology, and history, recommends the formation of an International Association for the Promotion of Armenian Studies.”

The object of this Society should be similar to that of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, with which it would have a natural connection, namely—

(1.) To advance the study of the Armenian language, literature, archæology, and history.

(2.) To issue a periodical journal for the publication of suitable memoirs, and acquainting members with the progress of the work.

(3.) To collect drawings, facsimiles, transcriptions, plans, photographs of inscriptions, manuscripts, works of art, ancient sites and remains, and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes and sketches of archæological and topographical interest.

(4.) To organise means by which members of the Society and its deputies may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archæological researches in both Turkish and Russian Armenia, or for studying the dialects and folklore of these provinces.

(5.) To keep up constant relations with philological, archæological, and historical societies, and to contribute suitable information to the journals and publications of such societies.

I must apologise to the Hellenic Society for having borrowed some of the above almost verbatim from their bye-laws; but I could not have expressed my meaning so well otherwise.

I shall be glad to receive the names and addresses of persons willing to accept my views in general, and to lend their aid to the formation of such a Society. We might then discuss the matter by correspondence, and fix upon the character of a preliminary prospectus to be circulated among likely members.

I now beg to repeat my resolution, viz.—

“That the ninth International Congress of Orientalists, held in London in September 1892, recognising the great scientific import-

ance of Armenian philology, archæology, and history, recommends the formation of an International Association for the Promotion of Armenian Studies."

"Le Congrès International des Orientalistes, assemblé à Londres en septembre 1892, reconnaissant la haute importance scientifique de la philologie, de l'archéologie et de l'histoire arméniennes, recommande la formation d'une Association Internationale pour l'avancement des études arméniennes."

Der im September 1892 in London versammelte 9te Internationale Congress der Orientalisten erkennt die große wissenschaftliche Wichtigkeit der armenischen Sprache, Archäologie und Geschichte, und empfiehlt die Bildung einer Internationalen Gesellschaft zur Beförderung der armenischen Sprache.

1892ին Լոնտոնի մէջ գումարուած Իրեւելագէտներու իններորդ համադգային վեհաժողովը, ճանաչելով հայ բանասիրութեան, հնասփոսութեան և պատմութեան գիտական մեծ կարեւորութիւնն, կը յանձնարարէ հայկական ուսմանց համար համադգային ընկերութեան մը կազմութիւնն :

* * * This resolution was seconded by Professor Minas Tchéráz and carried. Professor Cowell, the President of the Aryan section, proposed a vote of thanks to the author of the paper, which was likewise carried.

XIII.

EIN WORT

ÜBER DIE

VERWANDTSCHAFTSVERHÄLTNISSE INNERHALB DER INDOGERMANISCHEN FAMILIE.

VON

GRAZIADIO ASCOLI, SENAT. D. KÖNIG. IT.

Es sei mir gegönnt, ein Wort über die Frage der Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse zwischen den verschiedenen Sprachen und Völkern der sogenannten indogermanischen Familie, keineswegs als Kritik oder Widerlegung der Ansichten die vorgestern an diesem Orte von so kompetenter Seite ausgesprochen wurden, sondern gewissermassen als einen pflichtmässigen Ausdruck meines wissenschaftlichen Gewissens, hier einzuschalten. Auch habe ich nicht die Absicht eine wirkliche Discussion hervorzurufen und werde mich so kurz wie möglich fassen.

Die Frage, worum es sich handelt, bestimmte ich geflissentlich als eine solche, die zugleich die Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse der Sprachen *und* der Völker umfasst. Die verschiedenen Zustände des sprachlichen Organismus innerhalb einer Sprachfamilie hängen nämlich, meiner alten und immer festeren Ueberzeugung nach, ganz besonders von den verschiedenen Blutsverhältnissen ab, die den einzelnen Völkerschaften eigen waren oder wurden. Vergewärtigen wir uns zum Beispiel den Unterschied zwischen italienischer und französischer Sprache. Beide Sprachen haben das Vulgärlatein zu Grunde; das Italienische ist aber noch jetzt die fast unversehrte Volkssprache des alten Roms; im Französischen hingegen ist die alte Lautform durch und durch zerrüttet, und zwar ganz besonders desswegen, weil das französische Volk ein gallisches ist, dem die lateinische Sprache aufgedrängt wurde und das sie seiner eigenen Lautdisposition angepasst hat. Zwei Glieder indogermanischer Zunge fliessen hier einigermassen, nach langem Sonderleben, zu-

sammen. Anderswo, und in sehr verschiedenen Epochen, stösst auch Indogermanisches mit Nichtindogermanischem zusammen und die wechselseitige Wirkung kann natürlich verschieden ausfallen, je nach den Proportionen der zusammentreffenden Völkerschichten und der besonderen Anlagen der unterliegenden Sprachen. Der alte Organismus derjenigen Sprache, die im Ganzen und Grossen den Sieg davon trägt, liegt uns immer mehr oder weniger verunstaltet vor, je nach der Menge und der Natur der ethnologischen Vermischungen, wodurch das neue Volk entsteht.

Die heutzutage in solcherlei Betrachtungen waltende Skepsis scheint mir insbesondere aus einem Missbrauche der Analyse hervorzugehen, der uns die synthetischen Begriffe, d. h. solche Begriffe, die aus einem vollkommenen Bewusstsein und einer vollen Vergegenwärtigung der Gesamttzustände entstammen, erschwert und hindert.

Die Skepsis hat uns sogar dazu geführt, über die Stellung des Griechischen, den übrigen europäischen und den asiatischen Sprachen gegenüber, sonderbare Zweifel zu hegen. Mit den alten Sprachen Asiens bildet aber das Griechische durch und durch eine einheitliche Gruppe, d. h. im Griechischen, Alteranischen und Altindischen dauert im allgemeinen der ursprüngliche Organismus der indogermanischen Sprache in solchen Proportionen unverseht fort, die anderswo durchaus nicht zu treffen sind und die keineswegs in dem besonderen Alter der betreffenden literarischen Monumente eine genügende Begründung erhalten. Ja es darf sogar behauptet werden, dass manche besondere Entwicklungen des sprachlichen Organismus erst dann stattgefunden haben, als die gräkoarische Einheit (um mich so auszudrücken) noch fort dauerte, d. h. nachdem sich die übrigen Indogermanen davon getrennt hatten. Ich erinnere z. B. an die besondere grammatikalische Function solcher Elemente, die zwar auch in den übrigen Sprachen vorkommen, daselbst aber nicht die bestimmte und feste Verwendung zeigen, zu der sie im Griechischen und Arischen gelangen. So ist *-tero* als wirkliches Comparationssuffix, wie ich in einer Abhandlung zu zeigen gesucht habe, die unserem Congresse bereits gedruckt vorliegt, ausschliesslich dem Griechischen und Arischen eigen; ebenso die Erscheinung dass *-meno* und *-to* zugleich und beisammen als Exponenten eines part. perf. pass. gelten. Und vieles andere solcher Art liesse sich noch anführen.

Griechisch und Altarisch sind also am nächsten oder reinsten unter einander verwandt, und das heisst, mit anderen Worten, der Sprachorganismus ist bei diesen Phasen der Sprachfamilie unverseht, weil dieselben die Blutsverhältnisse des indog. Stammes

noch ziemlich unversehrt vorstellen oder voraussetzen. Kommt aber das altarische Wort nach dem grossen indischen Continente, d. h., mit anderen Worten, vermischt sich das arische Blut mit dem einheimischen Blute Indiens und erleidet folglich das arische Wort den Einfluss der sprachlichen Anlagen und Neigungen der einheimischen Völker Indiens, so zerfällt rasch der indogermanische Organismus, ungemein rascher und tiefgreifender, in Indien als in Griechenland.

Dass in Italien ähnliche Gründe der Entartung einen besonderen Abstand vom Griechischen vorgebracht haben mögen, habe ich anderswo angedeutet und meine Ansicht hat sich ansehnlicher Beistimmungen erfreut. Aehnliches lässt sich über die Differenzirungen anderer Sprachen muthmassen, und auf semitischem Felde sind die Entartungen nicht zu vergessen die der alte Organismus in *Æthiopien* erleidet. Doch ist hier der Ort nicht, weiteres über dies alles vorzutragen; es lag mir nur ob, das Prinzip zu wahren.

XIV.

THE ORIGIN AND CRADLE-LAND OF THE ARYANS.

BY

J. S. STUART-GLENNIE, M.A.

THE problem of the origin and cradle-land of the Aryans was treated in this paper from the new point of view which seems to be necessitated, not only by the later results of research with respect to Aryan origins, but even still more by the later results of research with respect to Egyptian and Chaldean origins. As to the latter, I must refer to my paper in the Semitic Section on the "Origin of the Primary Civilisations," merely noting here that from the facts pointed out in that paper it would appear to result that, in the origin of what, so far as we know, must be reckoned as the primary civilisations of Egypt and Chaldea, the chief determining condition was a conflict of higher White, and lower Coloured and Black Races. If so, however, the question of the origin and cradle-land of the White Race cannot be treated, as generally hitherto, as if it were identical with that of the origin and cradle-land of the Aryan Race. If, many thousand years before the Aryans appeared on the arena of history—an event which seems now to be brought down so late as the third millennium B.C.—an elder White Race had founded, and had for millenniums maintained, great civilisations in the Nile and Euphrates Valleys, it is evident that the origin of the Aryans can be regarded as but the origin, under adequate physical and other conditions, of a new variety of this elder White Race, and in a cradle-land, therefore, probably quite different from that in which the White Race was originally formed. And the question as to the cradle-land of the Aryans becomes now, therefore, the question (1) as to the locality where such conditions of racial intermixture probably prevailed as would naturally result in the formation of a White Race distinguished from the Archaian

White Race (that to which the higher classes of the Egyptians and Chaldeans belonged), as the Aryans are distinguished, not in their physical feature only, but in the characteristics of their languages; the question (2) as to the locality suited, at the same time, to such a manner of life, and to such knowledges and ignorances as are indicated by those words common to the Aryan languages from which the Aryan *Ursprache* is conjectured; and the question (3) as to the locality from which the Aryan dispersion most probably took place—the division of the Aryans into two great western and eastern branches, and the formation, at the same time, of two great families of speech, distinguished from, yet related to, each other in such a way as are the two great families of the Aryan languages and the members of each of these families.

Now, approaching this problem from a consideration of the localities—Thrace and Transoxiana—in which we have our first historic knowledge of the appearance of Aryans—tall, high-nosed, blue-eyed, fair-haired, warlike men, speaking inflected languages—we ask whether, in the region equally distant from these secondary Aryan cradle-lands, namely, in the many-rivered plains of what is now Southern Russia, north of the Euxine, the Caucasus, and the Caspian, the primary Aryan cradle-land may not probably be found? The writer then endeavoured to show, and especially from the facts collected by O. Schrader in his *Ursprache* and *Urgeschichte*, that the region thus defined, and which approximates closely to that defined by Schrader about the same time as that just indicated was first defined by the writer, was more probably, perhaps, than any other region the primary centre of dispersion of the Aryans. Thus the cradle-land of the Aryans is, in accordance with the general drift of recent scientific opinion, placed in Europe. But the very basis of the writer's argument for an Aryan cradle-land in Europe leads to a justification, so far at least, of the former theory of an Aryan cradle-land in Asia. This theory, so far as the Aryans are concerned, would now appear to be false, seeing that we seem now bound to regard the Aryans as a special variety—the Semites being regarded as another earlier variety—of that White Species of mankind to which the founders of the Egyptian and Chaldean civilisations belonged. But this former theory, so far as the primitive stock of the White Races is concerned, may still probably be justified, and the cradle-land of the White Species, though not of its Aryan Variety, may be probably still placed in Central, or rather, perhaps, Northern Asia.

The writer further endeavoured to strengthen his position with

reference to the primitive Aryan cradle-land by arguments based on the facts of the former existence, and comparatively recent drying-up, of a great inland sea separating Asia from Europe, and termed by him the "Eurasian Mediterranean." Of this great inland sea he exhibited a map, in which he had endeavoured to combine the most recent results of research with respect to Eurasian areas formerly covered by the sea, though it must always, perhaps, be more or less uncertain how many of these conterminous areas were contemporaneously under water. And, setting forth a view similar to that of Süss in his *Antlitz der Erde*, the writer made certain suggestions with reference to the not improbably verifiable character of the ancient Chaldean deluge-traditions, and their Hebrew variants.

INDEXES

COMPILED BY

M. WINTERNITZ, Ph.D.

- I. INDEXES AND GLOSSARIES OF WORDS IN SANSKRIT AND
OTHER INDIAN DIALECTS, OLD PERSIAN AND ZEND.
- II. GENERAL INDEX.
- III. ERRATA.

REMARKS.

The Sanskrit Glossary refers mainly to the papers of Mr. K. B. PATHAK, Dr. P. E. PAVOLINI, Dr. MORRIS. The Pali, Prâkrit, and other Indexes of words in Indian Dialects refer chiefly to Dr. MORRIS' paper. The Indexes of Old Persian and Zend words refer to Prof. E. WILHELM'S paper.

Titles of Indian Works and Names of Authors are given in the General Index.

The order of letters in the arrangement of the Pali, Prâkrit, Hindi, &c., Indexes is the same as in Sanskrit.

A uniform transliteration of the Sanskrit Alphabet has been used in the Index :—

ch = च	chh = छ	j = ज	jh = झ
ñ = ञ	ṇ = ण	ṇ = ण	m̐ = Anusvâra
ṭ = ट	ṭh = ठ	ḍ = ड	ḍh = ढ
ś = श	sh = ष	ḥ = Visarga	l̐ = लृ

The papers may, therefore, sometimes have ṣ for sh in the Index, ç for ś, c for ch, ch for chh, *t* (italic) for ṭ, &c.

In the Index of Prâkrit Words, words beginning with ṇ should be looked for under dental n.

The List of "Errata" contains such errors as I have come across in compiling the Indexes. I am, however, not responsible for the correctness of the volume.

M. WINTERNITZ.

I.—INDEXES OF WORDS.

SANSKRIT.

- Akimchitkaratva, the having no effect at all, 202, 206.
- Aksha, organ of sense, 202, 207, 212.
- Agochara, incognisable, 201, 205.
- Agrahâyani, Mrigaśiras, 377.
- Aṅga-marsha, rheumatism, 514.
- Aṅgāṅgitâ, belonging to one and the same person, 194.
- Achitta, unintelligent being, 422.
- Achchha, bear, 466.
- Achchha-bhalla, a wild bear, 466.
- Ajña, ignorant, 207.
- Ajñatva, ignorance, 205.
- Ajñasvabhâva, devoid of the natural capacity for knowing everything, 206.
- Añjana, magic ointment (for the eyes), 202, 206, 207.
- Atithi, guest, 439.
- Atilaṅghana, transgression, going beyond, 203.
- Atisâya, excellence, intensity, 203.
- Atisâyana, pre-eminence, 187.
- Atita, past, 206, 210, 212.
- Atindriya, imperceptible to the senses, 203; °darśana, 203; °pratyakshâ-disambhâvanâ, possibility of superhuman perception, 204; °pratyaksha-bhâj, endowed with superhuman perception, 189.
- Adhyayanaikadeśasparśin, having only a smattering of a part of the sacred lore, 413 note.
- Adhyâtman, internal, 187.
- Ananumeya, not to be inferred, 203.
- Ananta, endless, 206.
- Anavaskara, clean, 517.
- Anâgata, future, 206.
- Anâdi, having no beginning, 189, 190.
- Anumāna, inference, 189, 198; anu-mânâtisâya, eminent inferential knowledge, 203.
- Anumeya = prameya, 197, note 46.
- Anumeyatva, cognisability, 187.
- Anuyoga, inquiry, 478.
- Anuvâda (explanatory) repetition of a Vedic passage, 189.
- Antarita, past, 187, 195, 196, 198, 212.
- Andolana, the swinging, a swing, 472, 507.
- Apaśabda, incorrect word, 203.
- Apahastita, lost, 469.
- Apûrva, the Unknown, 203.
- Amala, *Embllica officinalis*, 455.
- Amṛita, immortal, 533.
- Ayana, passage of the sun, 378.
- Arthaparyâya, 206, 208.
- Arthâpatti (the proof called) presumption, 191.
- Arhat, Jina, 196 *seq.*
- Alipaka, a dog, a bee, 511.
- Alimaka or alimpaka, or alimbaka, Indian cuckoo, bee, frog, 511.
- Avaskara, unclean, 517.
- Avâchya, a harsh word, 431.
- Avirodha, consistency, 187.
- Avirodhin, being in conformity with, 187.
- Avyakta, indifferentiated matter, 160, 161.
- Avyavasthiti, the being out of place, 196.
- Āsmatara (!), 432.
- Āśvinī rāj, "la splendeur āśvinienne," 401.
- Ashtāṅgāṅkâra, adornments for the eight parts of the body, 434.
- Asat, non-being, 161, 164.
- Asi, sword, 471, 510.

- Asira, missile, 471, 510. (Should it be asida?)
 Astitva, -tâ, existence, 190, 201.
 Asthi-kamkâla, a skeleton, 475.
 Asthi-samkalikâ, a skeleton, 475.
 Âkâsa, ether, 160.
 Âkhyâna = nâṭaka, 310, 311.
 Âgama nitya, the eternal Scripture (Veda), 189; âgamavidhiḥ nityaḥ, a Vedic injunction, 190; âgama-satyatva, authority of the Jaina Scriptures, 193; âgama, Jaina Scripture, 201, 212; âgamâdyati-śaya, excellence in Vedic lore, 203.
 Âgrayaṇa, 379.
 Âgrahâyaṇa, Mârgaśīrsha, 379.
 Âgrahâyanika, Mṛgaśīras, 378.
 Âghrâṇa, satisfaction, 508.
 Âghrâta, satisfied, 508.
 Âjñâpatra, rescript of a king, 255.
 Âtman, soul, 198, 205, 206.
 Âdimat, having a beginning, 189, 190.
 Âpîda, garland, 480 note 1.
 Âptatâ, trustworthiness, 187.
 Âprâthayati, to spread abroad, divulge, show, 492.
 Âyâgapata, "tablet of homage," 219.
 Ârâma, a grove, 468.
 Ârâmika, a florist, 468.
 Ârâlika, a cook, 490.
 Âlamba, asylum, 513.
 Âlekha, letter, 440.
 Âvajjati, to meditate, consider, 478 seq.
 Âvajjana, meditation, consideration, 478 seq.
 Âvaraṇa, obstruction of knowledge, 187, 188 note 14.
 Âvirbhâva, display, 209.
 Âvṛiti, obstruction of knowledge, 209.
 Âśâ, wish, desire, 496.
 Âśīrnamaskriyâvastu, rule about benedictions. &c., 300.
 Âśīrvâda, benediction, 433.
 Âśrava (for âśrava), the influence of the outside world, 506.
 Ikshudaṇḍa, sugar-cane, 431.
 Itihâsa, epics, 203.
 Itvara, low, vile, 472, 515.
 Indûra, a rat, 472, 507.
 Ishṭa, tenet, 187.
 Îkshanaka, a fortune-teller, 515.
 Îrshyâvat, jealous, 434.
 Îlî, a hunter's knife (?), 472, 515.
 Îśa, lord Śiva, 440.
 Îśhikâ, stem, stalk, 499.
 Ujjayinî, Ujjein, 439, 443.
 Udûpa, a raft, 468, 499.
 Udagra, high, elevated, 499.
 Udavasita, stable, 471.
 Uddâna, fire-place, the submarine fire, 506.
 Uddhava, joy, 470.
 Uddhâna, fireplace, stove, 472.
 Uddhâpita, expelled, 497.
 Udra, otter, 497.
 Udvâna, a fireplace, stove, 472.
 Undura, a rat, 472, 507.
 Unduru, a rat, 472.
 Upamâna, comparison, 190.
 Upavâsa, fasting, 438.
 Upaveda, accessory or secondary Veda, 431.
 Upahasana, quib, taunt, 210, 212.
 Ullâdayati, to cook, 490.
 Ūrva, the submarine fire, 507.
 Riksha, bear, 484.
 Rînahantaka, destroying the debts, 463.
 Rînaharṭri, taking away the debts, 463.
 Rîta, Rîtâvan, true, 533.
 Rishya, antelope, 484.
 Ekadeśa, a part, 189.
 Ekâ (rik), 416 seqq.
 Airâvaṇa, Indra's elephant, 515.
 Oliyati, to fly down, 470, 493.
 Kamsâri, Kṛishṇa, 432.
 Kachchhapa, tortoise, 426, 467.
 Ka(ñ)chulikâ, a bodice, 433.
 Kaṇṭhahîna, having no voice (for singing), 434.
 Kandarapasamjivinî, life restorer of the god of love, 433.
 Kabandha, a headless trunk, 445.
 Karaṭu, a crane, 491.
 Karaṇa, organ of sense, 202.
 Karaṇajñâna, knowledge obtained through the senses, 198, 199, 200.
 Karamarin, a prisoner, 488.
 Karttarî, scissors, 509.
 Karmakshaya, destruction of actions, 210 note.
 Karmatâ, -tayâ = as the object of cognition, 198.

Kalaha, quarrel, 431.
 Kalâ, art, 433.
 Kalevara, a dead body, 499 note 3.
 Kalkin, Avatâra of Vishnu, 425.
 √kalp, "to trim," 494.
 Kalpadruma, wish-fulfilling tree, 423.
 Kavocha, mail, 471.
 Kâtyâyana, Vararuchi, 203.
 Kâpeya, monkeyism, 422.
 Kâmakandalâ, N. of a dancer, 432, 433.
 Kâmasena, N. of a king, 432, 438, 443.
 Kâmârta, love-sick, 431.
 Kâmâvatî, N. of a town, 432, 443.
 Kâryânumeya, inferred by action, 199.
 Kâliya, N. of a dragon, 432.
 Kâlya, dawn, 508.
 Kîrnârî, female demon, 433.
 Kîlâpanaka, fem. -nikâ, playmate, 478.
 Ku = vi-, 495.
 Kuṭa, a water-pot, 481.
 Kuddâla, a spade, hoe, 495.
 Kula, noble descent, 434.
 Kulîsa, axe, 495.
 Kushṭhin, affected with leprosy, 442.
 Kusumeshu, having flower-arrows, ep. of Kâma, 436.
 Kûpaka, a mast, 468, 513.
 Kûrma, tortoise, 425.
 Kṛitârthatva, satisfaction, 442.
 Kṛitrima (âgama), (a scripture) made by men, 190.
 Kevalam jñânam, supreme knowledge, 210, 212.
 Koshṭhângâni, the navel, the heart, and the rest, 458.
 Kṛidânikâ, playmate, 477.
 Kṛidâpanîkâ, N. of a nurse, 477.
 Klîba, eunuch, 426 seq.
 Kshîranidhi, the sea of milk, 435.
 Kshudra, little, mean, 476.
 Kshupa, a bush, 468, 510.
 Khaṭva, water-vessel, 481 seq.
 Khaṭvâ, bedstead, 481.
 √khamb, to go, 495.
 Khalabhikshâ, food gleaned from the threshing-floor, 482.
 Khalastoka, husked rice, 482.
 √khurd (khûrd), to leap, 470, 508.
 Gaṅgâ, 442.
 Gandhâlî, or gandholî, a wasp, 513.

Gutîkâ, a small ball, 434.
 Gupta, N. of Sîva, 440.
 Guru, teacher (of mankind), 187 ; spiritual teacher, or any other venerable person, 443.
 Gomâyû, a kind of frog, 445.
 Gomedha, cow-sacrifice, 132.
 Govindachanda, N. of a king, 430.
 √granth, to tie, 508 seq.
 Grahâṇa, eclipse, 203.
 Ghuṭa, ancle, 513.
 Chakorî, a kind of bird, 439.
 Chandanamaya, made of sandal wood, 433.
 Chandrârakgrahâṇa, lunar and solar eclipses, 203.
 Châmara, a chaurie, 187.
 Chittavat, intelligent, 422.
 √chitr, to adorn, 500.
 Chitriṇî, a particular class of women (see padminîjâtî), 430.
 √chudd, to dally, 508.
 Chuluka, a handful, 439.
 √chull, to dally, 508.
 Chûḍa, little, mean, 476.
 Cheṭa, boy, slave, 469.
 Chetana, soul, 201, 206.
 Chetana, a sentient being, 431.
 Chetas, consciousness, sense, 436.
 Chaitanya, consciousness, 202.
 Chodanâ, Vedic injunction, 196, 198, 205, 206, 209.
 Jaṅgama, movable things, 460.
 Janmântariya, belonging to another life, 432.
 Jâṅgala, arid, 459.
 Jinendradharma, the religion of the Jinendra, 425.
 Jîneśin, Lord Jîna, 196.
 Jîva, soul, 206.
 Jaimini, 203.
 Jña, knowing, 207.
 Jñasvabhâva, whose very nature is knowing, 201, 205.
 Jñâna, knowledge (of the Âtma), 160, 164.
 Jñânâvaraṇa, hindrance to knowledge, 206.
 Jñeya, knowable, 207.
 Jyotirvid, an astronomer, 203.
 Jhampa and jhampâ, springing, leaping, 495.

√*tañich*, to contract, 514.
Tattvârthasâstra, 195.
Tandra, weary, 477.
Tapasvinî, female ascetic, 438.
Tapu, cup (?), caldron (?), 481 *seq.*
Tamas, darkness, 165.
Tarunî, a youthful woman, 430.
Tâpasâgama, Scriptures of the recluses, 426.
Târa, high (voice in music), 431.
Tâla, time (in music); *tâlas* *truṭati*, the time is broken, 433.
Tâlarakshâ, observing of time, 434.
Tithi, lunar day, 203.
Tîrthakrit, founder of a religious sect, 187.
Tumba, "a milk-pail," 481.
Trid, to split, break, 471.
Tauryatrika, the triad of music, song and dance (read *tauryatrikapurushânâm* (?)), 433.
Trayîvid, follower of the Veda, 191.
Trasareṇu, atom of dust in a sunbeam, 460.
Triparnavîṭikâ, pieces of the areca-nut and other spices rolled up in three betel-leaves (?), 432.
Tristhânaka, of the three modulations of the voice (*mandra*, *madhya*, *târa*), 431.
Daksha, intelligence, 406.
Dâmani, a rope for tying cattle, 494.
Dârdhya, sloth, 477.
Divaukas, celestial being, 187.
Divya, heavenly, 187.
√*dî*, to spend, waste, 493.
√*dul*, to swing, 507.
Dûra, distant, 187, 195, 196, 198, 203, 212.
Devakula, temple, 440.
Devatâ, gods, 203.
Devâgama, the attendance of the gods, 187.
Dola, a swing, 507.
Dosha, defect, 187.
Drâkshâ, grape, 443.
Dvijâtî, a Brahman, 443.
Dvṛicha, pair of verses, 417.
Dhanva, dull, 476.
√*dhar*, to weigh, 468.
Dharmâdharma, virtue and vice, 191.
√*dhmâ*, to blow, 497.

√*dhvam*s, 498; *dhvam*s with *apa*, 469.
Dhvâmksha, a crow, 498.
Naktam̐chara, animal moving at night (such as cats, owls, and rats), 202, 203.
Nakshatra, constellation, 203.
Nakshatradarśa, astronomer, 299.
Nabhoyâna, moving in the air, 187.
Nayanatâraka, pupil in the eye, 206.
Narakesarin, man-lion (*Vishṇu-Avâtâra*), 426.
Nartakî, a female dancer, 432.
Nâda, music, 431, 432.
Nârasimha, man-lion (*Vishṇu*), 425.
Nârâcha, an iron arrow, 445.
Nâsapuṭa, nostril, 434.
Niketana, house, 480.
Nigada, a chain, 511.
Nigal, to fall down, 514.
Niddâna, digging up weeds, 472.
Ninâda, sound, 433.
Nirâtanka, free from fear, 430.
Nirâmaya, healthy, 430.
Nirdosha, free from defects, 187.
Nirmâdayati, to wash, 482.
Niveśa, putting in of a word, 417.
Nîra, water, 434.
Nîlakaṇṭha, *Śiva*, 440.
Nîpura, anklet, 432.
Nṛghâtaka, a murderer, 439.
Nṛityagîtavâdyasîlpavidyâ, the fine arts, 299.
Pakshavyâpaka, inherent in the minor premise, 198.
Pakshîkṛita, made the subject of the minor premise, 196.
Paṅka, pond, 436.
Pañchatvaṇ gam, to die, 444.
Paṭahaghosha, public announcement by the sound of a kettledrum, 441.
Paṇyavîṭhikâ, a shop, 439.
Patita, fallen away from caste, 426 *seq.*
Padmavatî, N. of a queen, 430.
Padminîjâtî, a woman of the *Padminî* class (first of the four classes into which women are divided in Hindu erotic science), 430.
Paramâṇu, atom, 196, 460.
Paramâyus, long-lived, 430.
Parichehṭhiti, definite knowledge, 198.

Parināmavāda, theory of evolution (from Brahma), 163. (Should it not be mâyāvāda ?)
 Paribhava, insult, 432.
 Parokshatva, the being imperceptible to the senses, 199.
 Paśchāttāpa, repentance, 444.
 Pāṭava, acuteness, 202.
 Pādaghāta, a kick, 443.
 Pānaka, water-pot, 481.
 Piśuna, calumniator, 431.
 Punnāga, 499.
 Pur, fortress, 405.
 Purusha, the Person, the unchangeable divine essence, 158, 160, 161, 162, 163.
 Pushpabātuka, a gallant, 431.
 Pushpavati, N. of a town, 430, 431.
 Pṛitanā, battle, 533.
 Pṛithu, boar, 425.
 Prajñā, intelligence, 203, 209.
 Pranīta, see lūha-pranīta.
 Pratijñāmātra, a gratuitous assertion, 193.
 Prativādin, the Mīmāṃsaka, 199.
 Pṛatīhāra, janitor, 433.
 Pratyaksha, directly perceived, 187, 195, 196.
 Pratyaksha, perception, 189, 196, 198, 202.
 Pratyāṅga, (fifty-six) secondary members of the body, 458.
 Pratyāsāvidhura, suffering hopeless separation from a lover, 436.
 Pratyāsatti, proximity, 202, 206.
 Pratyuttara, answer, reply, 440.
 Prath, with vyā, 470; see āprāthayati.
 Prathā, fame, renown, 492.
 Pranashṭa, lost, 426 *seq.*
 Prābhākaraśāstra, the teaching of Prabhākara, 198.
 Pramāṇa (śat), six kinds of proof, 196, 198, 202.
 Pramātri, the knowing subject, 198.
 Pramāda, carelessness, 436.
 Pramiti-(kriyā), action of cognition, 198, 199.
 Prameyatva, cognisability, 195, 196, 198.
 Prayāsa, effort, 432.
 Pravrajita, one who has renounced the world, 426 *seq.*

Prasiddha, evidence, 187.
 Praheṇaka, a present of food, 496.
 Prahelaka, a present of food, 496.
 Prānta, border, 501.
 Praudhā, a bold woman, advanced in youth, 430.
 Pha, idle talk, 469, 513.
 Phalajñāna, knowledge obtained through the result of perception, 198, 199, 200.
 Phā (Nom. phās), idle talk, 469, 513.
 Phi, idle talk, a wicked person, 469, 513.
 Phu, idle talk, 513.
 Balāka, 431.
 Bahirantarmalakshaya, removal of external and internal dross, 187.
 Bahis, external, 187.
 Bālabhāshā, language of ordinary characters in the drama, 310.
 Bālā, a young girl, 430.
 Buddhi, intellect, 160.
 √bul, bolayati, to dip, dive, sink, 516.
 Brihaspati, teacher of the gods, 431.
 Brahman, the highest immortal, 163.
 Brāhmaṇahatyā, murder of a Brāhman, 444.
 Bhagavat, the Lord (Jina), 189.
 Bhaṭṭa, Kumārila, 199, 210, 212.
 Bharataputrāḥ, sons of Bharata, *i.e.*, actors, 305.
 Bharatādiśāstravettṛi, a knower of the science of dramatic art, 433.
 Bhalla, bear, 466.
 Bhava, N. of Śiva, 440.
 Bhavabhṛit, an ordinary person, 189; bhavabhṛitām prabhuḥ, Lord of men (Arhan), 205.
 Bhavabhṛitsāmānya, generality of mankind, 189.
 Bhavānī, wife of Śiva, 440.
 Bhavitavyatā, inevitable necessity, fate, 435.
 Bhāgāsiddham, partly improved, 198.
 Bhāva, bhāvaka, Bhavāyas (actors), 305.
 Bhāshyakāra, author of the Mīmāṃsā-bhāshya, 198.
 Bhāsa = goshṭha, 513.
 Bhishaj, physician, 299.
 Bhīma, Śiva, 440.

- Bhûmîśayana, lying on the ground, 438.
 Bhogavilâsinî, 441.
 Bhogîndra, lord of the serpents, 423.
 Bhramś with apa, 469.
 Bhrashṭa, fallen off from Brâhmanical religion, 257.
 Makaradhvaja, epithet of the god of love, 431, 435.
 Maṇḍanakara, adorning, 423.
 Mata, tenet, 206.
 Matsya, fish (Avatâra), 426.
 Madîra, wine, 202, 206.
 Madyapa, a drunkard, 442.
 Madhya, middle (voice, in music), 431.
 Mantrârthavâda, explanatory passage in the Veda, 190.
 Mandajñâna, of dull intellect, 209.
 Mandabhâgya, unfortunate, 435.
 Mandara, Mount Mandara, 196.
 Mandra, deep (voice), 431.
 Manmatha, god of love, 431.
 Martya, mortal, 533.
 Malayaja, sandal, 434.
 Mallayuddha, a pugilistic encounter, 467.
 Mastaka, head, 434.
 Mahâdeva, N. of Śiva, 440.
 Maheśa, Śiva, 431.
 Mahodaya, excellence, 187.
 Mâgadha, bard, 299.
 Mâdhavânala, N. of a sage, 431 *seqq.*
 Mâyâvin, juggler, 187.
 Mithyaikânta, heretical doctrine, 196.
 Mîna, fish, 425.
 Mîmâṃsaka, the Mîmâṃsaka (Kumârila), 204, 206.
 Mukuṭa, a crest, 471, 516.
 Muṣṭidyûta, the game of odd or even, 513.
 Mûla, foundation (of an argument), 190, 201.
 Mûlavarjita, unfounded, 190.
 Mrîṇâla, lotus-fibre, 432.
 Mrîta, dead, 533.
 Mrîḍaṅga, a drum, 433.
 Mekhalâ, girdle, 380.
 Medhâ, memory, 203, 209.
 Moksha, deliverance, 165.
 Moha, stupor, 201 *seq.*, 206.
 Mauli, top-knot of hair, 470, 516.
 √mlâ, to fade, 509 *seq.*
 Mlâna, fading, 472.
 Yajñopavîta, sacred thread, 380.
 Yavanamaya, perverted to Muhammedanism, 257.
 Yâminî, night, 436.
 Yukti, reason, 187.
 Yogyatâ, fitness, 206.
 Rajas, passion, 165.
 Rati, goddess of love, 432.
 Ratnâkara, jewel-mine, ocean, 432.
 √rad, 511.
 Rambhâ, a plantain tree, 432.
 Rambhoru, having thighs as full as a plantain tree, 438.
 Rasâyana, life elixir, 442.
 Râgâdimat, endowed with love and other passions, 187.
 √rish, to hurt, kill, 509.
 √rî, to howl, 515.
 √rî = lî, to melt, 515.
 Rudra, 440.
 √rûksh, 468.
 Rûksha, rough, 502.
 √rûsh, to adorn, 499.
 Romantha, ruminating, 473.
 √laṅg, to limp, 516.
 Laṅghana, transgressing, 209.
 Lâvanyanidhânâmûrti, the embodiment of the treasure-house of loveliness, 433.
 Liṅga, sign, 189.
 Lîlâ, grace, skill, 500.
 √lud, to adhere, 491.
 √luṇṭh, to plunder, 498.
 Lûksha, see rûksha.
 √lûsh, to adorn, 499.
 Lûha, rough, coarse, 503.
 Lûha-praṇîta, coarse and dainty food, 503.
 Lekhana, a letter, 439.
 Varâka, adulterated, impure, low, 481.
 Varjanakarî riddhiḥ, 480.
 Vartamâna, present, 206.
 Vardhra, leather, 467, 515.
 Vallabha, beloved, 431.
 Vasudeva, Śiva, 440.
 Vâchâṭa, talkative, 469, 515.
 Vâdin, the speaker (Jaina), 199.
 Vânara, monkey, 422.
 Vâmana, dwarf, 425, 426.
 Vâyana, a kind of sweetmeat, 496.

Vāyanaka, a kind of pastry, 496.
 Vāraka, a water-pot, 481 *seq.*
 Vârî, a water-pot, 481.
 Vâlukâ, sand, 442.
 Vāsava, Indra, 432.
 Vikalpa, option, 416.
 Vikalpajñāna, uncertain knowledge, 206.
 Vikāla, evening, 471, 516.
 Vikramāditya, 438 *seqq.*, 443 *seqq.*, 446.
 Viklava, agitated, 471, 515.
 Vighraha, body, 187.
 Vidyāharî, a demi-goddess, 433.
 Vinoda, diversion, 431.
 Viprakarsha, remoteness, 202, 206.
 Vibhûti, sign of glory, 187.
 Vimajjana, discussion, 478.
 Virala, thin, 515.
 Virahinî, a woman separated from her lover, 440.
 Virodha, difference, 187.
 Vilānghana, transgression, out-doing, 209.
 Vivara, a (mere) hole, 434.
 Vinâ, lute, 431.
 Viḍhra, clear, bright, 467, 515.
 Vîryāntarāya, hindrance to power, 209.
 Vṛiddhâ, an old woman, 430.
 Vṛisha, a rat, 483.
 Vṛishabhāṅka, ep. of Śiva, 440.
 Vetāla, a kind of ghost, 444.
 Veda, the Vedas, 203.
 Vedhas, Brahman, 436; Śiva, 440.
 √vell, to roll about, 470.
 Veśyâ, a courtesan, 441.
 Vaikalya, deficiency, 516.
 Vaiśvadeva, the offering to the Viśve Devas, 439.
 Vyañjanaparyāya (?), 206, 208.
 Vyatireka, negative judgment, 196.
 Vyavasthita vikalpa, an option where one course is to be followed by one class of men and the other by another, 416, 418.
 Vyākaraṇa, grammar, 203.
 Vyāmoha, delusion, 191; stupor, 206 *seq.*
 Vyāla, a thief, a snake, 471, 516.
 Vyoman, heaven, 209.
 Śakalikṛi, to reduce to chips, 475 *seq.*
 Śaṅkhinî, a particular class of women (see padminîjâtî), 430.

Śabara, Śabaravâmin, 198 *seq.*
 Śambūka, a bivalve shell, 432.
 Śâstra, Jaina scriptures, 187; sciences, 203.
 Śiva, 440.
 Śivâlāya, house of Śiva, 440.
 √śu(m)bh, to hurt, to injure, 491.
 Śṛiṅkhala, chain, 475.
 Śailūsha, actor, 299.
 Śmaśāna, cemetery, 479.
 Śmaśru, beard, 471.
 Śvetavesha, a white garment, 438.
 Saṁvara, the stopping of the Āsravas, 506.
 Saṁvedana, manifestation, 199.
 Saṁsārasāgara, the ocean of worldly life, 432.
 Saṁsārijana, ordinary mortals, 189.
 Saṁskṛitavāch, Sanskrit language, 434.
 Saṁkalikâ, chain, 473 *seqq.*
 Saṁkalikâ-chûrṇa, "shavings," 473.
 Saṁgîta, singing accompanied by music and dancing, 434.
 Sachitta, intelligent, 422.
 Sachchid-ānanda, the true, the intelligent, the happy, 161, 163.
 Sat, being, 161.
 Satālam, observing time (in dancing), 434.
 Sattva, goodness, 165.
 Satya, real, 187.
 Satyam, the true, 164.
 Sabhâ, council, 431.
 Sabhâchara, gambler (?), 299.
 Samaksha, samakshatâ, perception, 196.
 Samaya, teachings (of various schools), 187.
 Samasyâ, part of a stanza to be completed by another person, 438 *seq.*
 Samānādhikarānya, relation of cause and effect, 194.
 Samiti, the five Samitis in Jaina terminology, 504 *seqq.*
 Sambhāvvyavyabbhichâritâ, exception to the rule, 204.
 Sarvajña, omniscient being, 189, 190, 193, 201, 205.
 Sarvajñatâ, -tva, omniscience, 193, 207.
 Sarvajñasamsthiti, existence of an omniscient being, 187.

Sâmnipâtika, diseases coming from a complicated state of the three humors of the body, 460.
 Sâhajika, inborn, natural, 439.
 Sâhasânka, epithet of Vikramâditya, 441.
 Sâhitya, literary composition, 434.
 Sindûra, N. of a tree, 467.
 Sudhâ, nectar, 443.
 √sumbh, 491.
 Sûkara, boar, 425 *seq.*
 Sûkshma, minute, 187, 195, 196, 198, 203, 210, 212.
 Sûta, charioteer, 299.
 Saurabha, fragrance, 434.
 Strîloka, womankind, 442.
 Strîhatyâ, murder of a woman, 444.
 Sthavi, a weaver, 471, 514.
 Sthâ with upa, to adore, 422.
 Sthâna = pratyânga, 458.

Sthâvara, immovable things, 460.
 Sthûrin, a pack-horse, 467, 514.
 Smrita, "circumspect," 506.
 Smṛiti, 504 *seqq.*
 Srastara, a couch, 516.
 Svabhâva, one's own nature, 209.
 Svarga, heaven, 203.
 Svastha, consistent, 206.
 Svâbhâvika, natural, 209.
 Haṁsa, flamingo, 438.
 Hariṇa, antelope, 431.
 Hari-Hara, Viṣṇu and Śiva, 441.
 Hastinî, a particular class of women (see padmînjâtî), 430.
 Hindola, a swing, 472, 507.
 Himakaramauli, wearing the moon diadem, *i.e.*, Śiva, 432.
 Hiranyagarbha, 189.
 Hetu, svahetubhyah, by proper means, 187.

PÂLI.

Achchha, bear, 466.
 Achchhabhalla, wild bear, 466.
 Ajjhatta = adhyâtman, 514.
 Atthi-kamkâla, and -kamkâla, skeleton, 474, 475.
 Atthi-samkhalikâ, skeleton, 474 *seq.*
 Atthi-saṁghâtâ, ribs, 474 *seq.*
 Atthi-saṁghâtika, a heap of bones, 474.
 Addita, hurt, 489.
 Atandita, unwearied, 477.
 Atikamma, the outdoing, 348.
 Atthakathâ, story of an episode, in explanation of a gâthâ, 344 *seq.*
 Addita, hurt, 489.
 Anagâriyâ, homeless life, 347.
 Anumajjati, to touch, 478.
 Anumajjana, consideration, investigation, or handling, 478.
 Anussarati, to remember, 342.
 Anelaka, faultless, unspotted, 508.
 Appita, fastened, fixed, fitted, 489.
 Ambila = amla, 472, 509.
 Aratiratisaha, 503.
 Avakaddhati, to remove, 494 note 2.
 Avajjhyâti = ava-dhyâ, 478.

Avijjayoga, bond of ignorance, 3, note 2.
 Asita, sickle, 471, 510.
 Âkhyâna, story in mixed prose and verse, 345.
 Âmajjati, 478 *seq.*
 Âraddhaviriyo, strenuous in effort, 342.
 Ârammanam, a basic idea, 359.
 Âlârîka, a cook, 490.
 Âvajjati, to meditate, consider, 478 *seq.*
 Âvajjana, meditation, consideration, 478 *seq.*
 Âvajjana-manta, "the spell for conquering the earth," 480.
 Âvajjeti, to bend, 480.
 Âvaṭṭati parivaṭṭati, to roll about on the ground, 512.
 Âviñchhana-rajju, 486.
 Âviñjana-rajju, 486.
 Âviñjanâ, dragging, 486.
 Âvita, see âvuta.
 Âvuta, guarded, enclosed, 489.
 Âsimsâ, wish, hope, 496.
 Ikka = ikkha, bear, 466, 471, 515.

Ikkhāṇa, a fortune-teller, 471.
 Ichchhita, 467.
 Ittara, poor, 472, 515.
 Iddhimanta, gifted with the higher powers, 342.
 Illi, a woodman or hunter's knife (?), 472, 515.
 Issa, bear, 466, 483.
 Îsâ, stalk, 499.
 Ukkâmseti = ut-karshayati, 494.
 Uddeti, to lay a trap, set a snare, cast a net, 470, 493.
 Uḷumpa, a raft, 468, 490, 499.
 Udaka-tumba, "water-pot," 481.
 Udagga, high, elated, 499.
 Udda, otter, 497.
 Uddosita, stable, 471.
 Uddha for ubbha, 469.
 Uddhana, an oven, 472, 506.
 Uddhumâta, blown up, swollen, 497.
 Undura, a rat, 507.
 Upajjha = upâdhyâya, 488.
 Uposatha, a fast, 488.
 Ubbharāṇa = uddharāṇa, 508.
 Ussitta, emptied, 498.
 Elaka, a threshold, 473, 515.
 O = ava, 471.
 Okkassa, 494.
 Oddeti, see uddeti.
 Odheti = avadhâyati, 507.
 Opilâpeti from avaplu, 517.
 √kaṁs = karsh, 494.
 Kattari, scissors, shears, 509.
 Kappeti, to cut, 468, 494.
 Kammatṭhâna, subject of meditation, 364.
 Karamara, a servant or slave taken in war, 488.
 Kalyāṇamitta, precious friend, 353.
 √kass = karsh, 494.
 Kassapa, tortoise, 467.
 Kâmayoga, bond of lust, 355 note 2.
 Kujjhati, krudhyati, 514.
 Kumbhaka, a mast, 468, 513.
 Kurâra, cruel, 467.
 Kocho, mail, 471.
 Krilâpeti, causal verb from krîd, 477.
 Krilâpanaka, fem. -nikâ, playmate, 477.
 Khippâbhiñño, swift to gain insight, 342.

Khîna-vyappatha, "harsh spoken" or "defamer," 492.
 Khudâ = kshudhâ, 477.
 Gâthâ, verse, psalm, 344, 345.
 Ghamasati, 494.
 Ghammati, 495.
 Chavati = chyu, 487.
 Chullapanthaka, 476.
 Chûla, little, mean, 476.
 Cheṭa, boy, slave, 469, 500.
 Chokkha, see vokkha.
 Jamma, vile, 421.
 Jhâna, trance, 364.
 Jhâyin, practised in meditation, 342.
 Nâtapariññâ, "analytical knowledge," 365.
 Tikka, sharp, tikshṇa, 471.
 Tiranapariññâ, "discriminating knowledge," 365.
 Tumba, a mendicant's waterpot, 481.
 Thûpa, sthûpa, 480.
 Dandha, dull, 476 seq.
 Dandhati, dandhâyati, to be slow, 477 note.
 Dalidda, poor, 477.
 Ditṭhiyoga, bond of wrong views, 355 note 2.
 Dindima, a drum, 480 note 4.
 Dibbachakkhuka, having the gift of the higher insight, 342.
 Dukkham, sorrow, 348.
 Dukkhasamuppâdo, uprising of sorrow, 348.
 Dhaṅka = dhaṅkha, a crow, 498.
 Dhanita, strong; aspirated consonants, 471, 482 seq.
 Dhammakathika, preaching, 342.
 Dhunâti, to shake off, 501.
 Nigala, a chain, 511.
 Niddhâpita, expelled, put out, removed, 497.
 Nibbâpita, 497.
 Nirodhasamâpatti, "trance of cessation," 365.
 Nillachchhati, to deprive of the marks of virility, 488.
 Nisumbhati, 491.
 Pachchantavisaya, 502.
 Paṇṭa, dressed, cooked, delicate, 503 seq.
 Panta, (1) border, (2) remote, distant, 501.

Parivattati, see âvattati.
 Pahîṇa, 496.
 Paheṇaka, 496.
 Pâda-puñchhanî, a foot-towel, 486.
 Piṭeti, to press, 510.
 Puñchhati, to sweep, wipe, 486.
 Pubbenivâsa, former state of existence, 342.
 Pussaka, a big barcock, a bragger, 469, 513.
 Phâsulâ, rib, 474.
 Phâsulikâ, rib, 474.
 Baddha, leather, 467, 515.
 Babbha = vardhra, 469.
 Bâla = vyâla, 516.
 Bimbohana = bimbopadhâna, 479, 506.
 Bujjhaka = vujjhaka, fighting, 484.
 Bhavayoga, bond of, i.e., desire of future existence, 355 note 2.
 Maṁku, bad, 479.
 Majjati, to be intoxicated, 479.
 Malla-vujjha, a pugilistic encounter, 467.
 Mahâpañño, great in wisdom, 342.
 Mahâbhiññapatto, having attained to the five great gifts, 342.
 Milâyati, to fade, 480 note 2, 509.
 Mukka = mukta, released, 489.
 Mutta, see Mukka.
 Muduka = mriduka, 491 note 1.
 Moli, top-knot of hair, 470, 516.
 Rattaññu, being of great experience, 342.
 Lakkha, mark, 488.
 Lakkhanapaṇha, question regarding definitions, 521.
 Lañcha, mark, 488.
 Lîlha, grace, 500.
 Lûkha, rough, coarse, 503.
 Lûkhachîvaradhara, wearing the rough garment, 342.
 Lûha, rough, coarse (food), 502.
 Lokiya-samâdhi, worldly meditation, 364.
 Lokuttara-samâdhi, supernatural meditation, 364.
 Vagga, bewildered, 471.
 Vaddha, vaddhaka, a leather strap, 467, 515.
 Vaddhamaya, of leather, 515.
 Varâka, see vâraka.

Vâchanaka, a present, 496.
 Vâla, a snake, 471.
 Vâraka, a pot, 481.
 Viddha, bright, clear (sky), 467, 509.
 Vinayadhara, carrying on the tradition of the canon law, 342.
 Vimajjana, discussion, 478.
 Vimatichchedanapaṇha, question arising at dispelling of doubt, 521.
 Viyagga, bewildered, 471.
 Vîvatta-chchhadda, epithet of Buddha, 504.
 Vîmaṁsâ = mîmaṁsâ, 479.
 Vujjhaka, fighting, 467, 484.
 Vuṭṭhânagâminî paṭipadâ, "turn away procedure," 365.
 Vuyhati, to bear, carry, 484.
 Vekalla, deficiency, 516.
 Vedhati, to tremble, 485.
 Veluriya = vaidûrya, 490.
 Vokkha, clean, 517.
 Vyappatha, a word, fame, 470, 490.
 Sakalikâ, a splinter, or chip of wood or stone, 475.
 Saṁkalana, 476.
 Saṁkalita, 476.
 Saṁkhata = saṁskṛita, 505.
 Saṁkhalikâ, chain, 476.
 Saṁghâṭaka, frame, skeleton, 474.
 Saññâmeti, from sam + yam, 470.
 Sata = smṛita, 504.
 Sati = smṛiti, 504.
 Satipatthâna, 506.
 Satimâ, 504.
 Saddhâdhimutto, earnest in faith, 342.
 Santhara, bed, couch, 516.
 Samuñchhaka, gleaning, 468, 486.
 Samuñchhanî, a broom, 467, 486.
 Sampajânakârin, in full presence of mind, 506.
 Sam-pha, idle talk, 469, 513.
 Sammajjanî, 486.
 Sammuñjanî, a broom, 467, 486.
 Sammuti = smṛiti, 504.
 Sâkhâmiga, monkey, 421.
 Sithila, weak, 471, 482; unaspirated consonants, 483.
 Sîvathikâ, 479.
 √sumbha, 491.
 Susâna, cemetery, 479.
 Sotthi-vâchaka, 496.

PRĀKRIT.

A-ankha, without love or desire, 488.
 Aāraṇakuvia, in anger without reason, 431.
 Aī-rimpa = atilipa, 511.
 Aīsira, very cold, 436.
 Akittī, bad fame, 442.
 Akkusaī, to go, 494.
 Akkhaī, to praise, 433, 452.
 Agghavaī, to fill, satiate, 472, 508.
 Agghādaī, to fill, satiate, 472, 508.
 Agghāṇa, satisfied, 472, 508.
 Aṅga-vaddhaṇa, dropsy, 514.
 Aṅguṭṭhī, a veil, 472, 499, 508.
 Aṅgumaī, to fill, 472, 507, 508.
 Achchha, bear, 466.
 Achchhigharulla, hateful, 467, 514.
 Achchhi-vi(y)achchhī, mutual attraction, 468, 486.
 Achchhi-harulla, and -harilla, hateful, 514.
 Achchunha, very hot, 436.
 Ajjhavasā, nivāpitam mukham, 514.
 Ajjhāya = ādhyāya, 488.
 Ajjhellī, from dhā, to suck, 510.
 Añch, to drag, 468, 485 *seq.*
 Añchhāveī = ākarshayati, 485.
 Añchhia, ākrishṭa, 468, 485.
 Ada-, sub, minor, 473, 495.
 Ada-ujjhaī, to play the hero, 495.
 Ada-khammaī, to follow, look after, 495.
 Añachchhaī, to drag, 468, 485 *seq.*
 Añachchhiāra, achchhinna, 514.
 Aṇappa, khadga, 514.
 Aṇa-rāma(k)a, 514.
 Aṇa-rikka, busy, 490.
 Aṇahappanaya, anasṭa, 514.
 Aṇilla, daybreak, 508.
 Aṇualla, dawn, 508.
 Aṇudavi, dawn, 508.
 Aṇolaya, dawn, 508.
 Aṇṇaī, tripta, 514.
 Aṇṇatti = ājñapti, 510.
 Aṭi-rimpa, see aī-rimpa.
 Atthūḍa, light (asthūla), 467, 514.
 Addaṇa, and addaṇṇa, ākula, 489.
 Anuvajjaī, to follow, 495.
 Anekajjha, chañchala, 514.

Añta, a poor state, 501.
 Apaḍichchhara, stupid, 514.
 Appajjha, ātmavaśa, 514.
 Appati, to give, 435.
 Appāhaī = saṇḍiś, 492.
 Appāhiya, pointed out, shown, 492.
 Appāheī, to teach, to show, 470, 492.
 Abbhāyatta = pratyāgata, 509.
 Abbhidiya, united, joined, 480.
 Ambettī, the game of odd or even, 513.
 Ammaṇu-añchi-añ, following, 487.
 Ammaī-ā, anumārgagāminī, 514.
 Ayatañchia, apachita, māṇsala, 514.
 Arairaisaha, 503.
 Arasia, a man without taste, 433.
 Arasenīā = nose-rope ? 494.
 Alamamjula, idle, 491.
 Alampa, a cock, 468, 511.
 Allatṭa-palaṭṭa, pārśvaparivartana, 511 *seq.*
 Alli-ai, ālīyati, 470.
 Allīna pallīna, "stiff and motionless," 512.
 Ava-akkhia, nivāpitam mukham, 514.
 Ava-achchhaī, hlādate, hlādayati, 514.
 Ava-achchia, see ayatañchia, and ava-akkhia.
 Avakāsini, nose-rope of a bullock, 494.
 Avagada, vistīrṇa, 514.
 Avajjhāya for upādhyāya, 488.
 Avadāhia = utkrusṭa, 490.
 Avadīa, khinna, 470, 493.
 Avadī, to fly down, 493.
 Avanna = ava-jña, 510.
 Avattaya, unsteady, 510.
 Ava-pāsaī = passati, 492.
 Avapusia, saṅghaṭita, 486.
 Avayāna = avadāna = ākarshāṇa-rajju, 494.
 Ava-yāsaī, to embrace, 494 note 1, 509.
 Avayāsini, nose-rope (of a bullock), 494.
 Ava-rikka, busy, 490.
 Avaruṇḍana, embrace, 491.
 Avaruṇḍia, parirambha, 490 *seq.*

Avahai = rach, 507.
 Ava-hatthia, abandoned, 469.
 Avahavaï, see ohavaï.
 Avahaveï, to compassionate, 507.
 Avahâsinî, nose-rope of a bullock, 494.
 Avahea, to be pitied, 507.
 Avahei = rachayati, 507.
 Asia, sickle, 471, 510.
 Ahiddaya, tormented, 488 *seq.*
 Ahinemaï = abhiremaï, 508.
 Ahi-pachchuaï, to take, to come, 487.
 Ahipachchuiam, following, 487.
 Ahiremaï, to fill, 472.
 Ahilamkhaï, to desire, 487.
 Ahisâya, âkrânta, 514.
 Âalla, roga, 512 note 2.
 Â-igghai = âjighrâti, 515.
 Â-inchhai, karsh, 485 *seq.*
 Âkasai = âkarshati, 494.
 Â-gutthi, a veil, 472.
 -Âda, -âla, causals in, 473.
 Âmûraja, "one going to the root of the matter" (?), 514.
 Âmela, a garland, 480 note 1.
 Âmoda, matted hair, 471, 516.
 Âmoraja, viśeshajña, 514.
 Âyamchhai, karsh, 485.
 Âyajjhai, to tremble, 485.
 Âradia, crying, 469, 490, 516.
 Ârambli(k)a, a florist, 468, 513.
 Ârâdi, crying, 469, 516.
 Â-roggia, bhukta, 473, 516.
 Âlamkia, khañjikrîta, 516.
 Âlamba, an umbrella, 513.
 Âliyai = âdiyati, 470.
 Âlumkhai, to touch, 487.
 Âvi-ajjhâ, a newly married woman, 488.
 Âviya, pierced, stitched, 489.
 Âvela, a garland, 480 note 1.
 Âsamghai, to desire (âsams), 496.
 Âsamghâ, wish, 496.
 Âsâ, hope, 444.
 Âhai, to desire, 496.
 Ikkana, a thief, 471, 515.
 Inghia, ghrâta, 515.
 Ili, a kind of blade set in a stock for cutting vegetables, 515.
 Irâva, elephant, 515.
 Illa, poor, 472, 515.
 Illa, a sickle, or a hunter's knife (?), 472, 515.

-Illa, -illi, Prâkrit suffixes, 473.
 Illi, an umbrella, 515.
 Illîra, an umbrella, 515.
 Illîra, house door, 473, 515.
 Issa = îsa, stalk, 499.
 Îsa, stalk, 499.
 Îsa-a = issaka, bear, 483.
 Îsia, vaśâyita, 467.
 Uaâra, benefit, 434.
 Ukkasai = utkarshati, 494.
 Ukkusai, to go, 494.
 Ukkola, 507.
 Ukkosa, 494.
 Ukkosia, 494.
 Ukkhandaï, utkrand, 509.
 Uggahai, rach, 508.
 Ugghusai, 494.
 Ujjhamana, flight, 495.
 Udâiya-pâsa, beset with snares, 473.
 Upha, hot season, 436.
 Uttampia = khinna, 491.
 Uttammia, 491.
 Utthala patthalla, topsy-turvy, 512.
 Utthalla, 512.
 Utthallai = parivartati, 512.
 Udda, (1) jalamânusha, (2) kakua, 497.
 Uddariya, 490.
 Uddâna, oven, fire-place, 472, 506.
 Uddâliya, 490.
 Uddhachchhia, nishiddha, 469, 513.
 Uddhachchhavi, visamvâdita, 465.
 Uddharnta, blowing up, arising, 497.
 Uddhavaï, to roam at large, 469 *seq.*
 Uddhumai, to fill, 497.
 Uddhumâia, extinguished (?), 497.
 Uppâlai, see upphâlai.
 Uppâhala, longing, 492.
 Uppuniya, winnowed, 498.
 Upphâla, a wicked person, 469, 513.
 Upphâlai, to speak foolishly, 469, 513.
 Ubbhâ-a = sânta, 480.
 Ubbhâvai, ram, 469, 508.
 Ubbhâvia, surata, 470.
 Ubharala, hair, 437.
 Umbhâvia, surata, 470.
 Um-machchha, 485.
 Um-machchhai, vañchati, 485.
 Um-machchhia, rushita, âkula, 485.
 Uratta, split open, 489 *seq.*

Uru- for ud-, 473, 495.
 Uru-millai, 495.
 Urusolla, prerita, 473.
 Uru-sollai, 495.
 Uru-hûlia, 473.
 Uland, to throw up or out, 498.
 Ulu- for ud-, 473, 495.
 Ulu-uṃḍia, a demon, 473.
 Ulu-kasia, 495.
 Ulu-(g)uṃḍia, praluṭhita, 495.
 Ulu-gūḍia, a demon, 473.
 Ulu-phuṇṭia, vinipâtita, prasânta, 473, 495.
 Ulu-hulia, dissatisfied, 473.
 Ullukka, broken, 489.
 Ullundai = virich, 498.
 Ullûḍha = ud-ruḥa, 490.
 Ullûria, 490.
 Uvathatthai = samârach, 509.
 Uvathatthia = sajjita, 469.
 Uvvâ, heat, 507.
 Uvvâhalam = autsukyam, dveshyam, 492.
 Uvvuṇṇa, udvigna, 516.
 Ussikka = utkshiṭa, 498.
 Ussikkai, to loosen, to free, 498.
 Ella, poor, 472.
 O-alla, 512.
 Ojja, avoksha, clean (?), 517.
 Ojjhamana, flight, 495.
 Oddampia, 490.
 Oddâlai, 490.
 Opiya = âropita, 489.
 Opuniya, see uppuniya.
 Oppâ, polishing gems, 489.
 Oppita = arpita, 489.
 Opuniya, see uppuniya.
 Oratta, split, torn, 489 *seg.*
 Orampiya, (1) nashṭa, (2) âkrânta, 490.
 O-rumja, nâstîti bhanitagarbhâ krîdâ, 469, 510.
 Orummâi = udvâti, 480, 495.
 Olai = avalag, 516.
 Oland, see uland.
 Olundai = virich, 498.
 Ollaria, asleep, 471.
 Oviya = âropita, 489.
 Oviya, "parikarmmita," 489.
 Osadlha, thrown down, 491.
 Osumkhi(y)a, utprekshita, 468, 487.
 Osuddha, thrown down, 491.

Ohâmia, weighed, 468.
 Ohâvai = âkram, 507.
 Kakâsai, vikasati, 495.
 Kakkutta, utpâtita, utkshiṭa, 496.
 Kakkula, hot ashes, 507.
 Kânchanarehâ, Kânchanalekhâ, 437.
 √kaddh = kṛish, 494.
 Kaḍhina, hard, 437.
 Kaniḍûra = kaddura, 491.
 Kaṇṇa, karna, 435.
 Kaṇha, kṛishṇa, 435.
 Kattârî, shears, 472, 509.
 Kamdara, a pit, cavern, glen, 493.
 Kammai, to cut, 468, 494 *seg.*
 Kammavai = upabhuj, 468, 495.
 Kammiasariagam, "body of Karma," 500.
 Ka-ranijai, to break, 511.
 Karamari, a woman carried off by force, 488.
 Karavîrakusuma, Karavîra flower, 441.
 Kalimba, a dead body, 499 note 3.
 Kas = kṛish, 494.
 Kâulla, a crane, 491.
 Kâga, crow, 443.
 Kâdulla, a crane, 491.
 Kâlindî, N. of a river, 435.
 Kirmiri, see karamari.
 Kîlavana, playmate, 477.
 Ku = vi, 495.
 Kujjharîa, full, 495.
 Kundakalî, jessamine-flower, 437.
 Kummana, fading, 472, 509.
 Kuraṅganâho, prince of gazelles, 435.
 Kurukurita, 473.
 Kuruḍa, cruel, 467, 491, 514.
 Kurumâna, fading, 472, 509.
 Kuluñchaï, viluñchati, 495.
 Kus = kṛish, 494.
 Kûd or kûl, to burn, 507.
 Koilârâva, having a voice as sweet as that of a nightingale, 437.
 Ko(k)âsai, vikasati, 495.
 Kokkâsia, 495.
 Kojjharîa, full, 495.
 Khaa, destruction, 442.
 Khammai, to go, 495.
 Khala, rascal, 431.
 Khavalia, angry, 471, 515.
 Khuddai, to sport (ram), 470.

- Khuddia = surata, 508.
 Khutta, from khan, 497.
 Khumpâ, trinâdimaya, 468, 510.
 Khuha = kshudhâ, 477.
 Khûpa, see khumpa.
 Khellai, to play, 467.
 Gathita = granthita, 508.
 √ganth = granth, 508.
 Ganthita = granthita, 508.
 Gandhellî, madhumakshikâ, 513.
 Gabbhonnaa, having a flexible body, 441.
 Galai, saṅghat, 511.
 Gâya, song, 433.
 Gâhâ, gâthâ, 431 *seqq.*
 Giya, song, 434.
 Guntha, adharma-haya, 469, 513.
 Gutthamda, the bird bhâsa, 468, 513.
 Gumai, to fill, 472.
 Gumila, full, 472.
 Genthuka, a cloth tied in a knot over the breast, 509.
 Genda, see genthuka.
 Gethigumphiâ, wound up in a knot (gethi = granthi), 440, 452.
 Go-antâ, gocharanâh, 513.
 Ghamasai, 494.
 Ghara, house, 431.
 Ghasai, 494.
 Ghâsai, 494.
 Ghis, form of √ghas, 494.
 Ghunaa, worm, 433.
 Ghus, form of √ghas, 494.
 Ghusalai, 494.
 Cha-ai = chyu, 487.
 Chailla, clever (vidagdha), 436, 452.
 Chaupâsa, 494.
 Chajjai, to give up, to lose, 435, 452.
 Chandiâ, shining, 434.
 Chappayavâsanivâsa, water, *lit.* the dwelling-place of the abode of the bees, *i.e.* of the lotus, 437.
 Chaluulai, spandati, 473.
 Chimcha-ai, 500.
 Chimchai, 500.
 Chimcha-i-a, adorned, 500.
 Chimcha-ia, chaita, 500.
 Chinchillai, 473, 500.
 Chiddavia = nirmâsita, 500.
 Chilla, boy, slave, 469, 500.
 Chilliya, shining (dîpyamâna), 473.
 Chuttai, to give up, to lose, 435, 452.
 Chuluchulai, 473.
 Chuhai, to kiss, 443, 452.
 Cheda, boy, slave, 469, 500.
 Jadiya = khachita, 511.
 Janaya, father, 435.
 √jamp = jalp, 495.
 Jaya, restrained, 505.
 Jasa, fame, 440.
 Jigghia, ghrâta, 515.
 Jihâ, tongue, 440.
 √jham, to go, 495.
 Tiritillai, to roam about, 509.
 Dhamkha, a crow, 498.
 Dhamkharasesa, name of a plant (?) 498 *seqq.*
 Nimeṇa, sthâna, 481.
 Tala-aintai, to roam about, 509.
 Thagha = thaga, 512.
 √thar, 512.
 Tharakhai, 473.
 Tharatharai, to tremble, shake, 512.
 Tharaharai, see tharatharai.
 √thal, 512.
 Thaha = nilaya, 512.
 Thimpa = thippa from √trip, 495.
 √thur, 512.
 √thul, 512.
 Thulla, parivartita, 512.
 Thûna, horse, 467, 514.
 Thûbha = sthûpa, 480.
 Thûrî, a loom, 471, 514.
 Thorî, see thûrî.
 Ditthi, sight, 440.
 Dinaara, sun, 434.
 Dujjana, bad man, 432.
 Duv-vojjha, 484.
 Dûmai = dâvayati, 480 note 3.
 Dhamasâdai = Skt. much, 498.
 Dhaniyam, strongly, much, 471, 482.
 Dhaniyham, very, 482.
 Dhaniyakam for dhanitakam, 471.
 Dhamdhâ = lajjâ, 477.
 Dhanna, rich, 435.
 Dhammasila, a virtuous man, 442.
 Dhâdenti = prerayanti, 491.
 Dhunai, to remove, 500 *seqq.*
 Dhuni, sound, 437.
 Namdia, the roaring of a lion, 490.
 Navai = namati, 479.
 Navaja, freshly produced, 433, 447.
 Navata = namata, felt-cloth, 479.
 Navaneha, new love, 437.

Navasiya = namasita, 479.
 Nālaṃpia = ākrandita, 490.
 Nīāniā, digging up weeds, 472.
 Nit-tiradīa, trutita, 471, 511.
 Nit-tiradī, nirantara, 471, 511.
 Nid-dhādaviya, 491.
 Nindinī, digging up weeds, 472.
 Nibhelana, house, 481.
 Nimelana = nibhelana, 481.
 Ni-rāda, nashta, 511.
 Nirāsaa, hopeless, 444.
 Nirimka = nirikka, 515.
 Nilluñchhaī, to trample (?), 487.
 Nivahaī, (1) pish, (2) naś, 485.
 Nisuddha, thrown down, 491.
 Nisumbhaī, 491 *seq.*
 Nihelana, house, 480.
 Nī-ramjaī, to break, 511.
 Nīluñchhaī, to trample, 487.
 Nelachchha, a eunuch, 487.
 Nehā, love, 441, 444.
 Pa-alla, 512.
 Paggāī, and paṃgāī, to seize (grah),
 499.
 Pachchhātāvo, repentance, 437.
 Pachchhenaya = pātheya, 484.
 Paṭṭana, town, 431.
 Paḍi - ajjha - a = prati + upādhyāyaka,
 488.
 Paḍi-rañjia, broken, 511.
 Paḍisaī, naś, 509.
 Patthayana = pātheya, 484.
 Patthenaya = pātheya, 484.
 Paṃta = praṇīta, 500 *seq.* ; mean, poor,
 501 ; remote, out-of-the-way, 504.
 Paṃta-kula, "border family," *i.e.*
 "mean family," 502.
 Pabbālāī, (1) plāvayati, (2) chhādayati,
 517.
 Pamma, day lotus, 443.
 Payā-puñchhana, a broom, 486.
 Parahuavaniā, female of the cuckoo,
 443.
 Pari-aṭṭa-lia, parichehhinna, 509.
 Pari-aṃtaī, to embrace, 509.
 Pari-alla, 512.
 Parisaī, naś, 509.
 Palatṭa, see allatṭa-palatṭa.
 Pavi-ramjaī, to break, 511.
 Pahallaī, ghūrṇ, 512.
 Pahādemti = bhramayanti, 491.
 Pahiya, traveller, 437.

Pādi-ajjha (?), 488.
 Pālappa, vipluta, 517.
 Pāsāī = paśyati, 492.
 Pāhijja = pātheya, 484.
 Pāhejja = pātheya, 484.
 Piamānusa, beloved one, 438.
 Piāara, kindness, 443.
 Puṃsaī, to rub, 467, 486, 499.
 Puñchhaī, to rub, 486.
 Pusaī, to rub, 486.
 Pussaī, 467, 499.
 Puhavī, earth, 432.
 Pūsa, pūsaka, a parrot, 469, 513.
 Pechchhenaya = pātheya, 484.
 Peṇḍa for piṇḍa, 510.
 Peṇḍavaī, prasthā, 468, 510.
 Pemma, love, 435, 444.
 Posoṭha, a fast, 488.
 Phamsaī = phassaī = phāsaī, visamvad,
 469, 513.
 Phusaī, to rub, 486.
 Baḍabadaī, vilapati, 473.
 Bappuḍa, base, 433.
 Bibbovana, bibboyana = bimbopa-
 dhāna, 479, 506.
 Bhakkha, food, 435.
 Bhaṃgusa = maṃgusa, 480.
 Bhajjā, wife, 436.
 Bhaṇia, speech, 433.
 Bhimbhala = vihvala, 480.
 Bhuāṅga, a serpent, 437.
 Bhuru-kumḍia, 473.
 Bhuruhumḍia = uddhūlita, 473.
 Maṃsu, beard, 471.
 Maūḍī, top-knot of hair, 470, 516.
 Maṃgula, bad, nasty, 479.
 Maṃgusa = bhaṃgusa, 479, 480.
 Majjaī, to consider, 479.
 Majji(y)a = avalokitam pītam cha, 479.
 Majjhaka, barber, 485.
 Maḍavojjhā, a litter, 484.
 Mayanarāja, King Madana, the god of
 love, 436.
 Masāna, cemetery, 441.
 Massu, beard, 471.
 Māsuri, beard, 471.
 Māhammya, power, 434.
 Milāya(t)i, to fade, 509.
 Mīsālāī = viśālāī, to mix, 480.
 Mukkumḍī, a crest, 471, 516.
 Muḍumuḍa, matted hair, 471.
 Murumuḍa, matted hair, 471.

Muha-kamala, lotus-face, 437, 439.
 Muhamettam, moderation of mouth,
i.e. in regard to food, 493.
 Moda, matted hair, 471, 516.
 Yujjhaï, to fight, 484 note 2.
 Yovvana, youth, 436.
 Ramjāi, to break, 469, 511.
 √rad, to cry, 469.
 Rattakambala, a red cloth, 435.
 Ramp (?), to cut, break, 490.
 Rampai, takshnoti, 490.
 Rayani, night, 440.
 Rasavirasam, what is tasteful and not
 tasteful, 433.
 Rasâlât, 499.
 Râhamisa, flamingo, 442.
 Râulam, palace, 431.
 √râd, to cook, 490.
 Rikka, empty, 489.
 Rikka, stoka, 490.
 Rikkia, śatita, 489.
 Ritta, empty, 489.
 Rittûdia, śatita, 489.
 Rimiña, rodanaśila, 515.
 Ririta, lina, 515.
 Rukkha = lûha, 502.
 √rug, 473.
 Rumjāi = rudyati, 469, 510.
 Rumda, vipula, mukhara, 469, 510.
 Reavai = rechayati, 498.
 Reavia = kshanîkṛita, 498.
 Reyaviya, emptied, 498.
 Resi(t)a = chhinna, 509.
 Rojjha = vrîsha (?), 483. (But H. D.
 vii. 12 explains rojjha not by vrîsha,
 but by riśya, a white-footed he-
 antelope.)
 Rosâda, 499.
 Rosânai, to rub, polish, 467, 499.
 Rosâniya, polished, 499.
 Rosâla, 499.
 Rohi-a = rojjha, 484.
 √lat = lut, to roll upon the ground (?),
 511 *seq.*
 √land, 498.
 Lâlâmpia, âkrandita, 490.
 Lîlâi, 500.
 √lumd, to plunder, 498.
 Lukkha, rough, coarse, 502.
 Lumchhaï, karsh, 468, 487.
 Luha, rough, 487.
 Luhaï, karsh, 487.

Lûsai, to attack, 499.
 Lûha, rough, coarse, 502.
 Lûhiya, rubbed dry, 487.
 Vakkala, bark, 433.
 Vaggo-a, ichneumon, 479.
 Vachchaï, to deceive, 488.
 Vajja, (1) thunderbolt, (2) diamond
 437.
 Vajjai, to consider, 479.
 Vajjia = avalokita, 479.
 Vanjara, a cat, 479.
 Vadakarunâ, benevolence, 437.
 Vaddha-i-a, shoemaker, 467.
 Vappura, see bappudâ, 447.
 Vâ = mlâ, to fade, 480 note 1.
 Vâyaṇa, a present of food, 496.
 Vâyaṇaya, a present of food, 496.
 Vâyâda, a parrot, 469, 515.
 Vâri-a, a barber, 481.
 Vâvonaya, vikîrṇa, 516.
 Vâha, hunter, 435.
 Viâla, thief, 471, 516.
 Viâla, evening twilight, 471, 516.
 Vi-ûria, nashta, 490 and note 1.
 Vi-ola, âvigna, 471, 515.
 Viggova, vyâkulabhâva, 515.
 Viggovittâ = vigopya, 515.
 Vidda = vrîdâ, 513.
 Vitabhî = vitapin, 480.
 Vitavi = vitapin, 480.
 Vidûrai, 472.
 Viddamdia, nashta, 490.
 Viddûna = vrîdûna, 513.
 Vippindia = vipîdita, 468, 490, 510.
 Viyatṭa-chhauma, epithet of Arhats
 504.
 Virallaï, tan, 515.
 Virallia, vistarita, 515.
 Virikka, torn up, 489.
 Vila-ia, (1) adhijya, (2) dûna, 516.
 Vilia = vrîdita, 513.
 Vilunka, virûpa, 515.
 Vilumpia, 490.
 Villa, clear, 467, 515.
 Visa, food, 442.
 Visamia = vismṛita, 504 note.
 Vihi, destiny, 437.
 Visâlâi, to mix, 479, 480.
 Vujiha = yujiha, fighting. 495.
 √vuḍ, to sink, to be depressed, 516.
 Vunna, frightened, 516.
 Vubbhaï, to bear, to carry, 484.

Ve-aḍai, khach, 511.
 Ve-aḍia, pratyupta, 511.
 Vealla, mṛidu, 516.
 Vealla, unfitnes, deficiency, 516.
 Ve-iddha, viśamsthula, 485.
 Vedhia = veshṭita, 467, 515.
 Vedḍha-i-a, a shoemaker, 515.
 Velanaya = vṛīḍanaka, 513.
 Velulia = vaidūrya, 490.
 Vella, sport (vilāsa), 470.
 Vella, to sport (ram), 470.
 Vellia = veshṭita, 467.
 Veyadiya, joined, studded, 511.
 Vesā, vessā, courtesan, 441 *seq.*
 Vokkasai, 494.
 Vojjai = vojjaḥai, to be afraid, 485.
 Vojjha-a, fighting, 467, 484.
 Vojjha-malla, wrestling, fighting, 467, 484.
 Vojjhara, atīta, 485.
 Vobhīsaṇa, adulterated, impure, low, 481.
 Saṁrā-ia = nipishṭa, 490.
 Saṁlilā, sporting, 442.
 Saṁkala, chain, 475.
 Saṁkhaya = saṁskṛita, 505.
 Saṁkhuddai, to sport (ram), 470, 508.
 Saṁkhuddha, from saṁkshubh, 496 *seq.*
 Saṁgalai = saṁghaṭate, 511.
 Saṁghadadamsin, having a right view of matter, 505.
 Saṁghayana, body, 505.
 Saṁnattia, paritāpita, 470, 510.
 Saṁnāmai, ādriyate, 470, 510.
 Satthara, layer, bed, 516.
 Saṁtipaiṭṭhāna, 506.
 Sannāmai, see saṁnāmai.
 Sappa, serpent, 442.
 Samattadamsin, observing indifference, 503.
 Samānai, to eat, 499.
 Samārai, to purify, cleanse, 499.
 Samia, see samiya.
 Samii = samiti, "keeping the attention alive," 504 *seqq.*
 Samita, circumspect, 504 *seqq.*
 Samiti, see samii.
 Samiya = samita, or smṛita, 504 *seq.*

Samuchchhai, to sweep up, 468, 486 *seq.*
 Samuchchhaṇi, a broom, 467, 486.
 Saṁbhulla, a bad man, 513.
 Sammatta-damsin, having right distinction, 500, 503.
 Sarati = smarati, 504 note.
 Saricchha, similar to, 435.
 Saliluddhumāia, filled with water, 497.
 Savaṇa, ear, 440.
 Sahita, wise, 505.
 Sāṁgada, a float or raft, 511.
 Sāricchha, likeness, 438.
 Sāhattiya = saṁghaṭṭita, 497.
 Sāhattu = saṁhṛitya, 497.
 Sāharai = saṁharati, 497.
 Sikka = sita, 489.
 Simda = moṭita, 492.
 Sitta = sikka, 489.
 Siddha, paripāṭita, 492.
 Simdola, N. of a tree, 467.
 Sippai = sippai = siṅchati, 495.
 Silippa = śilpa, 499.
 Silimba, see silippa.
 Siha, to desire, 496.
 Sīṇaya, a cemetery, 479.
 Sīvaṇaka, a cemetery, 479.
 Suana, good man, 432.
 Sukkha, dry, 433.
 Sunṇa, empty, 439.
 Sunḥasia, svapnaśīla, 510.
 Sumarati = smarati, 504 note.
 Sumāna, a cemetery, 479, note 2.
 Suraya, pleasure of love, 433, 436.
 Susāna, a cemetery, 479.
 Suhaphamsa, 469.
 Sökkha, pleasure, 435.
 Somaia, svapnaśīla, 510.
 Somāna, a cemetery, 479 note 2.
 Sovana, sleep, 510.
 Sosana, cemetery, 479.
 Hakkoddha = saṁkhuddha, 496 *seq.*
 Haṇja-a = saṁjaka, 496.
 Hana, to hear (śṛinoti), 496.
 Hammai, to go, 495.
 Hali-āra = haritāla, 490.
 Hallappa = sallāpa, 496.
 Hiaa, heart, 436, 437.

BENGALI.

Thur(a) thurite, 512.

| Bhetite, to meet, 480.

HINDI.

Anṭhalânâ, to swagger, 512 note 3.

Āghanâ, 508.

Uñchâ, high, 499.

Uthal(a) pathal(a), topsy-turvy, 512.

Uthalnâ pathalnâ, to be overturned, 512.

Ulat(a) pulat(a), topsy-turvy, 512.

Ulatnâ palatnâ, to overturn, 512.

Ularñâ, to lie down, take seats, 471.

Ulárnâ, to cause to sleep, 471.

Ulâhnâ, to reprove, 490.

Ulichñâ, to bale out, 498.

Ūbha, excessive heat, 507.

Ūbhnâ, to be oppressed with heat, 507.

Opa, polish, 489.

Opnâ, to polish, 489.

Kasnâ, to tie, 494.

Kumbhilânî, fading, 472, 509.

Kumbhilânâ, to fade, 472, 509.

Kumhlâî, fading, 509.

Kumhlânâ, to fade, 472, 509.

Gaṭṭhâ, bundle, 508 note.

Gaṭhânâ, to tie, 508 note.

Gaṭhnâ, to be tied, 508 note.

Ghasnâ, to rob, 494.

Ghusâ, a blow, 494.

Chîra, a crack, 500.

Thal(a) thalnâ, to tremble, shake, 512.

Thânga, a den of thieves, 512.

Pâsolî, rib, 474.

Phas, sound, noise, 469.

Phus, sound, noise, 513.

Bojha, a load, 484.

Miṭnâ, to be effaced, 480 note 2, 509.

Meṭnâ, to efface, 480 note 2, 509.

Raṭnâ, to call out, 469, 516.

Râḍî, see râî.

Râî, a wrangler, 516.

Rojh, white deer, 484.

Lamga, limping, 516.

Luṭnâ, to be plundered, 498.

Loṭnâ poṭnâ, to turn over and over, 512.

Sathara, a mattress, 516.

Sâmpa, snake, 468.

Hiṇḍulâ, a swing, cradle, 507.

Hindolâ, see hiṇḍulâ.

MARĀTHĪ.

Amchavana = âchamana, 479.

Ada, half, 495.

Ada-kâma, a subordinate work, 495.

Ada-khal-neṁ, to stumble, falter, 495.

Ada-jûna, half-worn, 495.

Addana = âdâna, 472.

Anthar-neṁ, to scatter, 472, 507.

Amdana = âdâna, 507.

Andhala-pangala, a blind and lame man, 101.

Abhang, a certain metre, 285, 295.

A-rad-neṁ, to cry out, 469, 516.

Ardoshi-pardoshi, neighbours collectively, 101.

Asa-val, bear, 466.

Ândul-neṁ, to swing, 472.

Ândolana, a swing, 472.

Âran-neṁ, to crow, 511.

Â-ravñî, cock-crowing, 468, 511.

Ârav-neṁ, to crow, 468, 511.

Âroгна, eating, 473, 516.

Îlâ, a curved instrument for cutting grass, 472, 515.

Îlî, a kind of blade set in a stock for cutting vegetables, 472.

Iral-neṁ, a sort of screen used in rainy weather, 515.

Uḍ-neṁ, to fly, 470, 493.

- Udviṇem, to scatter, waste, 470, 493.
 Uthalṇem, to upset, 512.
 Udhal, bestrew, 498.
 Undîra, a rat, 472.
 Upanṇem, to winnow, 498.
 Ubṇem, to swelter, 507.
 Ulatṇem, to turn over, to upset, 512.
 Usapṇem, to bale out, 498.
 Ūba, heat, 507.
 Odhavṇem, to drive, tend, 507.
 Onavṇem, to stoop, 479.
 Opa, polish, 489.
 Op-ṇem, to polish, 489.
 Orap-ṇem, to strip off, scrape, scratch, 490.
 Ov-ṇem, to stitch, 489.
 Kasanî, a tie, 494.
 Kasṇem, to bind tightly, 494.
 Kâmsava, tortoise, 467.
 Kâp-ṇem, to cut, 494.
 Kâsara, bullock-rein, 494.
 Kumpa, well, 499 note 2.
 Kumbhâ, a bush, 468, 510.
 Kûmba, a well, 468.
 Ghasal-ṇem, 494.
 Ghâmsṇem, 494.
 Ghâsṇem, 494.
 Châchar-ṇem, to reel, stagger, 500.
 Chîla, a sudden spurting forth, 500.
 Chîrakṇem, to rend with a sound, 500.
 Jat-pat, quickly, 101.
 Taratara, in a rapid manner, 509.
 Tumbadî, "a mendicant's bowl," 481.
 Tumbâ, "a bowl or vessel made of the white gourd," 481.
 Thar(a)tharṇem, to tremble, shake, 512.
 Thânga, spot, place, 512.
 Dagad-gigad, a stone, 101.
 Dâvana, a rope, 494.
 Durḍumîta, filled out, distended, 497.
 Durḍumṇem, "to swell, storm, rage," 480 note 3.
 Dhandranṇem, to befool, 477.
 Dhandryâ, a blunderer, 477.
 Dhâsalṇem, to give way, 498.
 Padri-widri, a missionary, 101.
 Pâh-ṇem, to look, 492.
 Puṭa, see laṭa.
 Pus-ṇem, to rub, 486.
 Phas-kâ, worthless, 469.
 Phasphasṇem, to fizz, 513.
 Phasviṇem, to cheat, 469, 513.
 Phassa, spitting, hissing, 513.
 Phâsâviṇem, to cheat, 513.
 Phâsolî, rib, 474.
 Phâsviṇem, to cheat, 469.
 Phasârî, bragging, 469, 513.
 Phuskâ, hollow, worthless, 513.
 Phusphus, spitting, hissing, 513.
 Phuslâviṇem, to brag, to cajole, 469, 513.
 Bandhuk-enduk, a gun, 101.
 Boja, a load, 484.
 Bhidṇem, to come into contact, 480.
 Bhisalṇem = misalṇem, 480.
 Mâlavṇem = mlâpayati, 509.
 Miṭṇem, to subside, 509.
 Misalṇem = bhisalṇem, 480.
 Rad-ṇem, to cry, bewail, 469, 516.
 Râdh-ṇem, to cook, 490.
 Rîsa, bear, 466, 483.
 Lagbag, close by, 101.
 Lamgâda, lame, 516.
 Lamgadṇem, to limp, halt, 516.
 Laṭ(a) puṭ(a), wild, overflowing, 512.
 Lâvanî, lovesong, 283.
 Lîlâ, grace, 500.
 Luṭṇem, to plunder, strip, 498.
 Vanṅula, bad, nasty, 479.
 Vâvanṇem, to fade, 509.
 Viṭṇem = mitṇem, 509.
 Viranṅulâ, play, 491.
 Viranṅul-ṇem, to be idle, 491.
 Vesana, nose-bridle (of a bullock), 494.
 Samkâla, chain, 475.
 Sâmgadṇem, to join, unite, 511.
 Sâmgâdâ, skeleton, frame, 474.
 Hindulâ, and hindolâ, a swinging cradle, 507.
 Hindolṇem, joy, swing, 507.

PUNJABI.

Limma = limba = lippa from √lip, 495.

SINHALESE.

- Aṭa-wanawâ, to set a trap, 470, 493.
 Amunanawâ, to string, thread, 479.
 Aramba, a grove, 468.
 Awunanawâ, to string, thread, 479
 note.
 Âmañjana, meditating, 479.
 Ârâmba, a grove, 513.
 Âvajjana, thought, reflection, 479.
 Æta-sœkilla, "skeleton," 474.
 Ihinawâ, to bale out, scatter, 498
 note 1.
 Utṭa-wanawâ, see ata-wanawâ.
 Uda, above, upper, 495.
 Udaṅga, height, 499.
 Udgalu, the upper hill, 495.
 Udaṅgu, proud, haughty, 499.
 Uduna, uddun, 506.
 Ullawanawâ, see aṭa-wanawâ.
 Opa-naganawâ, to polish, 489.
 Opaya, polish, 489.
 Opawû, smooth, 489.
 Kap-anawâ, to cut, 494.
 Kumba, a well, 468, 490, 499.
 Gaha-nawâ, to strike, beat, 494.
 Gœtaya, a knot, 509.
 Gœta-lanawâ, to tie with a knot, 509.
 Tola from tunda, 491.
 Daṇḍu, wood, 491.
 Pânawâ, to show, display, 470, 492.
 Pisanawâ = pusanawâ, 486.
 Polaṅgâ, a terrible venomous snake,
 499.
 Mœlawenawâ, to wither, 509.
 Musnâ, broom, 467, 486.
 Melek, see molok.
 Molok = mṛiduka, 490 note 1.
 Wal, wild, 484 note 1.
 Walaha, a wild bear, 466, 484 note 1.
 Walûrâ, hogs, 484 note 1.
 Wêlenawâ, to wither, 509.
 Salaya, boy, slave, 469, 500.
 Sumhaṇu, to sleep, 510.
 Sona, cemetery, 479.
 Sohona, cemetery, 479.

OLD PERSIAN.

- Aniyashchiy, 534.
 Artâ-, true, pure, 533.
 Artakhshatrâ, 530, 531, 532.
 Atrîna, 530, 532.
 Atriyâd'îya, 530.
 Avashchiy, 534.
 Bâkhtrish = bactria, 531.
 Chishchiy, 534.
 Chitṛâparna = Tissaphernes, 532.
 Chitṛâtakhma, 530, 532.
 Frâishayam, 535.
 Fravartî, 533.
 Gausha, 535.
 Hamitṛiya, 530, 532.
 Hashiya, 534.
 Khshapa, 535.
 Khshatrâ, 530, 535.
 Khshatrâpâvan, 530, 531.
 Marshiyu, 534.
 Martiya, man, 533.
 Mithra, 532.
 Niyashâdayam, 535.
 Niyatrârayam, 530, 532.
 Partanâ(?), battle, 533.
 Patiakhshaiy, 535.
 Pitṛa, 530.
 Putṛa, 530, 532.
 Shaiy, 535.
 Shiyâtî, 534.
 Shiyu, 534.
 Tṛ, the old-Persian letter, 530 *seqq.*
 Tṛitiya, 530, 532.
 Usha = ushtra, 532.
 Uvâipashiya, 534.
 Uvakhshatara = Κυαξάτης, 531, 532.
 Uvâmarshiyu, 534.

ZEND.

- Aiwyâkhšayêinti, 535.
 Ameša, immortal, 533.
 Anyat-chit, 534.
 -Âre, -âresh, verbal endings, 537 *seq.*
 Aša, ašavan, true, pure, 533.
 Aša-vahishta, 533.
 Ašemaogha, 533.
 Ašish-vañuhi, 533.
 Ašo, 534.
 Avat-chit, 534.
 Bâšar, 533, 534.
 Chit-chit, 534.
 Dašina, 534.
 Fračšyêiti, 535.
 Fravaši, 533.
 Fshtâna = stana, 539.
 Gaoša, 535.
 Haithya, 534.
 Hamistô, 532.
 Haša, hašê, 534.
 Kaša, 534.
 Khšapan, 535.
 Khšathra, 535.
 Mašya, man, 533.
 Merethyu, 534.
 Meša, dead, 533.
 Nišâdhayat, 535.
 Pešana, battle, 533.
 Pešu, ford, 533.
 Qaêpaithya, 534.
 Qâša, qâšaya, 533.
 Qâšar, 533, 534.
 R, 535 *seq.*
 Š, the sound š in Avesta, 533 *seq.*
 Šâiti, 534.
 Saoshkyâs, 534.
 Šê, 535.
 Shkiti, 534.
 Šiti, 534.
 Šôithra, 534.
 Šu, 534.
 Šudha, 534.
 Tâšyâo, 534.
 Vara, 538 *seq.*
 Varena, 539.
 Varshkyamna, 534.

II.—GENERAL INDEX.

- ABEGHEAN, M., 546 *seq.*
 Abhang, Marathi verses in A. metre,
 285, 295.
 Abhijit day, 381.
 Abhinava-Dharmabhûshana, 208 note.
 Abhira, language of the, 101.
 Abhisheka, see installation.
 Accadians, 23, 24.
 Achalzik dialect (Armenian), 545.
 Âchâra, rules of conduct, 254.
 Achiravatî, river mentioned in the
 Milindapañho, 525 *seq.*
 Achundow, A., 454 *seq.*
 Achwerdoff, 544.
 Acworth, H. A., Marathi scholar, 298,
 301.
 Aden, 94, 95, 123.
 Âdi-Bharata, 299.
 Âdipurâna, 213.
 Aditi, 381; the original character of
 A., 396-410; etymology of A., 396
 seq., 409 *seq.*; Dyaus-Aditi, 403
 seqq., 407; Aditi-Daksha, 404 *seq.*
 Âdityas, 396, 403 *seqq.*, 408, 464.
 Adoption, laxity of Hindu priests with
 regard to, 275 note 2.
 Adultery, punishment for, 264.
 Adwaita sect, 157.
 Afghanistan, 87, 121, 122.
 Âgama, Jaina Scripture, 200 *seq.*, 211,
 212.
 Âgâmi Karma, 172.
 Agglutination, 91.
 Agglutinative languages, 91.
 Agni, 129, 161, 353, 406, 463.
 Agoulis dialect (Armenian), 545.
 Âgrahâyani, 377, 378, 379.
 Ahirâni dialect, 101.
 Ahîrs, 385.
 Ahôm of Upper Assam, 119.
 Ahura Mazdâ, 398, 408.
 Ahurâni, 398 *seq.*, 400 *seq.*, 403, 408.
 Aitôns, 120.
 Aiwyaonghana of the Parsees, 380.
 Ajâtaśatru, 170.
 Âjñâpatra, rescript, 255.
 Aka tribe, 115.
 Akalanikadeva, Jaina author, 186 *seq.*,
 189, 197 note, 200 *seq.*, 202, 205,
 209, 211 *seqq.*
 Akbar, 306.
 Âkhyâna, for Nâṭaka, 310, 311, 313.
 Akrûra, 322.
 Alâ-ud-dîn, 285.
 Alandî, village north of Poona, 284,
 286.
 Âlâra Kâlama, 364.
 Al Beruni, 226, 227, 232.
 Alexander the Great, 31, 32, 139.
 Alexandria, centre of gravitation of
 the ancient world, 33.
 Alexandrian period, 31.
 Alexandrian, Gêorg Têr, collector of
 Armenian folklore, 544.
 Aligarh, college at, 62.
 Alishan, Father Ghevond, 547.
 Allawertian, Yakob Y., 545.
 Alphabets: Arabic, 20, 109; Armenian,
 543; Aryan, 132; Burmese, 118;
 Chinese, 23; Cuneiform, 22, 23, 24,
 530, 548; Cypriote, 22; Dravidian,
 108; Egyptian, 21, 22, 23, 24 note;
 Greek, 20; Indian, 20, 29; Phen-
 ician, 20, 22; Scytho-Greek, 235,
 238, 242 *seq.*; Uriya, 103; Vannic,
 548; Vengi, 375.
 Amalananda, 423 *seqq.*
 Ambâ Bhavânî, goddess, 307.
 Amenophis III., King of Egypt, 25.
 Amherst, dialect spoken in, 119.
 Amitagati, Jaina author, 425.
 Amoghavarsha I., 213.

- Amrita, 399.
 Anâgâmin, one who is not re-born, 350.
 Anam, 94, 119.
 Ananda, author of the Mâdhavânala-Kathâ, 447.
 Ânanda, Buddhist friar, 346.
 Ânanda Raghunandana, 302.
 Anant Chaturdasi, 149.
 Anatomy of the Hindus, 457 *seq.*
 Ancestor worship, 149, 177, 178 *seq.*
 Andhrabhritya inscriptions, 328.
 Angâmi Nâgas, 116.
 Ânguttara Nikâya, 341 *seq.*
 Animal sacrifices, 131, 132, 139, 161, 181.
 Anoarathâ of Pugan, 373, 374.
 Anopamâ, 349 *seq.*
 Anukramanikâdhanûdhû, 411.
 Anukramanîs, 418 *seq.*
 Anuraddhâ, see Anoarathâ.
 Anurâdhapura, 363.
 Anuvâkânukramanî, 412.
 d'Anville, 366, 367, 368.
 Âo Nâgas, 116.
 Apabhransha, 101, 318.
 Apabhrashâ Girâ, 322.
 Âpadâna, Vitae Sanctorum, 345, 352.
 Âpastamba Brâhmans, 258; Âpastamba Sûtra, 419.
 Âppâ, Chimâjî, 275.
 Appanâ, the higher grade of Loka-Samâdhi, 364.
 Âptamîmânsâ, see Devâgamastotra.
 Âptamîmânsâlanakṛiti, 188 note 11, 189.
 Âptaparîkshâ of Vidyânanda, 195, 196, 198, 203 note, 211.
 Arabian travellers, 366 *seq.*
 Arabic, spoken in Aden, 94, 123.
 Aracan, city of, 370.
 Arahât, 348, 349, 352, 354, 359, 361.
 Arahâtship, 346, 350, 354, 355.
 Architecture in India, 221, 245 *seqq.*
 Ardvî Sûtra Anâhita, 398 *seq.*
 Arhan, omniscience of, 187, 188 *seq.*, 194, 196, 200 *seq.*, 202, 205, 208 *seqq.*, 211 *seq.*; worship of A., 219.
 Armenia, home of the Semites, 12.
 Armenian alphabet, 24; language in parts of India, 122; on the progress of A. studies, 540-553; philological importance of A., 541-547; literary and popular forms of A., 542 *seq.*; A. Bible translation, 543; A. folklore, 544, 546 *seq.*; A. popular epic, 546; proposals of an A. Dialect and Folklore Society, 547, 551 *seq.*; A. archæology and literature, 547 *seqq.*; A. Text Society, 548; A. versions of Greek and Syriac writers, 549; importance of A. literature for theology, 548 *seq.*; A. MSS., 550.
 Arrakan, 105, 117, 118.
 Arrakanese, 118.
 Artaxerxes, 533.
 Âryâ metre, 304.
 Aryan; home of the Aryans in the East, 11, 12, 128; Aryans and Semites, 12, 15, 20; date of A. separation, 12 *seqq.*; A. civilisation, 16; A. mythology, 19, 398, 400 *seqq.*, 407 *seq.*; A. immigration in India, 84 *seqq.*, 129; disintegration of the A. language in India, 86 *seq.*; intercourse of the Aryans with the black race of Southern India, 88; A. languages in India, 92, 95 *seqq.*; reading and writing known to the Aryans (!), 132; A. calendar, 382; the mutual relations between the A. languages and peoples, 554-556; origin and cradle-land of the Aryans, 557-559; Armenian an A. language, 541 *seq.*
 Arya Somaj, 142, 156.
 Asâita, 305.
 Asarh, Hindu festival in the month of, 149.
 Ascoli, Graziadio, on Aryan languages and peoples, 554-556.
 Ashtâṅgahridaya, 455.
 Ashta Pradhâna, "eight ministers," 254.
 Ashtasahasrî, 188 notes, 189, 196, 197 notes, 210 note, 211 *seqq.*
 Ashtâsatî, commentary on Devâgamastotra, 187, 188 notes, 189, 201, 211.
 Asia, home of the Âryas, 11, 12, 558; home of the Semites, 12; Western Asia and Egypt, 26.
 Asia Minor, 8, 541.
 Asoka, no evidence of writing before,

- 29; Buddhist council under A., 30; Asoka inscriptions, 108, 328; A.'s temple at Mahâbodhi, 246, 250; A.'s son Mahinda, 363; A.'s capital of Pataliputra, 384-387; A. image, 386; Milindapañho a century after A., 518.
- Asoka-balla, 241.
- Assam, 85, 90, 93, 94, 99, 105, 109, 110, 112, 114, 115, 116, 120; Upper Assam, 119.
- Assamese, 105.
- Astrology in modern India, 141 *seq.*
- Astronomical facts, and the antiquity of the Veda, 376 *seqq.*, 382 *seq.*
- Astronomy, Chinese and Indian, 28.
- Asura, 129; gods and Asuras, 158.
- Âsvaghosha, 394 *seq.*
- Âśvalâyana; the relations between the Sûtras of Â. and S'ânkhâyana, 411-420; Â. Gṛihya Kârikâ, 413 *seq.*; Â. Gṛihya Sûtra, 413, 414 *seqq.*; Â. Śrauta Sûtra, 415.
- Âśvina, ancestral worship in the month of, 142; year begins with Â., 429.
- Âśvinî, lunar mansion, 382.
- Âśvinî râj, 401, 407.
- Âśvins, 401.
- Atharva-Veda, 130; VI, 120, 3, 402.
- Âtma, 152, 157 *seqq.*, 171, 172, 177; Vishṇu is A., 152; nature of A., 157, *seqq.*; A. is God, 159; how the A. is known, 160 *seq.*; A. is one and the same for all, 170.
- Âtmanepada, use of the, 422.
- Aufrecht, Prof. Th., 215 *seq.*
- Auktika "grammar," 317.
- Aurangzeb, 267, 306.
- Avachûris, 216.
- Avatâras, see Incarnations.
- Avesta, Ahurânî and Ahura Mazda in the, 398 *seq.*, 400, 408; Puramdhi in the A., 406; the sound ś in the A., 533 *seqq.*; r in the A., 535 *seq.*; forms in *are* and *aresh* in the A., 537 *seq.*; the *pluralis majestaticus* in the A., 538 *seq.*
- Avitakka sphere (Buddhist term), 355.
- Avyakta, 160, 161.
- Âyâgapaṭa, "tablet of homage," 219.
- Ayana, passage of the sun, 378.
- Âyâraṅga-sutta, passage from the, 500 *seqq.*
- Aymonier, 40.
- Ayodhya, 147, 148.
- Âyupâla, 527, 529.
- BABYLON, 18, 19, 24, 27; B. astronomy, 28.
- Bactria, Buddhist friars in, 31.
- Badaga tribe, 107.
- Bâdshâh, B. R., on divine incarnations, 128 *seqq.*
- Bâghéli dialect, 95.
- Bâgri dialect, 97.
- Bahmana (a town), 234, 238.
- Bâhmanwâsi, 238.
- Bahucharâji, 307.
- Baiga tribe, 111.
- Baijnâth, Lala, on modern Hindu religion and philosophy, 141 *seqq.*
- Baines, J. A., on the Language Census of India, 80 *seqq.*
- Baisakh, month of, sacred for gifts to the Brâhmins, 142; festival in B., 148.
- Baiswâri dialect, 95.
- Bakharas, Maratha chronicles, 252, 282, 297, 302.
- Bâla Bhâshâ, 310, 311.
- Bâlâditya, King of Magadha, 225, 229, 232.
- Bâlâjî Bâjîrâo, 255 *seq.*, 258, 270; his marriage with a Mussalman woman, 258 *seq.*, 273.
- Balarâma, 425.
- Bali, a king, 136, 149, 447.
- Ballads, Marâthî, 283.
- Balôch, 110, 122.
- Balochistan, 110.
- Baltistan, language of, 89.
- Bâṇa, 213, 304, 320, 325.
- Banjatra, 144.
- Barâbar, cave temples in, 221.
- Bara Pahâri, 386.
- Barhut sculptures, 387.
- Baroda, 99, 102.
- Barth, 40.
- Barxoudareanc, Vardau, 544.
- Bâshkala Sâkhâ, 411-420; B. Sâh-hitâ, 412, 414.
- Baudhâyana, 419.
- Baumgartner, A., 550.

- Bāvā, 306.
 Bāyābāi, Patwardhan's daughter, 276.
 Behar, see Bihar.
 Benares, Sanskrit department of the college at, 52, 64, 65; Anglo-Sanskrit department, 65; Brahmins teaching Sanskrit in B., 65; Rama worship in B., 148; Sivaratri festival in B., 150; Brahmin students in B., 153; Pandits of B., 262.
 Benfey, 12, 16, 17.
 Bengal, colleges in, 62; the languages and the races of B., 104, 105, 114, 115, 119, 121, 122; Kolarian languages in Western B., 92; Hindi spoken in South-West Bengal, 96; Thibetan spoken in B. Himalaya, 113; black races of Lower B., 110; Santhals in B., 110; Chútia Nagpúr division of B., 111; Royal Asiatic Society of B., 298.
 Bengali, 96, 104 *seq.*, 115, 117, 324; B. drama, 301.
 Berar, 99, 102, 108, 111.
 Bergaigne, 40, 396, 397, 398, 407.
 Bezold, 26.
 Bghái dialect, 121.
 Bhaddâ Kachchânâ, 342.
 Bhaddâ Kapilânî, 342.
 Bhaddâ Kuṇḍalakesâ, 342.
 Bhadra, see Bhâdrapada.
 Bhâdrapada, festival in the month of, 149; dark half of Bh. the fortnight of the manes, 378; Kalachuri era not beginning with Bh., 428 *seq.*
 Bhadun, Gavesh Chaturthi festival in the month of, 149.
 Bhagavat, god, 162.
 Bhagavat-Gita, 157, 158, 164, 165, 168; on Karma, 172; Marâṭhi paraphrase of Bh., 285, 288, 289, 294.
 Bhâgavata Purâṇa, 145 *seq.*, 153, 261.
 Bhagirath, king of the solar race, 149.
 Bhairava, god of the mantras, 142, 153.
 Bhakti, faith, 145.
 Bhâlana, 303, 320, 323, 325, 330.
 Bhâmatî of Vâchaspatimiśra, 424.
 Bhamini Vilas, 152.
 Bhândârkar, R. G., 76, 299, 300, 316, 330, 411 *seqq.*, 421 *seqq.*
 Bhânu Gupta, 228.
 Bhânu Nâtha Jhâ, 302.
 Bharanî, the constellation, 382.
 Bharat, step-brother of Rama, 137.
 Bharata, author of the Nâṭya Sâstra, 299, 300, 305.
 Bhârgavadatta, 454.
 Bhartrihari, 186, 213 *seq.*
 Bhâsa Kavi, 300.
 Bhâsarvajña, author of Nyâyasâra, 424.
 Bhâskarâchârya, 330.
 Bhaskaranand Saraswati, "Yatindra," 167 *seq.*
 Bhaṭṭa, 200.
 Bhâva, title of the Sûtradhâra, 305.
 Bhavabhûti, 303.
 Bhavâi Sangraha, 307.
 Bhavâis (plays), 305, 307, 311, 312.
 Bhâvaprakâśa, 460.
 Bhâvârth-dîpikâ, 285.
 Bhavâyâs, a professional class of actors, 304, 305, 306, 307.
 Bhawalpur, 98.
 Bhikkhunî, Buddhist nun, 348.
 Bhikna Kuṇwar, 385.
 Bhikna Pahâri, 385.
 Bhikshukas (Brâhmans), 274.
 Bhîl dialect, 111.
 Bhîma-Kavi, 320, 323, 325, 330.
 Bhinjwa, see Baiga.
 Bhishma, 151.
 Bhitari inscription, 222.
 Bhojâ Bhakta, 306.
 Bhoja of Dhârâ, 424.
 Bhoja Râjâ, commentator of the Yoga Sûtras, 292.
 Bhojpûri dialect, 95.
 Bhotân, 113, 114.
 Bhotâni language, 113 *seq.*
 Bhûminandana, "delight of the earth," ep. of Maṅgala, 463.
 Bhúnjia, see Baiga.
 Bihâr, dialects spoken in, 95, 96, 97; the drama in B., 302; B. deserted, 385.
 Bimbisâra, 349, 351.
 Birth, ceremonies at, 178.
 Bithal, see Viṭhoba.
 Black races, 557 *seq.*
 Bode, Mabel, 341 *seqq.*
 Bodhi tree, 245, 246.
 Bodo dialect, 114.

- Bombay, Sanskrit College at, 53; B. Sanskrit Series, 76; dialects spoken in B. and B. Presidency, 99, 122, 123, 124; B. Karnatic, 108; Literary Society of B., 252; B. Branch of the R.A.S., 252 *seq.*, 282.
- Bopdeva, 145.
- Bopp, 16, 17, 35.
- Borishka, families in the Punjab, 98.
- Bower MS., 455.
- Bradke, 403 *seq.*
- Brahma-Mâyâ, 407.
- Brahman, the god, 130, 146, 402; the highest immortal, 161, 162, 163, 164, 172; B. in the Zodiacal signs, 381.
- Brâhmaṇas, 129, 131, 382 *seq.*
- Brahmaṇaspati, 402, 463.
- Brahman Chach, 233, 241 *seq.*, 243 *seq.*
- Brahmanemidatta, 213.
- Brahmans, the white caste, 29; B. title of honour in Buddhism, 31; Brahminical education, 48, 49; B. learning, 50; Brahmans refuse instruction to the lower castes, 86; B. and Buddhism, 87; B. in Southern India, 88; Brahmanical honours claimed by Saurashtri priests, 100; Brahmans of Western India, 101; B. invasion in Manipur, 117; B. and animal sacrifice, 132, 139; B. protectors of the Veda, 136; B. as astrologers, 141 *seq.*, 179, 180; worship of B., 142 *seq.*; gifts to B., 142 *seq.*, 149; B. as readers, 152 *seq.*; B. students maintained, 153; B. only entitled to Moksha, 168, 170; Jainas and Buddhists borrow from the B., 221; B. patronised by Mihirgul, 230; B. ministers of Marâthâ kings, 255; B. and Prabhus, 256 *seq.*, 262 *seq.*; B. excommunicated, 257; dispute between Yajurvedî and Apastamba B., 258; B. opposed to marriage with Mussalman women, 258 *seq.*; B. and Sûdras are the only castes, 261; B. and Mussalmen, 263; B. not put to death, 263 note 4, 435; no mean employment given to B., 266; B. Peshwas, 260, 268, 270 note 4; B. warriors, 268, 269; B. politicians, 269 *seq.*; B. eat with non-B., 271; "fish-eating B.," 271 note 2; ignorance of B., 274; Bhavâyâs originally B., 306; B. perform plays, 307; B. learning in Gujerat, 318; Buddhaghosa a B., 362; B. order human sacrifices, 371; B. of the Âśvalâyana Sâkhâ, 419.
- Brâhmapûtra valley, 84, 91, 115.
- Brahma Vidyâ, 171.
- Brahmayajña, 418.
- Brahmo Somaj, 156.
- Brahui, 92, 110.
- Brajbâsi-dâsa, 302.
- Bréal, 403.
- Brihaspati, 463.
- Brihat Kâvyadohanas, 323.
- Brinjâras, 93, 112.
- Buddha, 29, 32, 132, 523 *seqq.*, 527 *seq.*; B. a god, 33, 139, 426; worship of B. in Burma, 178; B. and other teachers, 188, 193, 194, 195; tooth of B., 182; B. under the Bodhi tree, 245; footsteps of B., 247, 386; marks of perfection of B., 248, 251; biography of B., 345; B. and the nuns, 346, 350, 356; B. works miracles, 351 *seq.*, 358; B. on the Niganthas, 478; B. cannot be born in an obscure family, 502.
- Buddha-Avatar (Buddha-god), 139, 425 *seq.*
- Buddha-charita, 394 *seq.*
- Buddhaghosa, 341, 343, 345, 362-365.
- Buddhapaksha, Raja of Benares, 225.
- Buddhism and Brahmanism, 30, 87, 134; B. in China, 30; B. and the Upanishads, 155; B. in Burma, 174 *seq.*, 177, 178, 181; consolations of B., 354; doctrines of B. discussed in the Milindapañho, 518.
- Buddhist monuments, 33, 220, 221, 250; B. sculpture, 246, 386 *seq.*; B. influence in Burmese festivals, 180; B. literature, 288; B. canon, 344 *seq.*, 362, 503; B. features in the neighbourhood of Patna, 385; Northern B. texts, 503; B. Sanskrit, 473 *seqq.*
- Buddhists persecuted by the Hûnas, 225, 230, 237; B. addicted to

- symbolism, 246; Thatôn founded by B., 373; B. missionaries in Bactria, 31; in Burma, 183; B. and Jainas, 503.
- Buddhivardhaka Sabhâ, 298.
- Budge, 26.
- Budha Gupta, 228, 229.
- Bugge, Sophus, 542.
- Bühler, G., 30, 37 *seqq.*, 100 note, 219 *seqq.*, 320, 394, 395, 455, 466.
- Búndéli dialect, 95.
- Burma, 87, 90, 91, 94, 99, 106, 108, 110, 116-121; Upper B., 119, 120, 178; Lower B., 119, 122, 178; Archæological survey of B., 370.
- Burmese language, 118 *seq.*; spiritual world of the B., 174-185; B. ethnology, 174; B. pantheon, 180 *seq.*
- Burnouf, 17, 35.
- CALCUTTA Sanskrit College, 45; Finns in Calcutta, 122.
- Cambodia, languages in, 94, 119.
- Campbell, Sir G., on education in India, 54.
- Canis Major and Canis Minor, 378, 379, 380.
- Canning College at Lucknow, 64, 65.
- Carrière, M., 549, 550.
- Caste; instructions refused to the lower castes, 86; existence of any c. other than Brâhmans and Sûdras denied, 260 *seq.*; Brâhmans and Kshatriyas, 268 note 2.
- Ceded Districts, 106, 108.
- Census of India, 80, 125 *seqq.*
- Centaur, 220.
- Ceylon, 87, 137 *seq.*, 225, 363.
- Chach-Nâma, History of Sindh, 226, 230, 241.
- Chah, see Brahman Chah.
- Chaitanya, Bengali poet and reformer, 155, 301.
- Chaitra, year beginning in, 381, 382.
- Chaitya trees, 219.
- Chaldaean origins, 557 *seq.*; Ch. de-luge-traditions, 559.
- Champa, Indian conquests to, 40.
- Champollion, 35.
- Chanbas (*i.e.*, Chaturvedis), 143.
- Chandâ and Pañchâcharâ, 359 *seq.*
- Chanda Kavi, 312.
- Chandra Sekhara, 317.
- Chandrayana Vrata, fasting regulated by the moon, 142 *seq.*
- Chandrodaya of Prabhâchandra, 213.
- Chanyu, see Tsanyu.
- Châpâ, Buddhist nun, 353.
- Chaplin, founder of Sanskrit College at Poona, 52.
- Charaka, 456, 457, 458.
- Charaṇavyûha, 412, 415, 417, 419, 420.
- Charity of Hindus, 153.
- Chartography of India, 366-369.
- Charvakas, 156, 288.
- Chaulukyas, 329.
- Chaunghâ dialect, 118.
- Chentsu dialect, 108.
- Chhândogya Upanishad, 299.
- Chhelu-Batâ, play of, 306.
- Chhota Pahâri, 386.
- China, 19, 28, 30; immigration from South-Western China into India, 83, 87, 90, 91.
- Chinese language, 94, 119, 120; Ch. translations of the Milindapañho, 518-529.
- Ching-pan, see Sing-pho, 116.
- Chins, 174, 176, 177.
- Chinvat bridge, 378.
- Chipi-i-eul, river mentioned in the Milindapañho, 525 *seq.*
- Chitnis, Khando Ballâl, 271.
- Chitnis, Malhâs Ramrâo, 254, 265, 266, 271.
- Chitra, full moon, 381, 382.
- Chitrâl tribes, 87, 98.
- Chittagong, 118, 119.
- Chitpâvan, see Konkanastha.
- Chitragupta, biographer of Shivâjî, 265.
- Christianity, 33, 166.
- Chronological limits for the growth of Proto-Aryan language, 12-14.
- Chronology of Sanskrit literature, 392.
- Chullavagga, 346.
- Chûrṇi commentaries, 216.
- Cochin, Jews in, 123.
- Coins of Indo-Scythian kings, 223-244.
- Colebrooke, 17, 35; C.'s MSS. in Göttingen, 429; C. on weights and measures, 460.

- Colinet, Ph., 396 *seqq.*
 Colleges, close of the sessions of Hindu c. celebrated, 149.
 Columbus, Christopher, 43.
 Constellations, unlucky, 279 note 1.
 Conybeare, F. C., 549, 550.
 Coorg, Malayalam in, 107.
 Cosmin, town of, 372.
 Cow-sacrifice, 132; the sky a cow, 401 *seq.*
 Cowell, E. B., 391 *seqq.*, 394 *seq.*
 Cradle-songs, Marathi, 283.
 Cunningham, General, 30, 222 *seqq.*, 245 *seqq.*, 366.
 Curtius, 17.
 Cyrus, 27.
 Dadu, Hindu reformer, 155.
 Dâhir, Râja, 241.
 Daignét dialect, 118.
 Daily life of the Hindu, 150 *seqq.*
 Daksha, god, 404 *seqq.*, 408.
 Dakshî (?) language, 336.
 Dalpatrâm Dâyâbhâi, 298.
 Dantikâ becomes an Arabat, 359.
 Dânu language, 118.
 Daphla Abor tribes, 115.
 Darius, 27, 29.
 Darjiling, dialect of, 114.
 Darmesteter, 399.
 Dasarath, King of Ayodhya, 137.
 Daśâvatâra, 313 *seq.*
 Dashian, Father J., 549.
 Dassehra festival, 149 *seq.*
 Dautidurga, Râja, 186.
 David Mher, 546 *seq.*
 David of Sassoon, 546 *seq.*
 Davids, Rhys, 518.
 Death anniversary, 142.
 Deb, Hindi poet, 302.
 Deb Mâyâ Prapancha, 302.
 Deccan, dialects of the, 100, 102, 112.
 Deccani dialect, 90, 96.
 Decharme, 399 *seq.*
 Dehli Hindi, 89, 96.
 Delhi, Râma worship in, 148.
 Desâstha Brâhmans, 273.
 Desînâmamâlâ of Hemachandra, 466, 471, &c.
 Devâgamastotra, 187, 195, 196, 200, 211 *seqq.*
 Devaki, Kansa's sister, 138.
 Devaloka, 378.
 Devamantiya = Demetrios, 528 note 1.
 Devanandâ, 219.
 Devas, gods, 161.
 Deva-Shâli, title of, 237.
 Devasundara, 318.
 Devayâna = Uttarâyana, 380.
 Dhamma, 348, 358, 359; Dh. of the Therîs, 360.
 Dhammadinnâ, Buddhist nun, 342, 343.
 Dhammapâla, 342 *seq.*, 344, 345 *seqq.*
 Dharamsalas, works of public utility, 153.
 Dharmachakra, 221.
 Dharmachandra, King of Magadha, 225, 230.
 Dharmakîrti, 213 *seq.*
 Dharmaparîkshâ, 425.
 Dharmasâstra, 254.
 Dhâvadaśî, Swâmî of, 269, 274.
 Dhedas, the lowest classes, 306, 307.
 Dhimâl language, 114.
 Dhindâ = parade on a donkey's back as punishment, 264.
 Dhîrâ Bhakta, 306.
 Dhruva, H. H., 297 *seqq.*, 315 *seqq.*
 Dhruva, K. H., 317, 320 *seq.*
 Dhyâna (Buddhist term), 523.
 Diamond Throne, 245 *seq.*
 Dibong river, 83.
 Digambara Jaina Literature, 186; D. Jains, 220.
 Dîkshâ, initiatory rites, 161.
 Dîkshit, Mr., 428.
 Dinâ, a Jaina lady, 220.
 Din-nâga, 394.
 Dione, 399 *seqq.*, 403.
 Divali, "great feast of the lamps," 150.
 Divaspati, 463.
 Diwâij II., 240.
 Dizabul, emperor, 234, 243.
 Djulfa dialect (Armenian), 545.
 Dnyânesvar (Dnyândev, Dnyâobâ), 284-295, 329, 335.
 Dnyânesvarî, 285 *seqq.*
 Dog at the gate of hell, 378 *seq.*; dog star, 379, 380.
 Dog-days, 379.
 Dogri dialect, 97.

- Donati, G., 462.
 Dosâdhs, 385.
 Doveton College, 62.
 Drama, in the Modern Vernaculars of India, 297-314; Hindi D., 302 *seq.*; Gujerati D., 303 *seqq.*; Marathi D., 313 *seq.*
 Dravidians, 88, 91, 92; Dravidian Languages, 102, 103, 105 *seqq.*; D. and Kolarian, 110.
 Duania in Assam, 116.
 Duncan, Jonathan, 52.
 Durgâ, worship of, 149.
 Durgâpatha, 153.
 Durgâ-pûjâ, 149, 153.
 Durlabharâm, 306.
 Durvasas, philosopher, 130.
 Dussera plays, 314.
 Dwaita sect, 157.
 Dyaus, 402 *seqq.*, 410; Dyaus-Aditi, 403 *seqq.*, 407 *seq.*
 Dyko dialect, 112.
 EASTERN TURKESTAN, 91.
 Eating, a test of caste, 267; rules regarding E. violated, 270 *seqq.*, 278 note 5, 281.
 Education in India, 47-79; Brahminical E., 49 *seqq.*; higher E., 51 *seqq.*; state E., 51 *seqq.*, 55, 58; opinions on E. in India, 54 *seq.*; elementary E., 55, 56; E. of girls, 55; expenditure on E., 52, 56, 59, 61 *seq.*, 63, 66, 73; Government versus private E., 57; missionary colleges, 57, 59, 62; European E., 50, 53, 64, 78; Oriental E., 66; technical E., 71, 72, 75; English E., 67, 69, 298.
 Educational Commission, 57, 58.
 Egypt, 18, 19, 24, 25.
 Egyptian and Semitic, 15; E. origins, 557 *seq.*
 Eight, the number 8 in Buddhism, 247 *seq.*, 250 *seq.*
 Ekadsi Mahatama, 149.
 Eknâth of Paithan, 294.
 Elphinstone, Mountstuart, 52, 53.
 Elphinstone College, 53.
 Emin, Mgrditch, on Armenian songs, 546.
 Empe-o, see Kâcha.
 English spoken in India, 124.
 Ephthalites, 222 *seqq.*; see White Huns.
 Erânic-Aryan languages, 94, 121 *seq.*; E. philology, 530-539; Armenian a branch dialect of E., 542; E., Indian, and Greek, 555.
 Eras, Indian, 227 *seq.*
 Erman, Prof., on the relationship between Semitic and Egyptian, 15.
 Esoff, G. A., 548.
 Esoteric Hinduism, 141, 155, 171, 173.
 Ethnology and philology, 554 *seqq.*
 Etruscan and Armenian, 542.
 Eurasians, 124, 125; Eurasian Mediterranean, 559.
 Europe and Asia, 33; home of the Aryans in Europe, 558.
 European languages in India, 95, 124 *seq.*
 Ewald, 18.
 Exorcism, 184.
 FA-HIAN, 384.
 Farâl, a dinner with fewer ceremonials than ordinary, 271, 273.
 Far East, Indian civilisation spread to the, 39.
 Fargavadat, 454.
 Fasts in India, 148 *seqq.*
 Fatalism, 171 *seq.*
 Fergusson, on Vikram era, 228.
 Fergusson College at Poona, 62.
 Feroz, see Firoz.
 Festivals, Hindu, 148; Burmese, 178, 179.
 Fetish-worship, 153 *seq.*
 Finn language, 122.
 Firoz, Sassanian king, 233, 240, 243.
 Fleet, 428.
 Foley, C. A., 344 *seqq.*
 Forbes, Sir A. K., 298.
 Forbes Gujerati Sabhâ, 298.
 Forchhammer, 370, 374 *seq.*
 Four Paths, 365.
 Fravashis, 378.
 Führer, Dr., 219 *seqq.*
 Funeral rites, Burmese, 176; Hindu, 274, 275, 449.
 Further India, Indian influence in, 40.
 GADABA dialect, 111.

- Gâgâbhatta, Pandit of Benares, 265, 266.
 Gakal, Kṛishṇa worshipped at, 149.
 Gaṇapati, 305.
 Gandhâra (Gadâra), 29; Ephthalite kings in G., 224, 225; 230.
 Gandhavaṁsa, 345.
 Gaṇeśa, 288, 462 *seqq.*; festivals of G., 463.
 Ganesh Chaturthi, 149; in Pons, 150.
 Ganga Lahri, poem in praise of the Ganges, 152.
 Ganges valley, 83, 87, 91; celebration in honour of G., 149; poem in praise of G., 152; G. mentioned in the Milindapañho, 525 *seq.*, 529.
 Gaṇgeśa, father of Vardhamâna, 424.
 Garagaśean, 548.
 Garbi, or song, 306, 323.
 Gargi, 168.
 Gârgya-Nârâyana, 415.
 Garhwâl valley, 113.
 Garhwâli dialect, 96.
 Garlic, legend regarding the origin of, 455.
 Gâro language, 115.
 Garudhammas, 346.
 Gâthâs of Buddhist Theras and Theris, 344 *seq.*
 Gaud, Brahmans of, 87.
 Gaudian dialects, 466, 471.
 Gauri Tij festival, 148.
 Gautama, in Avesta, 31.
 Gâyatrî Mantra, 263, 266 note 7.
 Geldner, 407.
 Gentoo, 108.
 Geography of India, 366 *seqq.*
 Gesenius, 18.
 Ghâts, 106, 107, 108.
 Ghorpades, claim to be Kshatriyas, 266.
 Gilgit, tribes of, 87, 98.
 Gipsy, see Gypsy.
 Giri sect, 258.
 Giridhar Dâs, see Gopâlchandra.
 Gîta-Govinda, 145.
 Goa, 101.
 Goalas, 385.
 Goanese, 102.
 God, 159, 161, 162, 177.
 Gokhale, Bâpu, 275 *seq.*
 Gokhale, Dhondopant, 275 *seq.*
 Goḷa people, 372.
 Goldschmidt, 466, 470.
 Gollas, Ephthalite king, 222, 225; = Mihirgul, 230.
 Gond tribes, 109.
 Gopâlchandra, 297, 302.
 Gopatha Brâhmaṇa, 377.
 Gopikâbâi, grandmother of Savâi Mâdhavrâo, 270.
 Gosavîs, 270 note 1.
 Gosche, 541.
 Goshains, priests of Krishna worship, 145 *seq.*
 Govinda Gamana, 322.
 Grabar, Armenian "book-language," 542 *seq.*, 545, 548.
 Grahâs (planets), worship of the, 141.
 Grant Duff, Captain James, 252 *seq.*, 282.
 Granth, sacred book of the Sikhs, 295.
 Greek, its place in the Indo-European family of speech, 555.
 Grierson, 298, 302, 330.
 Grihyapariśiṣṭa, 418.
 Grotefend, 35.
 Gruppe, on the relation between religions of India, Egypt, and Babylon, 29.
 Gubernatis, Count de, 41 *seqq.*, 215 *seq.*, 462 *seqq.*
 Guidi, Prof., 12.
 Gujarâthi language, 89, 99 *seq.*, 102, 105, 303, 306; G. prose, 298, 299; G. dramas, 298, 299 *seqq.*, 312 *seq.*; "Gurjara Girâ," 309, 310, 311 *seq.*, 318; G. literature, 314, 315; G. language of the 14th & 15th cent., 315-340; G. grammar "Mugdhâva-bodha Auktika," 315 *seqq.*; name of G. language, 318; Apabhraṣṭa Girâ, 322; G. inscriptions, 324 *seq.*, 331 *seqq.*; specimen of old G., 340.
 Gujerat Vernacular Society, 298.
 Gujerati, see Gujarâthi.
 Gumbe Ata, 313.
 Guṇaratna, 318.
 Gupta era, 392, 429.
 Gupta-Valabhi era, 428.
 Gupta, 226, 229, 247.
 Gurkhâli language, 114.
 Gûrkhas, language of the, 96.

- Guru, spiritual guide, 145, 151, 291 *seq.*
 Gúruṅ language, 114.
 Gusainji, see Tulsidas.
 Gutschmidt, 550.
 Guzerat, Vallabh sect in, 145.
 Gypsy dialects, 93, 106, 108, 112;
 the word gypsy, 97 note, 112; G.
 tribes, 305.
 HAAS, on Hindu medical literature,
 454, 457.
 Habshi (Abyssinian), 124.
 Hades of the Burmese, 176.
 Hajong dialect, 115.
 Hála, difficult verse in, 493.
 Halabi languages, 102.
 Hamitic language, 95.
 Hanuman, god of the mantras, 142.
 Hanusz, Jan, 545.
 Hára Hûṇa, White Huns, 222.
 Hára Mâlâ, 321, 322.
 Hari Silâ Shoḍaśa Kalâ, 320, 323,
 325.
 Harinegamesi, see Nemesa.
 Hariśchandra, 297, 302.
 Harivaṁśa, 153.
 Harkh Nâth Jhâ, 302.
 Harpies, 220.
 Harsha = Vikramâditya, 227.
 Harshacharita, 393.
 Hastings, Warren, 52.
 Heaven and Hell, 378; Heaven-Father,
 402 *seq.*
 Hebrew language, 123; H. deluge
 traditions, 559.
 Hell, 378.
 Hemachandra, 318, 466.
 Hemâchârya, 310, 311, 313, 317.
 Hemâdri, 424.
 Hera, 400 *seq.*, 403.
 Hessler, on Hindu medical literature,
 454.
 Hidda Tope coins, 235, 236, 243.
 Hillebrandt, 396, 397, 398, 401, 402
 seq.
 Himâlaya, 83, 84, 91, 96, 113, 115;
 Southern Himalayan valleys, 87.
 Hineks, Dr., 22.
 Hindi language, 89, 93, 95 *seqq.*, 99,
 102, 111, 300, 329, 330; H. drama,
 297, 302, 451; H. prose, 297.
 Hinduism, 141, 154; future of H.,
 155; Esoteric H., 156; H. criticised
 by Dnyâneśvar, 291; development
 of H., 291, 294.
 Hindu-Kúsh, 81, 83, 84, 97.
 Hindustân, 93, 95, 97; vernacular
 literature of H., 298.
 Hindustani, 95, 306.
 Hiouen-Thsang, see Hwen Thsang.
 Hiranyagarbha, 162, 192.
 Hiranyakasipu, 135.
 Hiranyakeśin, 419.
 Hiranya-kula, 237.
 Hiriwi language, 233.
 Hlî, goddess of the Chins, 176 *seq.*
 Hminzâ, Burmese spirits of children,
 185.
 Hodgson, Mr. Brian, 81, 114.
 Hojai dialect, 115.
 Holi festival, 150.
 Ho-li-san, 527.
 Hom, 399.
 Hommel, Prof., 12.
 Honorius, 367.
 Hooghley College, 62.
 Hörnle, 455, 466.
 Htâi language, 120.
 Hübschmann, 542.
 Hukairya, 399.
 Human sacrifice, 109, 131, 132, 179,
 279 note 2, 371.
 Humboldt, 17.
 Hûṇas, White Huns, 222, 226, 230.
 Hunimanta, King of Persia, 225, 230.
 Huns, 222; see White Huns.
 Hunza, 98.
 Hwen Thsang, 222, 225, 227, 229,
 234, 242, 251, 277 note 1, 367,
 384, 386.
 Hyderabad, Turki speakers in, 122,
 123.
 Hygieology in Hindu legal and medi-
 cal literature, 459.
 IDOL-WORSHIP, 385 *seq.*
 Imphâl, language of, 117.
 Incarnations, Aryan theory of divine,
 128-140; the ten Avataras ex-
 pounded, 134-140; royal princes
 worshipped as Avatâras, 170; the
 ten Avatâras acted on the stage,
 313 *seq.*; the latest limit of the

- date of the origin of the conception of the ten Avatâras, 425 *seq.*
- India, 18, 19, 28; India and Babylon, 28; travellers from I. seen in Persia, 29; higher education in I., 47 *seqq.*; Islam in I., 49; State education in I., 51, 52, 55, 58, 67, 68, 70; language census of I., 80 *seqq.*; immigrations into I., 83; chartography of I., 366-369; maps of I., 367 *seqq.*; dialects of Central I., 81, 90, 92, 97, 99, 102, 103, 108-111, 126; Râma invades C. I., 137; inscriptions in C. I., 428; Eastern I., 85; languages of Upper I., 96; North-West Provinces of I., 95, 97; Western I., 99; Northern I., 99, 112, 147, 222, 230; Southern I., 106.
- Indian civilisation spread to the Far East, 39, 40; I., old Eranic, and Greek languages, 555 *seq.*
- Indian Archipelago, Indian influence in the, 40.
- Indic-Aryan, see Aryan.
- Indijian, Father Lucas, 547.
- Indo-European, see Aryan.
- Indo-Scythian conquerors, 224, 234.
- Indra, 130, 158, 246, 379, 380, 403, 407, 462 *seqq.*
- Indrânî, 379, 401.
- Indra Sabhâ, 301.
- Indus Valley, 83, 84, 91, 97.
- Infant marriage, 461.
- Inflectional languages, 91.
- Inscriptions, Gujarathi, 324 *seq.*, 331 *seqq.*; Aśoka, Kshattrapa, and Andhrabhritya I., 328; importance of Indian I., 394; I. in Central India, 428.
- Installation ceremonies, 265, 266.
- Iran, connection of India with, 121.
- Irawaddi, 83, 91, 116, 370 *seq.*
- Irulâr dialect, 106.
- Isdegerd II. of Persia, 223, 233.
- Islam in India, 49, 50.
- Italian languages, 556.
- I-tsing, 186, 214, 395.
- JABULA, see Jaiüvla.
- Jabula Diwaj, 233.
- Jacobi, Prof., 428, 466.
- Jagadu-Charita, 316.
- Jagannath Tirsuli, author of the Ganga Lahri, 152.
- Jagjivanrâo, 256.
- Jaidev, see Jayadeva.
- Jaimini, 204, 376.
- Jaina, Kumârila in Digambara J. literature, 186-214; J. scriptures, 194, 200, 503; J. manuscripts in Florence, 215-218; J. sculptures, 219-221; J. religion in Gujerat, 303; J. Sanskrit, 316; J. Prakrit, 466, 503; J. monk should not make a bed of grass, 486 *seq.*; J. Arhat cannot be born in an obscure family, 502; J. fond of the number five, 506.
- Jainaslokavârtika, 198 note, 209, 211 *seq.*
- Jaintia Hills, language of the, 93.
- Jaitra, or Jaitrapâla, or Jayatpâla, King of Devagiri, 283, 423 *seq.*
- Jamadagni, father of Paraśurâma, 136.
- Jammu westward, Hill dialect of, 97.
- Janaka, 170.
- Janmashtami festival, 149.
- Japanese in India, 94, 120.
- Jara, name of Jara (incomplete?) on coins, 237.
- Jâtaka stories, 374, 421 *seqq.*
- Jâthak-Hindî, Indian work on nativity, 454.
- Jatki dialect, 97.
- Jaiüvla, or Jabu(v)la, title of Toramâna, 226, 228, 233, 236 *seq.*
- Java, 40, 87.
- Jayadeva, author of Gîtagovinda, 145.
- Jayakumârî Vijaya Nâṭaka, 298.
- Jayânanda, 317, 318.
- Jayanta, 413 *seq.*, 415.
- Jayatpâl, see Jaitra.
- Jeith Dassehra festival, 149.
- Jetavana grove, 353.
- Jets, Getae, 97 note.
- Jews, 19; wanderings of the J., 27; Scriptures of the J. and Aryan thought, 33; Jews in India, 123.
- Jhânas, four trances, 364.
- Jîjîbâi, 268.
- Jina, 194, 197, 219.
- Jina Kuśala Sûri Stavana, 324, 333 *seqq.*
- Jinasena, 186, 213.

- Jñânesvar, see Dnyânesvar.
 Jñânodaya Nâṭaka, 303, 304, 312.
 Jolly, J., 454 *seqq.*
 Jones, Sir William, 17, 35.
 Juárez language, 111.
 Jumna, mentioned in the Milinda-
 pañho, 525 *seq.*
 Juno and Aditi, 403.
 Jupiter, 403, 408.
 Jûṭhaṇa, 306.
 Jyotirvidâbharāṇa, 227.
 Jyotisha (Vedāṅga), 382.
- KABIR, Hindu reformer, 155.
 Kābo, 306.
 Kācha Nāgas, 116.
 Kachāri, see Bodo.
 Kachh, Sindh spoken in, 98.
 Kachhi dialect, 89, 98.
 Kachins, 174, 176, 177.
 Kādambarî of Bāṇa, 213, 304, 320,
 325.
 Kādu dialect, 118.
 Kafiristān, tribes of, 87, 98.
 Kaikādi dialect, 108.
 Kaikeyi, mother of Bharat, 137.
 Kākhyîn tribe, 116.
 Kalachuri era, 428 *seq.*
 Kala Sutri, mimic doll-plays, 313.
 Kalemkiar, Father, 549.
 Kali, worship of, 153.
 Kālīdāsa, 300, 303, 394, 395.
 Kālīkā Mātā, 325.
 Kalinka, people from, 373.
 Kaliyuga era, 428.
 Kalki-Avatar (god of art and inven-
 tions), 139.
 Kalpa, the world the same as in a
 former, 172.
 Kalusha, Marāṭhā poet, 255.
 Kamalamārtanḍa, 213.
 Kāmasena, 432, 438, 443.
 Kambodja, Indian conquests to, 40.
 Kammatṭhānas, 364.
 Kanarese, 101, 102, 107, 313.
 Kanāwari language, 113.
 Kandālî of Śrīdhara, 424.
 Kandh, of the hills of Orissa, 109.
 Kāṇhadade-Prabandha, 318, 320, 325.
 Kanishka, 518.
 Kankālî Tila, finds of Dr. Führer in
 the, 219, 220.
- Kansa, King of Mathura, 138 *seq.*
 Kansāro, "coppersmith," 306.
 Kapila, 188.
 Karabagh dialect (Armenian), 544
 seq.
 Karaṇa, King of Gujerat, 306.
 Karekin of Etchmiadzin, 547.
 Karekin, Father, on Armenian biblio-
 graphy, 548, 549.
 Karén tribes, 91, 94, 174, 176, 177;
 K. language, 120, 121.
 Kárén-nî, see Bghái.
 Karhādā Brāhmans, 273.
 Kārikā, 412 *seqq.*
 Karma, doctrine of, 171 *seq.*, 177.
 Karmavipāka, 459.
 Karṇa, Bali and, 447.
 Karṇa, last king of Gujerat, 330.
 Karnak, temple of, 25.
 Karpûra Mañjarî, 313.
 Kārttikeya, Pleiades, 462 *seqq.*
 Kashgar, traces of Buddhism in, 31.
 Kashmér, dialects of, 81, 87, 89, 97;
 Ephthalite kings in K., 225, 229,
 235, 236 *seq.*
 Kashméri, 97.
 Kāśīpant, 267.
 Kāsyapa, Buddhist missionary, 30.
 Katak, cave temples in, 221.
 Kāthāsaritsāgara, 451.
 Katha Upanishad, 157, 166.
 Kathé dialect, 117.
 Kātyāyana, grammarian, 429.
 Kātyāyana's Sarvānukrama, 411.
 Kauravas, 139.
 Kāvyaadohanas, 323.
 Kāvya Prakāśa, 311.
 Kāvvetihāsasaṅgraha, 253.
 Kāyagaum, priests of, 269, 275 note 1.
 Kāyastha Prabhūnchî Bakhar, 262.
 Kāyasthā Prabhūnchyā Itihāsāchîn
 Sādhanen, 253.
 Kern, H., 40.
 Kezhāma Nāgas, 116.
 Khākân, title of Ephthalite kings,
 242.
 Khalatianz, G., collector of Armenian
 folklore, 546.
 Khāmti dialect, 120.
 Kharoti tribes, 122.
 Kharria language, 111.
 Kharwār dialect, 110.

- Khas dialect, 96.
 Khási dialects, 112 *seq.*
 Khásia hills, 93.
 Khelát desert, 110.
 Khemâ, 342, 351 *seq.*
 Khila of the R̥igveda, 412.
 Khingkhila or Khinggila, Râja' of Kaśmir, 237, 243.
 Khmér, Môn race in, 94.
 Khond, see Kandh.
 Khorasân, 222, 234, 240.
 Khotalan, 238.
 Khoten, traces of Buddhism in, 31.
 Khusru II., Parvez of Persia, 239, 240, 241.
 Khwé-mi dialect, 118.
 Khyîn tribes, 116, 117.
 Khyindwyin river, 116.
 Kidâra Kushâns, 231, 234.
 Kielhorn, F., 394, 428 *seq.*, 429.
 Kiko Kavi, 303.
 King, quasi-divine character of a, 261.
 Kinnaras, 220.
 Kipin (Kophene, Arakhosia), 224, 238.
 Kirañavâlî, 424.
 Kiránti languages, 114.
 Kirste on PAONANO, 537.
 Kisâ Gotamî, 342, 353, 356.
 Kistna river, 107.
 Kling tribes, 108.
 Kóch language, 115.
 Kodagu, dialect of Coorg, 107.
 Kolarian languages, 92, 110 *seqq.*
 Kolavâda sermon, 346.
 Konkanastha Brâhmans, 273.
 Konkani dialect, 101, 102.
 Kórwa, see Kúr.
 Kosmas Indicopleustes, 222, 225.
 Kôta tribe, 109.
 Kridantas "participles," 317.
 Krishṇa, son of Vasudeva, 138 *seq.* ; K.-Avatar, 138, 170 ; K's adventures, 144 ; K. worship, 145 *seqq.* 147, 149 ; K. = Vishṇu, 151, 425, 463 ; Vithobâ, a manifestation of K., 295 ; K. or Govinda, 322 ; Râdhâ and K., 322 ; K. Yamunâ-bhid, 448.
 Krishṇa, Râjâ, 423 *seq.*
 Krishnagur College, 62.
 Krishnarâja I., 186, 213.
 Krittikâs, 376, 377, 381, 382, 462 *seqq.*
 Kriyâ-ratna-Samuchchaya, 318.
 Kshatriyas, 136 *seq.*, 261 *seq.*, 262 *seq.*, 264 *seqq.*, 268.
 Kshattrapa inscriptions, 328.
 Kuhn, 16, 17, 399.
 Kúki tribes, 116, 117.
 Kumaon, 113.
 Kumaoni dialect, 96.
 Kumârasambhava, 395.
 Kumârila, 186 *seqq.*, 191 *seqq.*, 198, 200 *seq.*, 205, 209 *seq.*, 211 *seqq.*, 393, 394, 413.
 Kumbho Râno, 323.
 Kúr, Kórwa or Kúrku dialect, 111.
 Kúrma-Avatâr (Tortoise-god), 134.
 Kurukshetra, battle of, 139.
 Kúrúmbar dialect, 106.
 Kushâns, 222, 231, 234, 243.
 Kyouk-koo Monastery, 370.
 LACCADIV Islands, 89.
 Lachhman Singh, author of Hindi dramas, 297.
 Lae-lih, king of the White Huns, 223, 228, 232.
 Lagarde, 541, 542.
 Laghusamantabhadra, 188 note, 191 note, 194 note, 197 notes.
 Lahore Oriental College, 64, 65 ; King of Persia rules in L., 225.
 Lakshman, younger brother of Râma, 137.
 Lakshmanasena era, 428.
 Lakshmi, 150 ; on coins, 231, 237.
 Lakshmibâi, widow of Dhondopant Gokhale, 276.
 Lakshmî Svayamvara Nâṭaka, 300.
 Lalita-duḥkha-darśak Nâṭaka, 298.
 Lâl Jhâ (Kabi Lal), 302.
 Lâlji Maniâr, 306.
 Lalluji Lal, 297.
 Lâlshankar, see Narmadâshankar.
 Lálúng dialect, 115.
 Lambâni, dialect of the, 93, 112.
 Language, science of, 10, 17 ; origin of l., 15 ; Language Census of India, 80-127 ; objects of it, 80 ; scope of it, 81 *seq.* ; number of languages returned, 82 ; geographical conditions, 82 *seqq.* ; political influences on the distribution of the l., 84 *seqq.* ;

- classification of the l., 91 *seqq.*; the statistics of l., 95 *seqq.*; families of language and ethnological relations, 554 *seqq.*
- Láo, or Siamese, 119, 120.
- Lária dialect, 95.
- Lassen, 17, 35, 366.
- Lâvanî, love-songs, 283.
- Law-books, see Smritis.
- Leikpya (Burmese), "butterfly-spirit," 176, 177.
- Lepcha language, 113.
- Lepsius, 22.
- Leumann, Prof., 215 *seqq.*, 452 *seq.*
- Lévi, Sylvain, 366 *seqq.*, 518 *seqq.*
- Lho-tá (Nágas), 116.
- Lilâvatî, 420.
- Limbu dialect, 114.
- Lokiya-Samâdhi, 364.
- Lokuttara-Samâdhi, 364.
- Lûri of Persia, 112.
- Lûshai tribes, 116.
- Lyll, Sir A., on education in India, 54.
- Lyngâm dialect, 112.
- MACAULAY, on education in India, 53, 59 *seq.*
- Mâdhavânala-Kâmakarîdalâ-Nâṭaka, a Hindi drama, 451.
- Mâdhavânala-Kathâ, text of, 430-447; translation of the Gâhâs, 447-450; MSS. of it, 450 *seq.*; popularity of it, 451; gâhâs contained in it, 451 *seq.*
- Mâdhavrâo, 254, 256, 267 note 3.
- Mâdhavrâo Ballâl, 268, 269.
- Madhuchhandas, Rishi, 131.
- Madhyama, Buddhist missionary, 30.
- Madras, schools in, 60, 62; dialects spoken in M., 100, 102, 103, 106, 107, 108, 111.
- Madresa, a Mahomedan college in Calcutta, 52, 65.
- Magadha, Hunimanta invades, 225.
- Mâgadha, a bard, 299.
- Mâgadhi form of Prâkrit, 87.
- Magh language, 118; Maghs of Chittagong, 119.
- Mâgha, month of M. sacred for gifts to Brâhmans, 142; year beginning in M., 376, 377, 381.
- Magyâr language, 122.
- Mahâbhârata, in the Far East, 40; incarnations in the M., 134; heroes of the M., 139; pilgrimages mentioned in the M., 143; Vishṇu Sahasra Nâma from the M., 151; readers of the M., 153; in praise of the M., 288 *seq.*; M. in Gujerati, 309; scenes from the M. enacted, 314.
- Mahâbhâshya, 422.
- Mahâbodhi, Buddhist temple at, 245 *seqq.*
- Mahâdeva, brother of Râja Kṛishṇa, 423 *seq.*
- Mahâgiri Nat, 180.
- Mahâkâla, Sîva established as M. in Ujjayinî, 440.
- Mahâmoggalâna, 355.
- Mahâ Muni Pagoda, 370.
- Mahâpajâpati Gotamî, 342, 346.
- Maharaja, title of, 242.
- Mahârâj Khanda, 387.
- Mahâvarîsa, 362.
- Mahâ-Vihâra, Great Monastery of Ceylon, 363.
- Mahâvîra, 220, 502.
- Mahendra's hermitage-hill, 385 *seq.*
- Mahendra, see Mahinda.
- Mahî, river mentioned in the Milinda-pañho, 525 *seq.*, 529.
- Mahidâsa, 420.
- Mahimana, a poem in praise of Sîva, 152.
- Mahinda, 362 *seq.*, 385.
- Mahipati, biographer of Tukârâm, 295.
- Mâhl language, 92, 109.
- Maithila, Brahmans of, 87.
- Maithili dialect, 95.
- Majjha, father of Anopamâ, 350.
- Makrânîs, 122.
- Malabar, 89, 106 *seq.*
- Malabâri = Tamil, 107.
- Mâlâti-Mâdhava, 303.
- Mâlava Era, 227, 392.
- Mâlavikâgnimitra, 300, 303.
- Malayâlam, 106 *seq.*
- Malayan languages, 94, 120.
- Malér language, 111.
- Malukdas, saying of, 144.
- Mâlwa, 227, 228, 232, 236.

- Mammata, 311.
 Manâ (Babylonian), a certain weight of gold, 28.
 Mandalay, colony of prisoners in, 117.
 Maṇḍalika-Prabhu, 325, 332.
 Maṇḍapakaśika, 426.
 Mandara rock, 135, 197.
 Māṇḍūkī Sâkhâ, 414, 420.
 Manes, month of the, 378.
 Maṅgala, the god, 462-465.
 Mangalore, dialects spoken in, 101.
 Mangar language, 114.
 Maniach, prince of the Sogdoites, 234, 242 *seq.*
 Mânikyâla Stûpa, 239.
 Mânikyānandī, 213 note.
 Manipur, 81, 117.
 Manipuri, 117.
 Mankura = Wang-Khiun, 528 note 1.
 Manohari, see Manuha.
 Manoratha Pûraṇī, 341.
 Mantras, Vedic, 129; = charms, 141 *seq.*; prayers, 151, 274.
 Manu, the Aryan patriarch, 133, 134; the sayings of M. based on the Veda, 193; M. on the sale of a daughter, 259 note 3; M. quoted by a Mussalman against Brâhmans, 268 note 2; M. on widow marriage, 426; M. on hermaphrodites, 457; on menstruation and conception, 458; on philosophical tenets, 460.
 Manuha, a king of the Kalinka, 373.
 Mâra, 348 *seq.*, 352.
 Maratha, expeditions of the Marathas, 89 *seq.*; Maratha chronicles, 252-281, 284; history of the same, 252 *seq.*; light thrown by them on the relation between State and religion in India, 254 *seqq.*; on violations of religious rules by Brâhmans, 267 *seqq.*; history of the Marathas, 252 *seq.*; M. Râjâs meddle in religious matters, 260, 264; are considered as Kshatriyas, 264; the chief M. poets, 282-296; Dnyâneśvar, 284 *seqq.*; Nâmdev and Tukârâm, 295 *seq.*; M. people, 282; M. Brâhmans, 282.
 Marâthi language, 90, 93, 100 *seqq.*, 112, 123, 294, 300, 323, 329, 335; M. prose literature, 297; M. drama, 301, 304, 313 *seq.*; M. poem, 336 *seqq.*
 Marco Polo, 43, 367.
 Marr, N., 548.
 Marriage rites, 178; m. with a dagger, 259; no money to be accepted for giving a girl in m., 259 *seq.*; marriage festivals, 273, 278; m. between subdivisions of Brâhmans, 273; early marriages, 277, 461; re-m. after the death of first wife, 277 *seq.*; m. songs, 283; m. by purchase, 347, 350.
 Maruts, 464.
 Mârwaḍī dialect, 96, 97, 99, 306.
 Mastânī, Mussalman wife of Bâjîrâo, 258 *seq.*, 273.
 Mathura, 138 *seq.*, 144 *seq.*, 149; Jaina sculptures from M., 219 *seqq.*
 Mâtri statue, 387.
 Matsya-Avatar (fish-god), 134.
 Maung Tin Dè, Burmese god, 180 *seq.*
 Maya, illusion, 146, 163.
 Méch dialect, 115.
 Media, 19.
 Medical Literature of India, 454-461; of Arabia, 454; of Persia, 454 *seq.*; medical theories of the Smṛitis, 456 *seqq.*; Hindu medical works on embryology, 456 *seq.*, 460; on anatomy, 457 *seq.*; on physiology, 458 *seq.*; on impotency, 459; on the influence of the six seasons on the system, 459; on diseases and poisons, on hygieology, 459; on philosophy, 460; antiquity of medical literature, 461.
 Medicines, prejudice about English, 275 note 1.
 Mediterranean, the, 8, 32.
 Megasthenes, 367, 386.
 Meghadûta, 394.
 Meheta, Narsinha, 318, 321, 322, 323, 325, 326, 329, 330, 335.
 Mekong valley, 83, 119.
 Melanis or Melavanis, 304.
 Menander, 518 *seqq.*, 525.
 Mera, Adalbert, 543.
 Mergui Archipelago, 94, 120.
 Merutunga, 316.
 Mesrob, 543.
 Mihirakula, see Mihirkul.

- Mihirkul, 223, 224, 225, 226, 229 *seqq.*, 237, 242, 243.
- Mikelian, A. T., on Armenian history, 548.
- Mikir Hills, 115.
- Mi-lân, *i.e.*, Milinda, 519, 527.
- Milinda, 518 *seqq.*, 527.
- Milindapañho, Chinese translations of it, 518-529; Pali text of it, 518 *seqq.*, 522 *seq.*; a northern and southern recension of it, 519 *seq.*; three versions of it, 521; Chinese translation explains the Pali text, 523 note 2, 525 note 2.
- Milky Way, 378, 379.
- Mîmâṃsâ, 393.
- Mîmâṃsâ-S'loka-vârtika, 186, 198, 203 note, 212 *seqq.*
- Mimic doll-plays, 313 *seq.*
- Mingti, Emperor of China, 30.
- Minikoi, island of, 92, 109.
- Mi-oung-zin, 371.
- Mirân-bâi, Gujerati poetess, 323, 325, 330.
- Miri tribes, 115.
- Mishmi tribes, 115.
- Mitchell, J. M., on the chief Marathi poets, 282 *seqq.*
- Mitra-Varuṇa, 405.
- Mîyân Bibî, 306.
- Mlecchas (Hûṇas), 230.
- Modern Hindu religion and philosophy, 141-173; astrology, 141 *seq.*; worship of Brâhmans, 142 *seq.*; pilgrimages, 143 *seq.*; Kṛishṇa worship, 145 *seqq.*; Râma worship, 147 *seq.*; fasts and feasts, 148 *seqq.*; the Hindu's daily life, 150 *seqq.*; reading of Purâṇas, 151 *seq.*; fetish worship, 153 *seq.*; Hinduism, 154 *seqq.*; Upanishads, 155 *seqq.*; Âtma, 160 *seq.*; Maya, 163 *seq.*; Moksha, 169 *seqq.*; fatalism, 171 *seqq.*
- Mogoung, centre of the Kákhyîn, 116.
- Mohamedan influence on the languages of India, 88 *seq.*, 100, 101, 121; M. saints, 153; M. mosques supported by Shivâjî, 262; M. sovereigns deal with Brahmanical quarrels, 262; M. eat with Brâhmans, 273; M. influence on Brahmanism, 278 note 5; M. conquests, 233, 241, 285, 294, 329; M. influence on dramatic literature in India, 301; disorder of M. times, 306.
- Mohinâ Râṇî, 306.
- Moksha, 165, 166, 168, 171.
- Môn (Talaing) race, 90, 91, 94, 119.
- Monasteries, 360 note 1.
- Mongoloid race, 84, 110, 113; Assamese Mongoloids, 118; Burmese, 174.
- Monkey adoring the sun, 421 *seqq.*
- Months, special m. favourable for gifts, 142.
- Moon worship, 135.
- Môpghâ dialect, 121.
- Moropant, Maratha poet, 302.
- Morris, Rev. R., 466 *seqq.*
- Moses Khorenaci, 550.
- Mourning, 272, 279 note 1.
- Moush, dialect of, 545.
- Mṛiga, Orion, 380.
- Mṛigaśiras (Orion), 377, 379, 380 *seqq.*
- Mṛô language, 118.
- Mudrâ-Râkshasa, 303.
- Mugdhâvabodha Auktika, Gujerati Grammar, 315-320, 322, 324, 325, 326, 329 *seq.*
- Muhan Khan, 242.
- Muhûrta Chintâmani, work on astrology, 141.
- Mukundrâj, 283 *seq.*
- Mulji, Karsandâs, 297.
- Müller, August, 454.
- Müller, E., 345, 466.
- Müller, Friedrich, 533, 542.
- Müller, Max, 1 *seqq.*, 38, 39, 42 *seq.*, 128, 396, 403.
- Multân, 225, 226, 230, 232, 234, 239, 240.
- Multani (= Jatki), 97.
- Mundâ language, 111.
- Mundaka Upanishad, 161.
- Muñja, see Thread ceremony.
- Mun language, 372, 375.
- Mûrmi language, 114.
- Musalman, see Mohamedan.
- Musalmanî = Deccani, 96.
- Muttâ, 351.
- Muaffak, Abu Mansur, 454.
- Mysore, 100, 102, 106, 107, 108.
- Mythology, see Aryan m.

- NÁGA language, 115, 116.
 Nágaram, Sanskrit, 105.
 Nāgaras, high-class Brāhmans, 307.
 Nāgari Gujerati, 324.
 Nāgārjuna, cave temples in, 221.
 Nāgasena, 518 *seqq.*, 529.
 Nāgpur Bhonsles, 266.
 Naidhruvi-Nārāyaṇa, 414 *seqq.*
 Naigameshin, see Nemesa.
 Naigameya, Brahmanical deity, 219.
 Nakhitchewan dialect (Armenian), 545.
 Nakshatras, 28, 381.
 Nalākhyāna, 304, 325.
 Nāmā, see Nāmdev.
 Nāmdev, 285, 290, 295.
 Namuchi, 379.
 Nana Fadanavis, 263, 271, 280.
 Nanak, Hindu reformer, 155.
 Nandā, a Buddhist Therī, 342.
 Nandakovāda sermon, 346.
 Nandas, the last of the Kshatriyas, 261.
 Nandīāvarta Arhat, 220.
 Nandi Bharata, 299.
 Nanjio, Bunyiu, 519.
 Nāṇodaya of Buddhaghosa, 363.
 Naorojji, Dadabhai, 297.
 Nārada, Rishi, 152, 299.
 Nārada Smṛiti, 426, 459.
 Narasinha-Avatar, 135.
 Narasinha Gupta, 229.
 Nārāyaṇa, 413 *seq.*
 Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu), 152.
 Nārāyanrāo, 256.
 Narendrāditya, 237.
 Narmadāshankar Lālshankar, 297, 298, 320.
 Narma Gadya, 298.
 Na-sien-pi-kieou-king, "the book of the Bhikshu Nāgasena," 521.
 Nat worship, 174 *seq.*; family Nat, 178.
 Naṭa, actor, 305.
 Nāṭaka, drama, 305, 310, 311, 312.
 Nātaparīññā, "analytical knowledge," 365.
 Naṭa Sūtras, 299.
 Natigay, a Burmese god, 175.
 Natkadaws, mediums in Burma, 180, 183 *seq.*
 Nāṭya Sāstra, 299, 300, 305.
 Nava Durga, nine days for worshipping Durgā, 149.
 Navya - Kshettra Samāsa - Avachūri, 318.
 Néandre de Byzance, 550.
 Nebo, the god, 27.
 Negamesi, see Nemesa.
 Negro dialects, 123.
 Nemesa, a Jaina deity, 219.
 Nepathya, (intrascenic) passages of a drama, 304.
 Newar era, 428.
 Newāri language, 114.
 Nga Thein of the Chins, 176.
 Niddesa, 363.
 Nigaṇṭhas, 478.
 Nikobāri, 94.
 Nilgiris, 107, 108, 109.
 Nimādi dialect, 95.
 Nineteen, the number, in Buddhism, 247 *seq.*
 Nipāl, languages of, 81, 91, 96, 114, 115; Brāhmans in N., 87.
 Nipālī, 96, 114.
 Nirjala-ekadsi fast, 149.
 Nirmalas of the Sikh sect, 169.
 Nirodhasamāpatti, 365.
 Nirvāṇa, 358, 359, 364 *seq.*
 Niśīthachūṇi, 216.
 Niwāj, 302.
 Nizam's dominions, 102, 107, 108; N. force, 123; N.'s daughter married to Bājirāo, 259.
 Nöldeke, 12.
 Norris, 24.
 Nuns, Buddhist order of, 346; husband's consent needed for wives who join the order, 352.
 Nyāya, 156.
 Nyāyadīpikā of Abhinava-Dharma-bhūṣhaṇa, 208 note.
 Nyāyakumuda Chandrodāya, 213.
 Nyāyasāra, 424.
 OD (Waddar) tribe, 93.
 Offerings to the Nats, 178; o. to Mahendra's hermitage-hill, 385.
 Ōktazaung, Burmese female spirits, 185.
 Old-Aryan (Altarisch), 555.
 Oldenberg, 412, 415.
 Old Persian, tñ in O.P., 530 *seqq.*

- Ongcor, ruins of, 374.
 Oraon dialect, 110.
 Oracle spirits, 182.
 Orion, principal facts and arguments in the, 376-383; vernal equinox in Krittikas, 376 *seq.*; vernal equinox in Mṛigaśiras, 377 *seqq.*; Pre-Orion period, 381 *seqq.*; O. period, 382.
 Orissa, 90, 103, 104, 108, 109.
 Otama, 305.
 Oudh, 95.
 Ovī metre, 285, 294.
 Oxiana, 87.
 Oxus, 223, 233, 234, 525 *seq.*, 529.
 PADDHATI (manual), regarded as more useful than a Kārikā, 413.
 Padmanābha, 318, 320, 323, 325, 330.
 Pagodas, 178, 182, 374.
 Pahāri (Hill-tongue), 96, 97.
 Pahlavi, 233, 235, 238 *seqq.*
 Pakhtu, see Pashtu.
 Palaung language, 119.
 Pālī, 87, 109, 328, 341, 345, 362; Pālī, Sanskrit, and Prākṛit etymology, 466-517; peculiarities of P., not in Prākṛit, 471, 473; P. and Buddhist-Sanskrit, 476; Jaina Prākṛit and Pali, 503.
 Pampa, 186.
 Panch, board of arbitrators, 263.
 Panconia, town in Pegu, 371.
 Pandas, priests of sacred places, 143.
 Pāndavas, 139.
 Pandit, R. B. Shankar, 76, 313 *seq.*
 Panditrão, 254, 255.
 Pāni-Kóch language, 115.
 Pāṇini, 299, 429.
 Panjab, 83, 89; P. colleges, 62, 66; dialects spoken in P., 97, 98, 121, 122; P. Himalaya, 113; Lower P., 122; White Huns in P., 224, 230, 231, 236; P. called Tākan or Tāki, 239 *seq.*
 Panjābi, 89, 90, 96, 97; no drama in P., 300.
 Paññā (Buddhist), 364 *seq.*
 Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer, 4.
 Parabhu, 255 note.
 Para Brahma, 155.
 Paramattha Dipaṇī, 343, 345.
 Parāśara Smṛiti, 426 *seq.*
 Parasmaipada, 422 *seq.*
 Paraśuram-Avatar, 136, 425.
 Parbatia (Khas) dialect, 96.
 Pārijāt, Haran, 302.
 Parikshāmukha, 201.
 Parjanya (rain), 161.
 Pārsavanātha, 219.
 Parsis, 100; P. theatre, 301; P. language, 336; P. traditions about heaven and hell, 378; P. aiwya-onghana, 380.
 Pārvaṭī, festival in honour of, 149.
 Pārvaṭī-Parinaya, 302.
 Pashtu language, 122.
 Paṭāchārā, Buddhist Therī, 342, 353 *seq.*, 358 *seqq.*
 Patāi Rāval, 320, 324, 325, 332.
 Pataliputra, 384-387.
 Patañjali, author of the Yoga Sūtras, 292.
 Patañjali, author of the Mahābhāṣya, 421 *seqq.*, 429.
 Pathak, K. B., on Kumārila in Digambara Jaina literature, 186 *seqq.*
 Paṭisambhidāmagga, 363.
 Patkanian, Prof. K., 544, 545, 546, 548, 549.
 Patkanian, Raphaël, 545.
 Patna, see Pataliputra.
 Patnūli dialect, 100.
 Patua, see Juāng.
 Patwardhan, Paraśurām Bhāu, 271 *seq.*, 274, 276 *seq.*
 Pavolini, P. E., 430 *seqq.*
 Payekhi, King of the Hiungnu, 223.
 Pegu, dialects spoken in, 119; old towns in P., 369-375.
 Peguan, see Mun language.
 Persia, 19, 24, 121.
 Persians more advanced in civilisation than the Greeks, 8; P. influence in India, 121, 301; P. history from Armenian sources, 549.
 Peta-vatthu, 345.
 Petermann, 541, 544.
 Phakiāl language, 120.
 Phālguna (February-March), 144, 150, 381.
 Phālguni full-moon, 377, 378, 380 *seq.*
 Phenicians, more advanced in civilisa-

- tion than the Greeks, 8 ; intercourse between Greeks and Ph., 20, 21.
- Philosophy, Hindu, 156 *seqq.*, 164 *seqq.*, 460.
- Pilgrimages in modern India, 143, 148 ; p. of Jains, 220.
- Pinches, 24.
- Pincott, F., on the Vajrâsan at Mahâbodhi, 245 *seqq.*
- Piṇḍaniryukti, 215.
- Pischel, 397, 466.
- Pitri-paksha, fortnight of the Pitris, 149 ; ayana of the P., 378.
- Pleiades, see Kṛittikâs.
- Plinius, 366.
- Polish Armenian dialect, 545.
- Polygamy among Vedic Aryans, 133.
- Ponnû, see Manipuri.
- Poona, colleges at, 52, 53, 62 ; Poona College of Science, 63.
- P'o-p'o, a certain Nat, 183.
- Portuguese in India, 102.
- Pott and the science of language, 17.
- Povgi (Pêlê-Povgi, "the fool Paul"), 544.
- Powâdê, Marathi historical ballads, 283.
- Prabandha Chintâmani, 316.
- Prabandha Ratna Mâlâ, 316.
- Prabhâchandra, 186, 200, 213 *seq.*
- Prabhâkara, 200, 203 note, 393.
- Prabhâvatî, 302.
- Prabhu caste, 255 *seq.*, 262 *seq.*
- Prabodha Chandrodaya, 302, 303.
- Prâchîna Gujarâtî Sâhitya-Ratna Mâlâ, 315.
- Prâchîna Kâvya Mâlâ, 309, 312, 321.
- Prahasanas, burlesques, 303.
- Prahlad, son of Hiranyakasipu, 135.
- Prajâpati, 158, 379, 381, 382, 401.
- Prakāṭārtha, 425.
- Prâkrit, its modern offshoots, 87, 99 ; P. manuscripts in Florence, 216 ; P. in the drama, 300, 313 ; P. literature, 313 ; P., Sanskrit and the vernaculars, 318, 327 ; P. in the Mâdhavânala-Kathâ, 452 ; P. metres, 452 ; P. etymology, 466-517 ; P. and Pâli, 471, 473, 503 ; several equivalents in P. of one original, 484.
- Prâkrita Prabhâkara, 310, 313.
- Prakṛiti, 163.
- Pramâṇasâstra, Logic, 186.
- Prameyakamalamârtaṇḍa, 190 notes, 191 note, 194, 195 note, 213.
- Prarabdha Karma, 171 *seq.*
- Praśastis, 394.
- Prastâvanâ, prelude of a drama, 304.
- Pratâpaśîla = Vikramâditya, 227.
- Pravarasena, 227, 231.
- Prâyaścitta, penances, 254, 255.
- Pre-Buddhistic period, 382.
- Prehistoric, 9, 16, 17.
- Premânanda, 299, 308 *seqq.*, 313, 318, 322, 329, 340.
- Prema-sâgara, 146, 297.
- Pre-Orion period, 381 *seqq.*
- Prithi Râja Râsau of Chanda Bardai, 328.
- Pronouns in Gujerati, 327 *seq.*
- Prothetic vowels, 409.
- Proto-Aryan language, 13, 14, 16, 555.
- Pseudo-Callisthenes, 549.
- Ptolomaeus, 366 *seq.*, 368.
- Pugan, 370, 373.
- Pulakesî II., 213.
- Pullè, F. L., on the Florentine Jainas MSS., 215 *seqq.*
- Puluchin, King of White Huns, 223.
- Punarvasu, year beginning in, 381, 382.
- Punishments in India, 264 note 2.
- Puramdhi, the goddess, 406, 407.
- Purâṇas, in the Far East, 40 ; gods of the P., 128 *seqq.*, 133 *seq.*, 139 ; importance of the P. in Hinduism, 145 *seq.* ; P. read by the Brâhmins, 153, 308 ; geography of the P., 366.
- Purâṇis, 308.
- Puri sect, 258.
- Purusha, 158, 160 *seqq.*
- Purushamedha, 299.
- Purusha-prakṛiti, 407.
- Pûrvvâditya, title of Scythian kings, 237.
- Pushpdant, author of Mahimana, 152.
- Pwô dialect, 121.
- QUADRILINGUAL poem from an old MS., 336.
- RÂBHA dialect, 115.
- Râdhâ, 322.

- Râdhâbâi, 273.
 Râghavabhaṭṭa, 424.
 Raghuvamśa, 395.
 Rainayo, 305.
 Râjârâm, son of Shivâjî, 262.
 Rajas, Tamas and Sattva, 165.
 Râjâśekhara, 313.
 Rajashaha College, 62.
 Raja Tarangini, 225, 227, 230.
 Râjavarttika, 424.
 Râjmaḥâl, language of the hills of, 110.
 Râjputâna, languages of, 81, 99; old names of R., 241.
 Rakshabandhan day, 149.
 Râma-Avatâr, 136 *seqq.*, 170, 425; Râma worship, 147, 149; three Râmas, 425 *seq.*
 Râmadâs, Marâthâ poet, 261.
 Râmânanda, 423 *seqq.*
 Rama-rajya, 'British Government,' 139.
 Râmâyana of Tulsidas, 147.
 Râmâyana of Valmiki, in the Far East, 40; readers of R., 153; scenes from the R. enacted, 314.
 Râm Joshî, Maratha poet, 283.
 Ramlila festival, 148.
 Ramnaumi festival, 148.
 Râmshâstrî, 268, 276, 277.
 Rângadi dialect, 95.
 Rangoon, 120, 121, 122, 370.
 Râsa-dharis, 314.
 Rashis (Râsis, signs of the Zodiac), 381.
 Râshtrakûtas, 329.
 Râs Mâlâ of Sir A. K. Forbes, 298.
 Ratainyo, 305.
 Ratimañjarî, 451.
 Ratnaprabhâ, 425.
 Ratneśvara, 308.
 Râvaṇa, demon king of Ceylon, 137 *seq.*, 149.
 Rawlinson, 24.
 Reay, Lord, 63.
 Religion, modern Hindu, 141-173; r. and state in Marâthâ, 254 *seq.*, 260, 264.
 Religious disputes settled by the king, 255 *seq.*, 257, 258; r. rules violated, 267, 268 *seq.*, 270.
 Reng-mâ Nâgas, 116.
 Revata, a Buddhist elder, 363.
 Revati, the constellation, 378.
 Revenge for bloodshed, 275 *seq.*
 Ribhus, 464.
 Rig-Veda Samhitâ, Sîva and Brahman not in the, 130; astronomical facts and the date of the R., 377, 380 *seqq.*, 383; Aditi in the R., 396 *seqq.*, 399 (Rv. I, 164, 22), 402 (Rv. I, 24, 1-2), 403 (Rv. I, 136, 3), 404 (Rv. X, 63, 3; V, 59, 8), 405 (Rv. II, 27, 1; I, 89, 3; V, 66, 4); Sâkhâs of the R., 411-420.
 Riks, recited in the Far East, 40; R. come from Brahma, 161.
 Rimmon, Babylonian god, 27.
 Rishis worshipped, 149.
 Rîtusamhâra, 394.
 Rivers, five r. mentioned in the Milindapañho, 525 *seq.*
 Rohini, the constellation, 382.
 Róm (gypsy), 112.
 Rong, see Lepcha.
 Rosen, F. A., 429.
 Roshadarîkâ Satyabhâmâkhyâna, 299, 309 *seq.*, 329, 340.
 Roth, 396, 397, 398, 403.
 Rougé, Vicomte de, 21, 22.
 Roy, Râja Râma Mohan, 297.
 Rudra, 162, 382.
 Rukmiṇî Svayamvara, 302.
 Ruma country, 227, 232.
 ŚABARASVÂMIN, 199, 200.
 Sabhâ, assembly of Pandits, 262.
 Sabhâchâra, 299.
 Sabhâsad, Krishnâjî Anant, his Life of Shivâjî, 261 *seq.*, 265, 266.
 Sâchî, the goddess, 407.
 De Sacy, 18, 35.
 Saddhamma Nagara, 373.
 Sadhrâ Jeshngi, 306.
 Sâdhyas, genii, 161.
 Sâhasi, King of Sindh, 241, 242, 243.
 Sâhnazar, 544.
 Sâilûshas, actors, 299.
 Sâivites, 156.
 Saka era, 227, 428.
 Sâkala Sâkhâ, 411-420.
 Sâkala (She-kie-lo), 225, 229, 240.
 Sakhârâm Bâpu, 269.
 Sâkhâs of the Rîksamhitâ, 411-420, 414.
 Saktas, 153, 156.

- Saktis, 407.
 Sakulâ, a Buddhist Therî, 342.
 Śakuntalâ, 302, 303.
 Sakyasinh (Buddha), 139.
 Sakzi language, 233.
 Śâligrâma vaiśya, 451.
 Salôn (sea-gypsies), 94, 120.
 Samâdhi, meditation, 364.
 Sâmal Kavi, 309.
 Sâmans, sung in the Far East, 40;
 S. come from Brahman, 161.
 Samanas (Samanaioi), Buddhist friars,
 31, 32.
 Samantabhadra, 187 *seqq.*, 193, 197
 note, 198, 200, 211 *seq.*
 Sambhâjî, 267.
 Samjñâna hymn, 417 *seq.*, 419.
 Sanchita Karma, 171 *seq.*
 Sandhyâ-Vandana, 270, 418, 419.
 Sâṅkarâchârya, 152, 163, 168, 170,
 213 *seq.*, 394, 424.
 Sâṅkhâyana Brâhmaṇa, 377; S.
 Sâkhâ, 411-420; S. Gṛihyasûtra,
 412, 415 *seqq.*
 Sâṅkhyâ, 156, 460.
 Sâṅkhyâ-tattva-Kaumudî, 424.
 Sannyâsî, ceremony at the death of a,
 274.
 Sanskrit, official language in the Far
 East, 40; study of S. in India, 60.
 63, 64, 65, 66 *seq.*, 74, 77, 145;
 study of S. in England, 73; off-
 shoots of S., 87; S. and Marathi,
 100, 101; S. and Bengali, 104;
 S. spoken, 105; S. manuscripts in
 Florence, 215, 216; S. literature
 compared with Gaṇeśa, 288; S.
 drama, 300, 303, 304, 313; verna-
 culars influenced by S., 302 *seq.*;
 S. = "Deva-Girâ," 309, 310, 311
 seq.; S. of the Jains, 316; S.
 grammar in Gujerati, 317 *seq.*; S.
 and Gujerati, 327; poem in S., Pârsi,
 Dakshî, and Turki languages, 336;
 S. literature, 392 *seqq.*; S. lexicogra-
 phical works, 429; S. grammarians,
 429; S. medical works, 454 *seqq.*,
 461; earliest S. MS. 455; Pali,
 S., and Prakrit etymology, 466-
 517; Buddhist-Sanskrit, 473, 476.
 Santhâl language, 110.
 Sântis, expiatory rites, 254.
 Sanyasi, 156, 167, 168 *seq.*, 170.
 Sapâdalaksha, old name of Rajputâna,
 240, 241.
 Sarabhû, mentioned in the Milinda-
 pañho, 525 *seq.*
 Saramâ, 379.
 Saraswati, see Tharawadi.
 Sardârs, 271.
 Sargsian, Sargis, 545.
 Sâfiraka Sutras, 157.
 Sarvadarâsana Saṅgraha, 190 notes,
 191 note.
 Sarvajina Sâdhârana Stavâna of Jayâ-
 nanda, 317, 318.
 Sarvânukrama, 411 *seq.*, 419.
 Sasanka, Hindu king, 386.
 Sassanian kings, 549.
 Sassetti, 43.
 Satapatha Brâhmaṇa, 376, 377.
 Satara Râjas, 266.
 Satî, 268, 278.
 Satlaj, valley of the, 113.
 Satsanga-Vijaya, 303.
 Sattva (goodness), 165.
 Satya Narayana, 152.
 Saunaka, 415.
 Saunaka, a great householder, 171.
 Saurasêni, Prâkrit, 87.
 Saurashtri dialect, 100.
 Savâi Mâdhavrâo, Peshwa, 270; mar-
 riage of S. M., 272; widow of S. M.,
 275 note 2.
 Sawâlik (Rajputâna), 240, 241.
 Sawan-Bhadun (July-August), 144.
 Sâwara language, 111.
 Sayâth-Nowa, Armenian poet, 544.
 Sayce, Professor, 24, 548.
 Schlegel, 17.
 Schliemann, 26.
 Schmidt, Prof., on Semites and Âryas,
 12.
 Schrader, O., 12, 13, 16, 558.
 Schrupf, G. A., on the progress of
 Armenian Studies, 540-553.
 Scythian kings, see White Huns;
 coins of Indo-Scythian kings, 223-
 244.
 Scythic race, 84; S. language, 95,
 122 *seq.*
 Scytho-Greek alphabet, 235, 238,
 242 *seq.*
 Scytho-Sassanians, 235.

- Sebêos, 549 *seq.*
 Séma Nâgas, 116.
 Semites, home of the, in Asia, 12;
 Semites and Âryas, 12, 558.
 Semitic and Egyptian, 15; S. speech,
 18; S. languages in India, 94, 123.
 Senart, 40, 328.
 Sêrenc, Gêorg G., 544.
 Sgáu dialect, 121.
 Shaddarâsana-samuchchayavṛitti, 318.
 Shâhâjî, 268.
 Shâhi, title of, 234, 237, 239, 242.
 Shâhu, Marâthâ king, 255 *seq.*, 271.
 Shahu Khan, 243.
 Shamanism, 177, 183.
 Shamans, 181.
 Shambhu Chhatrapati, Râjâ of Kolhapur, 255.
 Shân languages, 90, 91, 94, 115, 119
seq.
 Shaowu Wen, 234.
 Shapelo, see Dizabul.
 Shâstris, their opinions on castes, 260
seq.; laxity of S., 275 note 2; S.
 of Benares on re-marriage of widows,
 276 *seq.*
 Shebun, 223.
 Shendû = Lûshai tribes, 116.
 Shenvis, 271.
 Sher Shah, 384 *seq.*
 Shin Nè Mi, Burmese goddess, 180.
 Shivâjî, 254, 256, 260, 261 *seq.*, 264
seqq., 267, 268, 283.
 Shu-to-lo, see Sudra.
 Shwe Dagôn Pagoda, 370.
 Shwe Myet Hnâ, Burmese goddess,
 180.
 Shwe Na Be, Burmese goddess, 180.
 Shwep'yinnýnaung, certain Nats, 182.
 Siam, Shâns in, 94.
 Siamese, 119.
 Siddharâja Jayasinha, 306.
 Sidi, see Habshi.
 Sigâla Mâtâ, 342.
 Sigrabodh, work on astrology, 141.
 Siharas of Sindh, ruler of Multân,
 240.
 Sihiras, Scythian king, 230.
 Sikhism, 156.
 Sikhs, 89, 169, 295.
 Sikkim, languages of, 113.
 Silâditya = Vikramâditya, 227.
 Silas, precepts of holy conduct, 359,
 364.
 Sinhâsanadvâṭṭimsikâ, 451.
 Sinhastha year, 258.
 Sin, Babylonian god, 27.
 Sindh, dialects spoken in, 89, 97, 100,
 122; Scythian kings of S., 227,
 230, 231, 234, 236, 238; early
 history of S., 241 *seq.*
 Sindhi, 97, 98; no drama in S., 300.
 Sindhu, in Babylonian inscriptions,
 28, 29; mentioned in the Milinda-
 pañho, 525 *seq.*, 529.
 Singhana, 424.
 Sing-pho tribe, 116.
 Sinhalese, 92, 109; S. translations of
 Pâli commentaries, 362 *seq.*
 Sinitic languages, 120.
 Sitâ, wife of Râma, 137 *seq.*
 Sitâ, river mentioned in the Milinda-
 pañho, 525 *seq.*, 529.
 Sîva, worship of, 130, 150, 153;
 prayers to S., 152, 440; worshipped
 by childless people, 142; worshipped
 in Srâvana, 149; in Phâlguna, 150;
 S. is omnipresent, 162; bull of S.
 on Scythian coins, 230, 236, 237;
 S. as Virûpâksha, 305; S.'s Sakti,
 407; S. Mahâkâla in Ujjayini,
 440; twelve names of S., 440;
 sons of S., 462 *seqq.*
 Sivaratri festival, 150.
 Skanda Gupta, 222 *seq.*
 S'lokavârtikâlaṅkâra, 210.
 Smṛitis on medicine, 456 *seqq.*, 461.
 Solar worship, 225, 226, 228, 229,
 230; sun wheel on coins, 237;
 "sun-god" of Multan, 238, 241.
 Soma, 135; S. juice, 132, 135; S.
 the moon, 161.
 Somâ, Buddhist Therî, 348 *seq.*
 Somadeva, 186, 451.
 Somâli tribes, 123.
 Somatilaka, 318.
 Sonâ, Buddhist Therî, 342.
 Soul, see Âtma.
 Soundoukiantz, Gabriel, 544.
 Specht, Edouard, on two Chinese
 Translations of the Milindapañho,
 518-529.
 Spirits in Burma, 174 *seqq.*; classes
 of s., 177; guardian s., 178; family

- s., 178; evil s., 178; s. of people who died violent deaths, 179.
 Sprenger, on the Semitic cradle-land, 12.
 Śrāddhas, 271.
 Śrāvaṇa (Sravan), Śiva worshipped in the month of, 142, 149.
 Śrāvāṇī ceremony, 412.
 Śrīdhara, 424.
 Śrīpālacharitra, 324.
 Sruantztianz, Bishop, collector of Armenian folklore, 546.
 Śruti, 157.
 Stein, Aurel, on PAONANO, 536 *seq.*
 St. John, R. F. St. A., on old towns in Pegu, 370 *seqq.*
 St. Martin, Vivien de, 366.
 Stone of the foot-print of Buddha, 386.
 Strzygowski, Joseph, 548.
 Stuart-Glennie, J. S., on the origin and cradle-land of the Aryans, 557-559.
 Stūpas, 219, 220, 386; Vodva Stūpa, 221.
 Subhāshitaratnasamdoha, 425.
 Substantive case forms in Gujerati, 326 *seq.*
 Suddhodana, Buddha's father, 139, 346.
 Śūdras, may attain Moksha, 170;
 Śūdra = shu-to-lo, 227, 228, 242;
 Ś. and Brāhmans the only castes, 261; ceremonies for Ś., 263 note 1.
 Sughdi language, 233.
 Sugrīva, ally of Rāma, 138.
 Sujātā, a Buddhist Therī, 351.
 Sukkā, a Buddhist Therī, 360 *seq.*
 Sulaimān tribes, 122.
 Sumaṅgala's mother, 351.
 Sumatra, Indian conquests in, 40.
 Sumerians, 23.
 Śunāsīrau in Rigveda, 379.
 Sundarī, a Buddhist Therī, 356 *seq.*
 Sung-yun, Chinese pilgrim, 222 *seqq.*, 232.
 Sun worship, see Solar worship.
 Suparṇas, 220.
 Supreme Being, see God.
 Supreme soul, 155, 158, 166.
 Suradās, Hindi poet, 146, 150, 330.
 Surā Sāmlā, 306.
 Surata-Saṁgrāma, 321, 322.
 Suratis, a class of domestic servants, 100.
 Sureśvara, 214.
 Sūryarām Tripāthi, M. E., 298.
 Sūrya Siddhānta, 382.
 Suśruta, 454, 455, 460.
 Süß, "Antlitz der Erde," 559.
 Sūta, 299.
 Sūtra, period of the Sūtras, 382;
 Sūtra Śākhās, 419.
 Sūtradhāra, stage-manager, 304, 305, 313.
 Sutta Piṭaka, 345.
 Svar, 400, 401.
 Svastikas, 219.
 Śvetāmbara Jains, 219 *seq.*
 Śvetāśvatara Upanishad, 163.
 Swahili tribes, 123.
 Synteng dialect, 112.
 Syriac, 123.
 TAI, see Shān.
 Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, 299, 377, 381.
 Taittirīya Samhitā, 376, 377, 380, 381, 382.
 Taittirīya-Upanishad, 154.
 Tākan or Tāki = Panjab, 239 *seq.*
 Takinābād, city of, 240.
 Takkala, name of a place, 372 *seq.*
 Talaing (Môn), 90, 178, 179.
 Talmud, compared with the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā, 393.
 Tamas, Rajas, Sattva, &c., 165.
 Tamil, 106.
 Tanjore, 90, 102.
 Tantravārtika, 186.
 Tapti valley, 100.
 Taragālā, actors, 305, 307.
 Tarai, tribes and languages of the, 85, 91, 113, 115.
 Tāranāth, 225, 230.
 Tarôkmaw, name of a place, 370 *seq.*
 Tasé, Burmese disembodied spirits, 184.
 Tātān, King of White Huns, 223.
 Ta-thsin, 527.
 Tattvas (twenty-four), 460.
 Tatvārthasūtra, 196, 210 note.
 Taungthû dialect, 121.
 Tautātita = Kumārila, 190 note.
 Tavoyi, dialect of Tenasserim, 118.

- Taw Sein Ko, on the spiritual world of the Burmese, 174 *seqq.*
- Taxila, 239 *seq.*
- Tchamitch, on Armenian history, 548.
- Tchéraz, Prof., 546.
- Tchi or Tchad, a Buddhist teacher, 524, 529.
- Telang, K. T., 76, 252 *seqq.*
- Tel-el-Amarna, tablets, 25, 27, 28.
- Tel-el-Hesi, tablets, 27.
- Telugu, 93, 100, 102, 107 *seq.*; T. character, 108.
- Temples in India, 144, 148, 153; built in honour of living saints, 167; t. in Burma, 182; Jaina t., 219; Brahmanical t., 221, 262; t. of the sun, 225, 226, 228, 230; Buddhist t., 245 *seq.*; consecration of a t. in Trimba-Keswara, 258; Mussulman t., 262.
- Tenasserim, dialect of, 118.
- Terrien de Lacouperie, 23.
- Thabet, Burmese evil spirits, 185.
- Thakur, Bidyapati, 302.
- Tharawadi, town in Pegu, 371.
- Thatôn, town in Pegu, 373 *seqq.*
- Thayè, Burmese spirits of people who died violent deaths, 185.
- Theosophical Society, 293.
- Thera-Gâthâ, 344, 345.
- Therî, 342, 343, 346 *seqq.*, 360 *seq.*
- Therigâthâ, 343 *seqq.*, 346 *seqq.*
- Thibaut, 76.
- Thibet, 87, 94.
- Thibetan, 113.
- Thibeto-Burman group of languages, 94, 113 *seqq.*
- Thien-mi-li, 528, 529.
- Thomson, Alexander, 544, 545.
- Thread ceremony, 258, 265, 266 note 7, 267 *seq.*, 275 note 2, 379.
- Thunderbolt, 246, 250.
- Thunderbolt Seat, see Vajrâsan.
- Tifis dialect, 544.
- Tigin. name of a king, 239.
- Tilak, B. G., on facts and arguments in the Orion, 376 *seqq.*
- Tipperah language, 115.
- Tīraṇapariññâ. 365.
- Tirthaṅkara Mahāvira, 220, 221.
- Tīrthas, sacred places, 143, 148.
- Tissatthero, 523 note 3, 524 note 2, 529.
- Tôda of the Nilgiris, 108 *seq.*
- Tolerance in India, 262 note.
- Tonic languages, 91, 93, 113.
- Toramâna, 223, 224, 226, 228, 233, 236 *seq.*, 242, 243; T. of Eran, and T. of Kashmir, 231 *seq.*
- Torâṇa, fragment of a T. in Mathurâ, 220.
- Torture, 263 *seq.*, and note 5.
- Trâgâlâ, see Taragâlâ.
- Transliteration of Oriental words, 530.
- Transmigration, 172.
- Tree of forgetfulness, 176.
- Trenckner, 341, 518.
- Trimbak, Pratinidhi Paraśuram, 271.
- Trimârti, 130.
- Tripiṭaka, 362, 373.
- Tripura-Dâha, 300.
- Triśalâ, 219, 220.
- Triśûla, 219.
- Tsângdev, 284.
- Tsanyu, ancient title of Ephthalite kings, 242.
- Tuhfat al Kirâm, 241.
- Tukârâm (or Tukâ), 285, 290, 295 *seq.*
- Tukhâra, traces of Buddhism in, 31.
- Tulsidâs, 147 *seq.*, 330.
- Tulsî plant, offering the leaves of the, 270.
- Tulu, 101, 102, 107.
- Tumen, "Grand Shahu" of the Turks, 223, 233.
- Turanic (Scythic) languages, 95, 122 *seq.*
- Tûrki, traces of it in Urdu, 89; T. speakers from Turkestan, 122; poem in T., 336.
- UDÂNA, 345.
- Udasis of the Sikh sect, 169.
- Udayâditya, 228, 237, 243.
- Udayana, date of the, 423 *seq.*
- Udayapur Rajputs, 265.
- Udayarâm, Runchhodabhâi, 298, 307.
- Uddaka Râmaputta, 364.
- Ûhâ, name of a river, 525.
- Ulnia, see Zeyṣoun.
- Umâsvâti, author of the Tatvârthasûtra, 195 note, 196, 210 note.

- Upâdhis (Buddhist term), 357.
 Upagupta's hermitage-hill, 386.
 Upâkaraṇa ceremony, 412, 415, 419.
 Upanishads, 19, 155-158, 163, 168, 171, 288.
 Uppalavannâ, a Buddhist Therî, 342.
 Urdu dialect, 88, 89, 96, 97, 121, 330; no drama in U., 301.
 Uriya, 102 *seqq.*; Uriya letters, 103; no drama in U., 301.
 Uruvyach, Uruvraja, epithets of Aditi, 402.
 Ushas, 407.
 Uti, Solien Khan, 223.
 Utkali, see Uriya.
 Uttara-Gîtâ Tîkâ, 335.
 Uttara-Râma-Charita, 303.
 Uttarâyaṇa, passage of the sun north of the equator, 380.
 Uyudaing (a special post in a Burmese house), 178.

 VACHASPATI, 423 *seq.*
 Vâgadad inscription, 331.
 Vaisâkha, month of, see Baisakh.
 Vaisesaka philosophy, 156.
 Vaishnava sect, 146, 156; V. Âjîvikas, 221; V. in Gujerat, 321, 323.
 Vaitâlîka, bard's utterances (in a drama), 304.
 Vâjasaneyi-Samhitâ, 299.
 Vajra, see Thunderbolt.
 Vajrâsan at Mahâbodhi, 245-251.
 Vajra-Varâhî, 246.
 Vâkyapadiya of Bhartrihari, 186, 213 *seq.*
 Vâlakhilya hymns, 411, 412.
 Vallabha, son of Kṛishṇarâja, 186.
 Vallabha, son of Premânanda, 308, 309, 312 *seq.*, 318, 329.
 Vallabh sect, 145 *seq.*
 Valmîki, 147, 148.
 Vaman, three steps of, 136.
 Vaman-Avatar (Dwarf-god), 136, 425.
 Vâmana, Marathi poet, 302.
 Van dialect (Armenian), 544.
 Vannic writing, 548.
 Varâha-Avatar (Boar-god), 135.
 Varâha Mihira, 227.
 Varahran IV., 235, 243.
 Varahran V., Sassanian king, 223.
 Vararuchi, 204.
 Varchuni = White Huns, 234.
 Vardhamâna, son of Gaṅgeśa, 424.
 Vardhamânabhaṭṭâraka, 208.
 Varsha, rainy season, 463.
 Varshakartri, maker of rain, ep. of Maṅgala, 463.
 Varuṇa, 402, 403 *seqq.*, 408.
 Varuṇânî, 399, 401.
 Vasanta Vilâsa, 303 note 2, 320 *seq.*, 322, 323, 325, 329 *seq.*
 Vasishtha Adwaita, 157.
 Vasudeva, husband of Devakî, 138.
 Vâsudeva = Vishṇu, 146, 151, 152.
 Vâsu Deva, name of a king, 238, 240 *seq.*
 Vasus, Vedic deities, 464.
 Vatsabhaṭṭa, 394.
 Veda, 129, 131, 151, 154; its importance for Aryan mythology, 19; lost V. recovered by the Varâha-Avâtâr, 135; omniscient being not in the V., 191 *seq.*; Buddha did not know the V., 193; Manu based on the V., 193; Vedas and Upanishads not confounded by Dnyâneśvar, 288; antiquity of the V., 376 *seqq.*, 381, 382 *seq.*
 Vedânta, 19, 156, 157, 163, 167, 284.
 Vedânta-Kalpataru, 423 *seqq.*
 Vedânta-Khaṇḍa, 424.
 Vedantis, 156, 164.
 Vedic ceremonies, 263, 379; V. references to the drama, 299; V. calendar, 376; V. traditions about heaven and hell, 378.
 Vengi character, 375.
 Vernacular literature in India, 297 *seqq.*
 Vernal equinox, 376, 377, 378, 381, 382.
 Veśa, part to be played, 307.
 Vetâlapañchaviṁśati, 451.
 Vibhishana, Râvana's brother, 138.
 Vichâra-nîśchaya, 318.
 Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute, 63.
 Vidura, the fowler, 168, 170.
 Vidyâdhara, teacher of Ânanda, 447.
 Vidyâdharas, 219.
 Vidyânanda, 186, 189, 193, 195-198, 200, 205, 209, 210 note, 211 *seqq.*
 Viko Sisodio, 306.

- Vikrama era, 227, 228, 428.
 Vikramāditya, 227, 232, 451.
 Vikramorvaśi, 300, 303, 304.
 Vimalā, Buddhist Therī, 355.
 Vimalodayanālā, 414.
 Vimāna-Vatthu, 345.
 Virochana, lord of the demons, 158.
 Virūpāksha (Śiva), 305.
 Viṣṇu, the god, 130, 133 *seqq.*, 146, 149, 150 *seqq.*, 375, 463; Viṣṇu Sahasra Nāma, 150 *seqq.*; discus and shell of V. on coins, 236; V. in the Rig-Veda, 407; Avatāras of V., 425 *seqq.*
 Viṣṇu Smṛiti, 456 *seq.*, 459, 460, 461.
 Viṣhuvan day, 381.
 Visuddhi-Magga of Buddhaghosa, 362-365.
 Viśvakarman, 401.
 Viṭhobā, a Hindu god, 295.
 Viṭṭhal, see Viṭhobā.
 Vivek Sindhu of Mukundrāj, 284.
 Vividha Jñāna Vistāra, 253.
 Vizianagram, Maharajah of, 62.
 Vraj dialect, 89, 95, 314.
 Vrajlāl Kālidāsa, Śāstri, 316, 319, 320.
 Virishadhwa, "bull ensign" on coins, 230, 231, 237.
 Vrishakapi, 379, 380.
 Vṛishṇi, epithet of Indra, 463.
 Vṛitra, 379.
 Vuppadevabhaṭṭa, 413.
 Vuṭṭhānagāminī Paṭipadā, 365.
 Vyāsa, 145, 157, 289.
 Vyas Purnima festival, 149.
 Vyavahāra, civil and criminal law, 254.
 WADDAR (Od), earth-workers, 93, 108.
 Waddell, L. A., discovery of the exact site of Asoka's classic capital of Pataliputra, 384 *seqq.*
 Wang-Khiun, 528.
 Warren, H. C., on Buddhaghosa's Visuddhi-magga, 362 *seqq.*
 Weber, Prof., 299, 412, 414, 454, 456 note, 466, 470.
 Wedding ceremony, 86; business delayed on account of w., 279 note 1.
 Weights and measures, Indian, 460.
 West, Sir Raymond, on higher education in India, 47 *seqq.*
 White Huns, 222-244; authorities on the White Huns, 222 *seq.*; Toramāna, 228 *seq.*; Mihirgul, 229 *seqq.*; Tribal name, 232 *seqq.*
 White races, 557 *seq.*
 Widow, girl widows, 149, 276; w. demands vengeance, 275 *seq.*; re-marriage of w., 276 *seq.*, 277 note 1; shaving of w., 278; w. become nuns, 347, 353; w. marriage text, 425 *seqq.*; see Satī.
 Wilhelm, Eugen, "Iranica," 530-539.
 Windischmann, 541.
 Winter solstice, 376, 377, 378, 382.
 Witchcraft in Burma, 184.
 Witches in Burma, 184.
 Wlislöcki, H. v., 546.
 Women, vows of Hindu, 142 *seq.*; Gauri Tij celebrated by w., 149; w. read the Mahābhārata, 151; w. entitled to Moksha, 168, 170; w. unfit to enter Nirvāṇa, 194 note; w. not put to death, 263 note 4, 264; w. poets, 283; w. leaders of the Buddhist reformation, 341-361; Indian w. in the days of Buddha, 347; w. sold, 347, 350; "feeble wit" of w., 349; Christian w.-saints, 356.
 Wood, Sir Charles, on education in India, 54.
 Wright, late Prof., 18.
 Writing, see Alphabet.
 YĀDAVA DYNASTY, 138, 423 *seq.*
 Yājñavalkya Smṛiti, 456 *seqq.*, 461.
 Yajñeśvar Shāstri, 264.
 Yajñopavita, 380.
 Yajurvedī Brāhman, 258.
 Yajush (Yajurveda), 161.
 Yamāji, 256.
 Yamaloka, 378.
 Yānādi dialect, 108.
 Yarkand, traces of Buddhism in, 31.
 Yasodharman, 226, 230.
 Yātrā, procession of worshippers, 220.
 Yau dialect, 118.
 Year beginnings, 377 *seq.*, 379, 380 *seq.*, 382.

- Yebein dialect, 118.
 Ye-ho-lo = Âyupâla, 527 *seq.*
 Ye-po-lo, 222, 224, 232.
 Yérukala dialect, 106.
 Yetha, White Huns, 222, 224, 232.
 Yoga, 156, 292, 293; Yoga Sûtras, 292.
 Yogas, four kinds of attachment, 355.
 Yogi, 156, 158, 293 *seq.*
 Yóma hills, 117.
 Yudhishthira, 151.
 Yukti, reasoning, 157.
 Yule, 366, 370.
- Yuvarâja, heir-apparent, 265 note 8, 267.
 ZÂBULISTÂN, 233, 234, 240, 241.
 Zacher on pseudo-Callisthenes, 549.
 Zambil, 243 *seq.*
 Zandâ-Zûlanâ, 306.
 Zâûli language, 233.
 Zâûlistân, see Zâbulistân.
 Zeus, 399 *seq.*, 403, 408.
 Zeydoun dialect (Armenian), 545.
 Zhô tribes, 116, 117.
 Zodiac, 377, 462.
 Zok, see Agoulis.

E R R A T A.

- P. xxiv., l. 21, *for* 'Presented by Dr. M. A. Stein' *read* 'Presented by His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir and Jammu.'
- P. xlvii., l. 18 and 22, *for* 'Yuch' *read* 'Yueh.'
- P. 28, l. 6, *for* 'Egyptain' *read* 'Egyptian.'
- P. 31, l. 21, ,, 'Kashyar' *read* 'Kashgar.'
- P. 150, l. 19, ,, 'Phegun' *read* 'Phalgun.'
- P. 156, l. 11, ,, 'Vaisasaka' *read* 'Vaisesaka.'
- P. 157, l. 6, ,, 'Sararik' *read* 'Sarirak.'
- ,, l. 14, ,, 'Surti' *read* 'Sruti.'
- P. 158, l. 7, ,, 'works' *read* 'words.'
- P. 426, l. 23, *read* 'face of a son. A man without a son.'
- P. 466, l. 10, ,, 'Deçinâmamâlâ.'
- P. 467, l. 6, *for* 'vâçâyita' *read* 'vaçâyita.'
- ,, l. 21, ,, 'viddha' *read* 'viddha.'
- ,, l. 31, ,, 'L. R. passes' *read* 'R passes.'
- ,, l. 33, ,, 'of' *read* 'cf.'
- ,, l. 35, ,, 'vii. 27' *read* 'viii. 17.'
- P. 468, l. 4, ,, 'anacchaï' *read* 'anacchaï.'
- ,, ,, ,, 'añch' *read* 'añch.'
- ,, l. 6, ,, 'parasparamâkarṣama' *read* 'karṣaṇa.'
- ,, l. 11, ,, '159' *read* '161.'
- ,, l. 19, ,, 'own' *read* 'crow.'
- ,, l. 23, ,, 'upabhaj' *read* 'upabhuḥ.'
- ,, l. 34, ,, 'ârâmbhika' *read* 'ârâmbhia.'
- ,, l. 35, *read* 'khuṃpâ tṛṇâdimaya (H. D., ii. 75).'
- ,, l. 37, *for* 'ksupa' *read* 'kṣupa.'
- ,, l. 39, *read* 'H. D., vi. 59.'
- ,, l. 42, ,, 'bhâsapakṣî.'
- P. 469, l. 8, *for* 'ârâḍia' *read* 'ârāḍia.'
- ,, l. 22, ,, 'visamoad' *read* 'visaṃvad.'
- ,, l. 38, ,, 'âpahastyati' *read* 'apahastyati.'
- P. 470, l. 22, ,, 'weis' *read* 'weiss.'
- ,, l. 34, ,, 'viii. 10' *read* 'viii. 18.'
- P. 471, l. 3, ,, 'nest' *read* 'crest.'
- ,, l. 7, ,, 'o vyâla' *read* 'vyâla.'

- P. 471, l. 21, for 'çmasru' read 'çmaçru.'
 " " " 'masurî' read 'mâsurî.'
- P. 472, l. 1, read 'kummaṇa and kurumâṇa.'
 " l. 15, " 'ñiāṇiā (H. D., iv. 35) kutṛṇoddharāṇa.'
 " l. 22, for 'uddâna' read 'uddâṇa.'
 " l. 25, " 'aṇḡutthî' read 'aṇḡutṭhi.'
 " l. 28, " 'agghâvaï' read 'agghavaï.'
 " l. 30, read 'Gaudian.'
 " l. 32, for 'ahiremi' read 'ahiremaï.'
 " l. 35, " 'ilî' read 'ilî.'
 " last line, for 'itvâra' read 'itvara.'
- P. 473, l. 4, for 'eḷâka' read 'eḷaka.'
 " l. 7, " 'ana' read 'anu.'
 " l. 11, " 'spondati' read 'spandati.'
 " l. 13, read 'bhuruhumḍia = uddhûlita.'
 " l. 17, " 'ulu-umḍia (= praluṭhita).'
 " l. 29, " 'câvaçisṭam.'
 " l. 30, " 'pishtvâ.'
- P. 474, l. 6, for 'test' read 'text.'
- P. 477, l. 7, " 'dhamḍha' read 'dhamdhâ.'
- P. 479, l. 16, read 'H. P., iv. 28; H. D., vi. 133.'
 " l. 20, for 'sosâṇa' read 'sosana.'
 " l. 32, read 'Deçinâmamâlâ, vii. 39, we find vajjia =
 avalokita.'
 " l. 35, " 'majjiam avalokitam.'
 " note 2, for 'somâna' read 'somâṇa.'
- P. 480, l. 4, for 'avajjana-manta' read 'âvajjana-manta.'
 " l. 15, " 'Bangâli' read 'Bengâli.'
 " l. 25, read 'orummâi = udvâti.'
 " l. 32, for 'âpṭda' read 'âpṭḍa.'
 " l. 33, " 'mlâ' read 'mlâ.'
 " l. 39, " 'dûmmaï' read 'dûmaï.'
- P. 481, l. 3, for 'nimeṇa' read 'ṇimeṇa.'
 " note 2, read 'ghaṭa' and 'kuṭa.'
- P. 482, l. 15, for 'khala-bhikṣa' read 'khala-bhikṣâ.'
 " l. 27, " 'drḍham' read 'drḍham.'
- P. 483, l. 22, H. D., vii. 12, explains 'rojja' by 'reya,' not by
 'vṛṣa.'
 " l. 23, for 'atro' read 'atra,' and for 'vṛṣa' read 'vṛṣa-.'
 " l. 34, " 'miçrita' read 'miçrita.'
- P. 484, l. 18, read 'H. D., vi. 24.'
 " l. 21, for 'tattha' read 'tathâ.'
 " l. 35, " 'Setabandha' read 'Setubandha.'
 " l. 36, " 'maḍâ = vojjhâ' read 'maḍavojjhâ.'
 " " " 'letter' read 'litter.'

- P. 485, l. 2, *for* '76' *read* '96.'
- " l. 3, " 'ksar' *read* 'ḳsar.'
- " l. 5, " 'Seta.' *read* 'Setu.'
- " l. 14, " '167' *read* '137.'
- " l. 15, " 'ākala' *read* 'ākula.'
- " l. 16, " 'murech' *read* 'ṃurech.'
- " " " 'Seta.' *read* 'Setu.'
- " l. 20, " 'vyatt' *read* 'vyath.'
- " l. 22, " 'visaṃsthula' *read* 'visaṃsthula.'
- " l. 29, " 'H. D.' *read* 'H. P.'
- " l. 32, " '°sutra' *read* '°sūtra.'
- " l. 35, " 'trayartham' *read* 'tryartham.'
- P. 486, l. 1, " 'añch' *read* 'añch.'
- " l. 13, " 'viii. 27' *read* 'viii. 17.'
- " l. 22, " 'puñchatī' *read* 'puñchati.'
- " l. 25, " 'H. D.' *read* 'H. P.'
- P. 487, l. 9, *read* 'ahipaccuiam.'
- " l. 14, *for* 'H. D.' *read* 'H. P.'
- " l. 25, " '159' *read* '161.'
- " l. 30, " '-zer-stampffen' *read* 'zerstampfen.'
- P. 488, l. 7, " 'miḥ-snehâ' *read* 'niḥ-sneha.'
- " l. 23, " 'upavastha' *read* 'upavasatha.'
- " l. 26, *read* 'H. D., i. 37.'
- " l. 28, *for* 'navavadhâ' *read* 'navavadhû.'
- " l. 31, " 'vadhūṃ' *read* 'vadhūṃ.'
- P. 489, l. 4, " 'ākala' *read* 'ākula.'
- " l. 28, " 'çâtita' *read* 'çâtita.'
- " " " 'rittudîa' *read* 'rittudîa.'
- " l. 34, " 'sphâtita' *read* 'sphâtita.'
- " l. 38, " 'nikkaja' *read* 'nikkajja.'
- " " " 'nijjhura' *read* 'nijjhûra.'
- P. 490, l. 3, " 'vi.' *read* 'vii.'
- " " " 'sloka' *read* 'stoka.'
- " l. 17, " 'udûpa' *read* 'udûpa.'
- " l. 19, " 'simharuta' *read* 'siṃharuta.'
- " l. 20, " 'vippiṃdia' *read* 'vippiṃdia.'
- " l. 29, " '74' *read* '75.'
- " l. 33, " 'ulluḍha' *read* 'ullûḍha.'
- P. 491, l. 1, " 'readh' *read* 'rudh.'
- " l. 12, " 'kaṃdura' *read* 'kaṃdûra.'
- " " " 'ii. 8' *read* 'ii. 9.'
- " l. 14, " 'kuruda' *read* 'kurûda.'
- " l. 26, " 'Setabandha' *read* 'Setubandha.'
- P. 492, l. 7, H. D., viii. 29 (not vii. 49), has 'siṃḍa = moṭita.'
- P. 493, l. 7, *for* 'weis' *read* 'weiss.'

- P. 493, l. 28, *for* 'Mahâvasta' *read* 'Mahâvastu.'
- P. 495, l. 26, ,, 'orummâti' *read* 'orummâi.'
- ,, l. 27, ,, 'praludṭhita' *read* 'praluṭhita.'
- ,, l. 32, ,, 'ii. 35' *read* 'ii. 50.'
- ,, ,, 'vikasasi' *read* 'vikasati.'
- P. 496, l. 2, ,, 'vâyana' *read* 'vâyana.'
- ,, l. 37, ,, 'ksubh' *read* 'kṣubh.'
- P. 497, l. 4, ,, 'samharati' *read* 'samharati.'
- ,, l. 7, ,, 'khulta' *read* 'khutta.'
- P. 498, l. 10, ,, 'kṣiṇīkṛta' *read* 'kṣaṇīkṛta.'
- ,, l. 11, ,, 'Dhamṣ âḍai' *read* 'Dhamṣâḍai.'
- ,, l. 23, ,, 'variant' *read* 'variant of.'
- P. 499, l. 3, ,, 'īṣika' *read* 'īṣikâ.'
- ,, l. 31, ,, 'ḍitpa' *read* 'ḍilpa' (N.B.—H. D., viii. 30, has silimbo ḍiḥuḥ).
- ,, l. 34, ,, 'ulumpa' *read* 'uḷumpa.'
- ,, note 3, *for* 'kalevra' *read* 'kalevara.'
- P. 504, l. 31, *for* 'smiti' *read* 'samiti.'
- ,, l. 37, ,, 'smṛt' *read* 'smṛ.'
- P. 505, l. 10, ,, 'samyat' *read* 'samyak.'
- P. 506, l. 4, ,, 'stepping' *read* 'stopping.'
- ,, l. 33, ,, 'bimohana' *read* 'bimbohana.'
- P. 507, l. 5, ,, 'ûva' *read* 'ûrva.'
- ,, l. 26, *read* 'Avahâveī, to compassionate (H. P. iv. 151), kṛipâṃ karoti (H. D., i. 48), represents,' &c.
- ,, l. 32, *read* 'H. P., iv. 94.'
- P. 508, l. 2, *for* 'H. D.' *read* 'H. P.'
- ,, l. 4, *read* 'H. P., iv. 168.'
- ,, l. 8, *for* 'khuddīax' *read* 'khuddīa.'
- ,, l. 9, ,, 'chudd, chull' *read* 'cudd, cull.'
- ,, l. 20, *read* 'aṇilla,' 'aṇudavi,' and 'aṇualla.'
- ,, l. 27, *for* 'anu-alla' *read* 'aṇu-alla.'
- ,, l. 28, *read* 'aṇu-davi = anu + davi.'
- P. 509, l. 19, *for* 'iv. 161' *read* 'v. 9.'
- ,, l. 32, *read* 'kummāṇa and kurumāṇa.'
- P. 510, l. 4, ,, 'svapnaḍīla.'
- ,, l. 6, ,, 'svapna.'
- ,, l. 12, *for* 'sack' *read* 'suck.'
- ,, l. 13, ,, 'visamsthūla' *read* 'visamsthula.'
- ,, l. 15, *read* 'Rumda (vipula, mukhara), H. D., vii. 14.'
- ,, l. 18, *for* 'khumpā' *read* 'khumpā.'
- ,, l. 19, *read* 'Marāthī kumbhā, a bush; Skt. kṣupa.'
- ,, l. 21, ,, 'â + dar.'
- ,, l. 34, *for* 'vipīḍita' *read* 'vipīḍita.'

- P. 511, l. 2, *for* 'H. D.' *read* 'H. P.'
- " l. 3, " 'nî-ramjaî' *read* 'nî-ramjaî.'
- " l. 31, *read* 'H. D., iv. 40.'
- " l. 32, " 'H. D., iv. 41.'
- P. 512, l. 19, *for* 'toar' *read* 'tvar.'
- P. 514, l. 18, " 'ava-gadia' *read* 'ava-gada.'
- " " " 'vistûna' *read* 'vistîrṇa.'
- " l. 25, " 'dveṣya' *read* 'dveṣya.'
- " l. 29, " 'krûra-driç' *read* 'krûra-dṛç.'
- " l. 38, " 'aṇṇai' *read* 'aṇṇaia.'
- " " " 'tripta' *read* 'trîpta.'
- P. 515, l. 2, " 'âjighrâh' *read* 'âjighrâti.'
- " l. 4, " 'ikṣaṇa-ka' *read* 'ikṣa°.'
- " l. 6, " 'gajja' *read* 'gaja.'
- " l. 7, " 'ilî' *read* 'îlî.'
- " l. 11, " 'itvâra' *read* 'itvara.'
- " l. 12, " 'varṣatrâṇa' *read* 'varṣatrâṇa.'
- " l. 19, " 'vâ yada' *read* 'vâyâda.'
- " l. 29, " 'violon' *read* 'viola.'
- " " " 'vijâkula' *read* 'vyâkula.'
- " l. 31, " 'vî-klava' *read* 'vi-klava.'
- " l. 37, " 'then' *read* 'thin.'
- " l. 38, " 'vyâpala' *read* 'vyâkulabhâva.'
- P. 516, l. 2, " 'saṃdhâ' *read* 'saṃdhyâ.'
- " l. 3, " 'vîla-ia' *read* 'vila-ia.'
- " " " 'dêna' *read* 'dîna.'
- " l. 10, " 'Dhâlapâṭha' *read* 'Dhâtupâṭha.'
- " l. 20, " 'ârâḍita' *read* 'ârâḍia.'
- " l. 26, " 'juta' *read* 'jûṭa.'
- " l. 30, " 'mr̥ḍa' *read* 'mr̥ḍu.'
- " " " '55' *read* '75.'

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